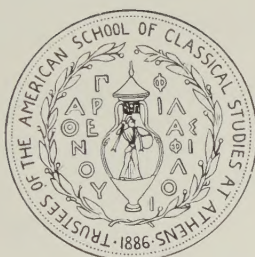


HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME VII

7
1938



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

ATHENS, GREECE

1938

Printed by Adolf Holzhausens Nachfolger, Vienna
Manufactured in Germany

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PLATE

I Painted Pinax. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong



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THE SALAMINIOI OF HEPTAPHYLAI AND SOUNION

At some time after 67 A.D., probably toward the end of the first century, in the construction of a tunnel for a water conduit, three inscribed stelai (No. 1, No. 2, and Ag. Inv. No. I 3625; cf. below, p. 18) were employed, the third in the fill of a well dug at an earlier date (first half of the first century B.C.) in an abandoned Hellenistic cistern, the second in a wall constructed 3 metres to the north of the cistern where the tunnel passed through an earlier cutting in the bed rock, and the first as a cover for the cistern, through which the water conduit was carried. All three were put in the places where they were found at the same time, and were taken from the neighboring Eurysakeion. Two (Nos. 1 and 2) were intact when discovered, the third (Ag. Inv. No. I 3625) was already broken in pieces when it was thrown into the well. The cistern is situated at a point 39 metres to the south and 20 metres to the west of the southwest corner of the so-called Theseion.

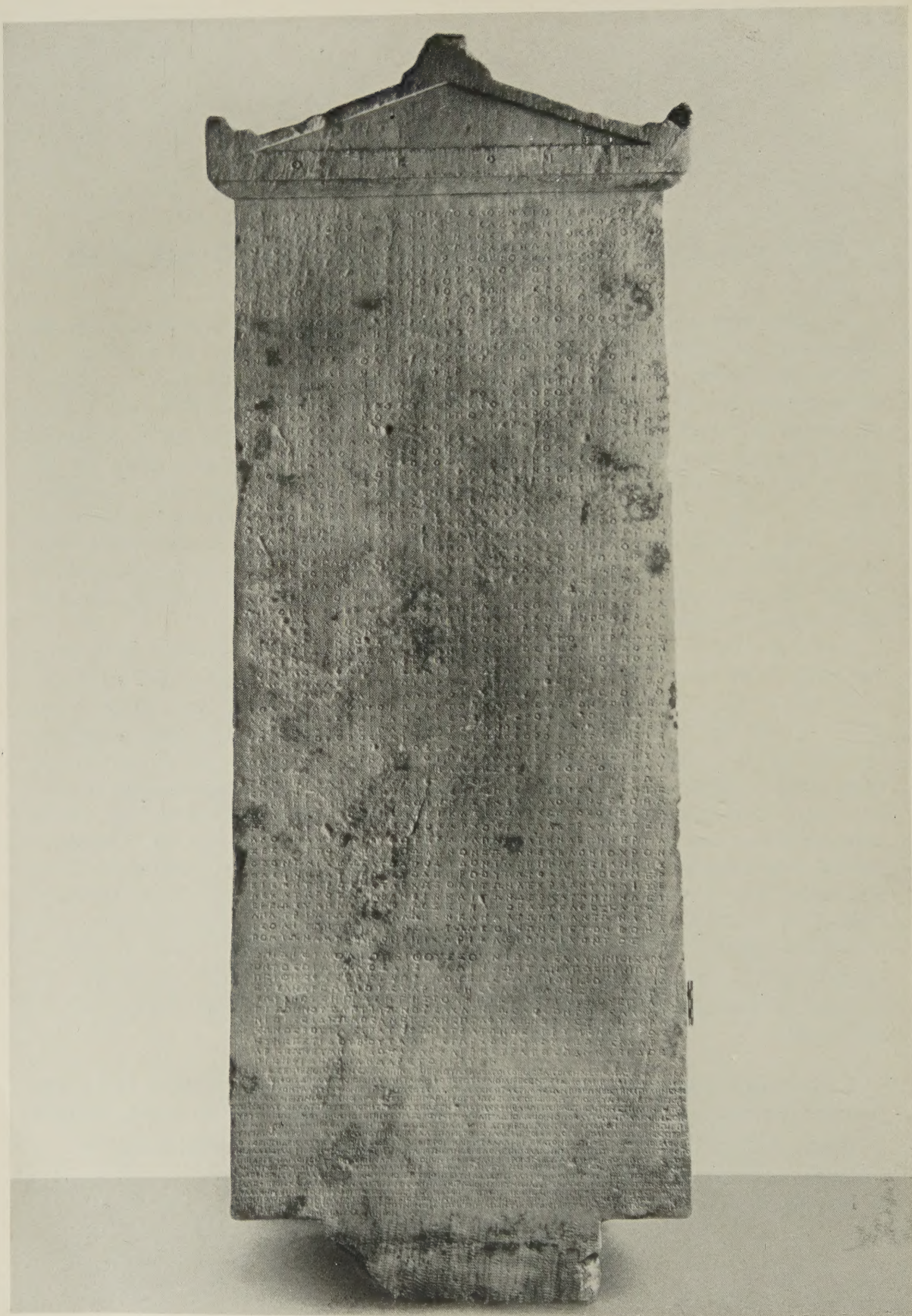
For these data I am indebted to Mr. Rodney Young. The transcription of the texts was made by Professor B. D. Meritt, who also read the Ms. and aided me most generously in its preparation. With him I have discussed, greatly to my profit, many of the points raised by the two documents; but I am solely responsible for the views expressed. Dr. Sterling Dow came to my rescue, when called upon, with pertinent information and suggestions. Professor A. D. Nock, who, too, read the Ms., put at my disposal his wide knowledge of religious things and literature. Professor Homer Thompson very kindly communicated to me in advance of publication his discussion of the remains of buildings erected consecutively in the temenos of Apollo Patroos (below, p. 29), and to him I am also under deep obligation for the exploration made, at my request, of the region of Sounion in which Porthmos, the Herakleion, and Hale (below, pp. 54f., 68f., 70f.) may have been situated. Professor Joshua Whatmough gave me wise counsel on various linguistic points. Dr. John K. Wright of the American Geographical Society helped me in determining the position of the Souniac Halyke. To all these scholars I give herewith my thanks.

1. A complete pedimented stele of Pentelic marble, preserved with tenon at the bottom, found on January 30, 1936, in Section IIΘ. The back of the stone is roughly dressed.

Height, 1.33 m.; width (at top), 0.43 m., (at bottom), 0.49 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters (lines 2-79), 0.006 m., (lines 80-97), *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3244.



No. 1

363/2 B. C.

CΤΟΙΧ.

Θ ε ο ι

- Ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῃ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις· ἐπὶ τοῖς[δ]
 ε διήλλαξαν οἱ διαιτηταὶ Σαλαμίνιος τοὺς ἐκ τῶ
 ν Ἑπταφυλῶν καὶ Σαλαμίνιος τοὺς ἀπὸ Σονίου δημο
 5 λογούντας ἀλλήλοις καλῶς ἔχειν ἃ ἔγνωσαν οἱ δι
 αιτηταὶ Στέφανος Μυρρινόσιος, Κλεαγόρας Ἀχα
 ρεύς, Ἀριστογείτων Μυρρινόσιος, Εὐθύκριτος
 Λαμπιρεύς, Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθαλίδης. τὰς ἱερεωσ
 ύνας κοινὰς εἶναι ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόν
 10 ον τῆς Ἀθηνάας τῆς Σκιράδος, καὶ τὴν τῷ Ἡρακλείο
 υ τῷ ἐπὶ Πορθμῶι, καὶ τὴν τῷ Εὐρυσάκῳ, καὶ τὴν τῇ
 ς Ἀγλαύρῳ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ τῆς Κοροτρόφῳ· καὶ κ
 ληροῦσθαι κοινῇ ἕξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπειδὰν τελευτ
 ῇσει τις τῶν ἱερείων ἢ τῶν ἱερέων· τοὺς δὲ λαγχάν
 15 οντας ἱερεῶσθαι ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ οἱ πρότερον ἱερ
 εῶντο. τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν ἐφ' Ἡρακλείῳ τῶι ἐπὶ Πορθμ
 ῶι καὶ τὴν ἀλ[λ]ῇ καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν Κοίλῃ νε
 ῖμασθαι διχαστὴν ἑκατέρως, καὶ ὅρος στήσαι τῇ
 ς ἑαυτῶν ἑκατέρως. θύειν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡ
 20 ρωσι κατὰ τάδε· ὅσα μὲν ἡ πόλις παρέχει ἐκ τοῦ δημ
 οσίου ἢ παρὰ τῶν ὠ[σ]κοφόρων ἢ παρὰ τῶν δειπνοφόρ
 ων γίγνεται λαμβάνειν Σαλαμίνιοις, ταῦτα μὲν
 κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρως θύοντας νέμεσθαι τὰ κρέα ὡμ
 ἃ τὰ ἡμίσεια ἑκατέρως· ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως ἔ
 25 θνον Σαλαμίνιοι παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν θύειν κατὰ τὰ
 πάτρια, τὸ ἡμυσν ἑκατέρως συμβαλλομένος εἰς ἃ
 παντὰ τὰ ἱερά. τοῖς δὲ ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἱερεῖαι
 ς ἀποδιδόναι τὰ γέρα τὰ γεγραμμένα· τῶι δὲ τῷ Ἡρ
 ακλέος ἱερεῖ ἱερεῶσυνα ΔΔΔ δραχμάς· εἰς πελαν
 30 ὄν δὲ ΠΠ δραχμάς· τούτων τὸ ἡμυσν ἑκατέρως συμ
 βάλλεσθαι· τῶν δὲ ἱερείων ὧν ἂν κατέρχεται τῶν
 κοινῶν λαμβάνειν ὅριον δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, εὐ
 σιὸν τὸ σκέλος· βοῶς δὲ ἑννέα σάρκας καὶ τὸ δέρμα.
 τῶι δὲ τῷ Εὐρυσάκῳ ἱερεῖ ἱερεῶσυνα ΠΠ δραχμά
 35 ς· εἰς πελανὸν ἀμφοτέρωσιν ΠΠ δραχμάς· σκέλος καὶ
 αὐτὸ δέσματος ἐν Εὐρυσακείῳ ΔΠΠ δραχμάς· τούτ
 ων τὸ ἡμυσν ἑκατέρως συμβάλλεσθαι· τῶι Ἡρωὶ τῶ
 ι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλῇ τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν τὸ δέρμα
 καὶ τὸ σκέλος. νέμειν δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἱ
 40 ερεῖαις ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὅπο ἂν ἕκαστοι ἱερεῶντ

αι μερίδα παρ' ἑκατέρων. τὸς ἄρτος ἐς Σκιράδος ν
 ἔμειν κατὰ τάδε, ἀφελόντας ἐξ ἀπάντων τὸς νομι
 ζομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια· κήρυκι ἄρ
 τον, Ἀθηναῖς ἱερεῖαι ἄρτον, Ἡρακλῆος ἱερεῖ ἄρτο
 ν, Πανδρόσο καὶ Ἀγλαῦρο ἱερεῖαι ἄρτον, Κοροτρό
 φο καὶ καλαθηφόρῳ ἄρτον, κώπαις ἄρτον· τῶν δὲ ἄ
 λλων νέμεσθαι τὰ ἡμίσεα ἑκατέρως. ἄρχοντα δὲ κ
 ληρῶν ἐμ μέρει παρ' ἑκατέρων ὅστις καταστήσει
 τὸς ὠσκοφόρος καὶ τὰς δειπνοφόρος μετὰ τῆς ἱε
 ρείας καὶ τῷ κήρυκος κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ταῦτα δὲ ἂν
 ἀγράψαι ἐς στήλῃ κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρως καὶ στήσα
 ι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς τῆς Σκιράδος. τὸν δὲ αὖ
 τὸν ἱερεῖα εἶναι τῷ Εὐρυσάκει καὶ τῷ Ἡρῳ τῷ
 ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλῇ. ἐὰν δέ τι δέῃ ἐπισκευεῖσθαι τῶν ἱε
 ρῶν ἐπισκευάζειν κοινῇ συμβαλλ[λ]ομένους τὸ ἡμ
 υσν ἑκατέρως. ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος οἱ ἐκ τῶ
 ν Ἑπταφυλῶν παρέσχον ἄρχοντα. τὰ δὲ γραμματεῖ
 α κοινὰ εἶναι ἀ[μφ]οτέρων ἅπαντα. τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐργά
 ζεσθαι τὸμ μεμι[σ]θωμένον ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ ὁ χρόν
 ος ὃν ἐμισθώσατο, ἀποδιδόντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν μίσ
 θωσιν ἑκατέροις. τὸ δὲ πρόθυμα τῷ ἀμίλλῳ ἐμ μέρ
 ει ἑκατέρως κατάρχεσθαι· τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ ἡμίσε
 α ἑκατέρως λαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν δερμάτων. τὴν δὲ ἰ
 ερεωσύνην τῷ κήρυκος εἶναι Θρασυκλῆος κατὰ τ
 ἄ πάτρια. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων ἀπάντων ἄφε
 ῖσθαι τῶν τε ἰδίῳν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν εἰς τὸν Ὁ Βοηδ
 ρομῶνα μῆνα τὸν ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος. ^{vv}

vacat

Ἐπὶ Διφίλῳ Διοπείθους Σουνιέως Σαλαμινίοις ἄρχ
 οντος οἷδε ὤμοσαν Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου· Διο
 πείθης Φασαργίδο, Φιλόνεως Ἀμεινονίκου, Χαλκιδ
 εὺς Ἀνδρομένους, Χαριάδης Χαρικλῆος, Θεῶφάνης
 Ζωγράφους, Ἡγίας Ἡγησίου, Ἀμεινίας Φιλίνο. Ἐπὶ Ἀν
 τιθένης Ἀντιγένους Ἀχαριέως ἄρχοντος Σαλαμι
 νίοις οἷδε ὤμοσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν· Θρασυκλῆς Θρά
 σωνος Βοντιά, Στρατοφῶν Στράτωνος Ἀγρυ, Μελίττιος
 Ἐξηγεστίδου Βοντιά, Ἀρίσταρχος Δημοκλέους Ἀχαρ, ^v
 Ἀρκέων Εὐμηλίδου Ἀχαρ, Χαιρέστρατος Πανκλείδῳ Ἐ
 πικηφί, Δήμων Δημαρέτο Ἀγρυλῇ. *vacat*
 Ἀρχέλεως εἶπεν· ὅπως Σαλαμίνιοι τὰ ἱερὰ θύωσι αἰεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς
 καὶ τοῖς Ἡρώσι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ

- γίγνητα[ι] ἐφ' οἷς διήλλαξαν οἱ διαλλακταὶ ἀμφοτέρους καὶ οἱ
 αἰρεθέντες ὥμοσαν, ἐψηφίσθαι Σαλαμινί
 οἱς τὸν ἄρχοντα Ἀρίσταρχον ἐγγράψαι τὰς θυσίας ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς
 τιμὰς τῶν ἱερέων εἰς τὴν στήλην ἐν ἑ
 αἱ διαλλαγαὶ εἰσιν ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἄρχοντες αἰεὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων εἰδῶσι
 ὅ τι δεῖ ἀργύριον συνβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὰ[ς]
 θυσίας ἀπάσας ἑκατέρους ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐφ'
 Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ στήσαι τὴν στήλην ἐν τῷ
 85 Εὐρυσακείῳ. Μουνιχιῶνος. ἐπὶ Πορθμῷ. Κουροτρόφῳ αἶγα Δ,
 Ἰολέῳ οἷν δλόχαντον ΔΓ: Ἀλκμήνῃ οἷν
 ΔΗ, Μαίῃ οἷν ΔΗ, Ἡρακλεῖ βοῦν ΜΔΔ, ἥρῳ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλῇ οἷν ΔΓ,
 ἥρῳ ἐπ' Ἀντισάρα χοῖρον ΗΗΗΗ, ἥρῳ ἐπὶ
 Πυργιλίῳ χοῖρον ΗΗΗΗ, Ἰων(ι) οἷν θύειν ἐναλλὰξ παρ' ἔτος.
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ οἷς ἡ πόλις δίδωσιν ἐκ κύρβευ[ν]
 Δ. ὀγδόει ἐπὶ δέκα Εὐρυσάκ[ει]: ἔν: ΔΔΔΔ. ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖ(ς) καὶ εἰς
 τέλλα ΗΗ. Ἐκατονβαιῶνος. Παραθηναίοις Ἀθηνᾶ
 ἔν: ΔΔΔΔ. ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ εἰς τέλλα ΗΗ. Μεταγεινιῶνος.
 ἐβδόμῃ Ἀπόλλωνι Πατρώῳ ἔν: ΔΔΔΔ, Ἀητοῖ χοῖρο[ν]
 90 [Η]ΗΗΗ, Ἀρτέμιδι χοῖρον ΗΗΗΗ, Ἀθηνᾶ ἀγελάαι χοῖρον ΗΗΗΗ.
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ εἰς τέλλα ΗΗΗΗ. Βοηδρομιῶνος. Ποσει
 δῶν Ἰπποδρομίῳ ἔν: ΔΔΔΔ, ἥρῳ Φαίῃ χοῖρ^{ον} ΗΗΗΗ, ἥρῳ Τεύκρῳ
 χοῖρον ΗΗΗΗ, ἥρῳ Νανσεῖρῳ χοῖρον ΗΗ[ΗΗ].
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τέλλα ΗΗ. Πυανοψιῶνος. ἔκτει Θησεῖ ἔν ΔΔΔΔ.
 εἰς τέλλα ΗΗ. Ἀπατουρίοις Αἰὶ Φρατρῷ ἔν ΔΔΔΔ.
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τέλλα ΗΗ. Μαιμακτηριῶνος. Ἀθηνᾶ Σκιράδι οἷν
 ἐνκύμονα ΔΗ, Σκίρῳ οἷν ΔΓ. ξύλα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ΗΗ[Η].
 κεφάλαιον οὗ δεῖ ἀναλίσκειν ἀμφοτέρους ἐς ἅπαντα τὰ ἱερά ΜΔΔΔΗΗ. ταῦτα
 θύειν κοινῇ ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως τῆς γῆς τῆς τῆ(ς) ἐφ' Ἡρακλ[εῖῳ]
 95 [ἐπ]ὶ Σορίῳ, ἀργύριον συμβαλλομένους ἑκατέρους ἐς ἅπαντα τὰ ἱερά. ἐὰν
 δέ τις εἴπει ἢ ἄρχων ἐπιψηφίσει τούτων τι καταλ[ῶ]
 [σ]αῖ ἢ τρέψει ποι ἄλλοσε τὸ ἀργύριον, ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι τῷ γένει
 ἅπαντι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδίαι ὑπὸ
 δικὸν καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ Σαλαμινίων. *vacat*

TRANSLATION

Gods

In the archonship of Charikleides at Athens. The arbitrators (*diaitetai*), Stephanos of Myrrhinous, Kleagoras of Acharnai, Aristogeiton of Myrrhinous, Euthykritos of Lamptrai, and Kephisodotos of Aithalidai, settled the disputes between the Salaminioi of the

Heptaphylai and the Salaminioi from Sounion on the following terms, both parties being mutually in agreement that the decision of the arbitrators was good: the priesthoods shall be common to both for all time, namely those of Athena Skiras, Herakles at Porthmos, Eurysakes, Aglauros and Pandrosos and Kourotrophos. When one of the priestesses or priests dies a successor shall be elected by lot from both groups taken together. Those thus designated shall officiate on the same terms as those who held the priesthoods aforetime. The land at the Herakleion at Porthmos and the Hale and the agora in Koile shall be divided into two equal parts and each party shall receive as its portion one, which it shall bound by markers. They shall sacrifice to the gods and heroes as follows: such victims as the state furnishes from the treasury or as the Salaminioi happen to receive from the *oschophoroi* or the *deipnophoroi*, these both parties shall sacrifice in common and each shall receive half of the flesh raw. Such victims, on the other hand, as the Salaminioi were wont to sacrifice from rentals they shall sacrifice from their own funds according to their ancient custom, each party contributing half for all the sacrifices.

The gifts of honor herein specified shall be paid to the priests and priestesses: to the priest of Herakles as *hierosyna* 30 drachmas, for *pelanos* 3 drachmas; of these sums the half shall be contributed by each party. Of the victims which he sacrifices for the corporation he shall receive, of pelted animals the skin and the leg, of animals singed the leg; of an ox nine pieces of flesh and the skin. To the priest of Eurysakes as *hierosyna* 6 drachmas, for *pelanos* for both cults 7 drachmas, in lieu of the legs and the skins in the Eurysakeion 13 drachmas; of these sums each party shall contribute the half; of the victims sacrificed to the hero at the Hale he shall receive the skin and the leg. To the priests and the priestesses in the shrines in which each officiates there shall be given by each party a portion. The wheaten loaves in the shrine of Skiras they shall distribute as follows, after setting apart from the whole number those customarily set apart according to ancestral practice: to the herald a loaf, to the priestess of Athena a loaf, to the priest of Herakles a loaf, to the priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos a loaf, to the *kalathephoros* of Kourotrophos also a loaf, to the millers a loaf; of the rest each group shall receive the half. They shall designate by lot from each party in turn an official (archon) who shall appoint the *oschophoroi* and the *deipnophoroi* in collaboration with the priestess and the herald according to ancestral custom. Both parties shall inscribe the foregoing regulations on a common stele and set it up in the shrine of Athena Skiras.

The same person shall be priest of Eurysakes and of the hero at the Hale. If anything in the shrines should be in need of repairs they shall repair it by common action, each contributing the half of what is required. (The men from the Heptaphylai furnished the official [archon] in the archonship of Charikleides.) All the records shall be common to both parties. Until the period of his lease lapses the person who has the contract to till the land shall till it, paying half the rental to each party. Each party shall perform in turn the sacrifice which precedes the contest and each party shall receive

the half of the flesh and skins. The priestly office of herald shall belong to Thrasykles according to ancient custom. All other charges affecting both individuals and the corporation up to the month of Boedromion of Charikleides' archonship shall be dropped.

vacat

In the archonship for the Salaminioi of Diphilos, son of Diopeithes, of Sounion the following members of the Salaminioi from Sounion took the oath: Diopeithes son of Phasyrkides, Philoneos son of Ameinonikos, Chalkideus son of Andromenes, Chariades son of Charikles, Theophanes son of Zophanes, Hegias son of Hegesias, Ameinias son of Philinos. In the archonship for the Salaminioi of Antisthenes, son of Antigenes, of Acharnai the following members of those from the Heptaphylai took the oath: Thrasykles, son of Thrason, of Boutadai, Stratophon, son of Straton, of Agryle, Melittios, son of Exekestides, of Boutadai, Aristarchos, son of Demokles, of Acharnai, Arkeon, son of Eumelides, of Acharnai, Chairestratos, son of Pankleides, of Epikēphisia, Demon, son of Demaretos, of Agryle.

Archeleos moved: in order that the Salaminioi may ever sacrifice to the gods and heroes according to ancestral custom, and that effect may be given to the terms on which the mediators (*diallaktai*) adjusted the differences between the two groups and to which the persons chosen took the oath, be it decreed by the Salaminioi that the archon Aristarchos inscribe all the sacrifices and the stipends of the priests on the stele on which are the terms of settlement (*diallagai*), so that the archons succeeding one another in office for both parties from time to time may know the amount of money each party must contribute for all the sacrifices from the rental of the land at the Herakleion; and [be it further decreed] that he set up the stele in the Eurysakeion.

Mounichion. At Porthmos: to Kourotrophos a goat, 10 drachmas; to Ioleos a sheep burnt whole, 15 drachmas; to Alkmene a sheep, 12 drachmas; to Maia a sheep, 12 drachmas; to Herakles an ox, 70 drachmas; to the hero at the Hale a sheep, 15 drachmas; to the hero at Antisara a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to the hero at Pyrgilion a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to Ion to sacrifice a sheep alternately every other year. Wood for the sacrifices and for those sacrifices which the state gives in accordance with the laws, 10 drachmas. On the eighteenth of the month: to Eurysakes a pig, 40 drachmas. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas.

Hekatombaion. At the Panathenaia: to Athena a pig, 40 drachmas. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas.

Metageitnion. On the seventh: to Apollo Patroos a pig, 40 drachmas; to Leto a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to Artemis a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to Athena *agelaa* a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas, 3 obols.

Boedromion. To Poseidon *hippodromios* a pig, 40 drachmas; to the hero Phaiax a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols; to the hero Teukros a suckling pig, 3 drachmas,

3 obols; to the hero Nauseiros a suckling pig, 3 drachmas, 3 obols. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas.

Pyanopsion. On the sixth: to Theseus a pig, 40 drachmas. Incidentals, 3 drachmas. At the Apatouria: to Zeus Phratrios a pig, 40 drachmas. Wood for the sacrifices and incidentals, 3 drachmas.

Maimakterion. To Athena Skiras a pregnant ewe, 12 drachmas; to Skiros a sheep, 15 drachmas. Wood for the altar, 3 drachmas.

Total of the money which both parties have to spend on all the sacrifices, 530 drachmas, 3 obols.

These sacrifices they are to make in common from the rental of the land at the Herakleion at Sounion, each party contributing money for all the sacrifices. If any one moves, or any archon puts a motion, to abrogate any of these provisions or to divert the money to any other purpose, he shall be accountable to the whole *genos* and likewise to the priests and liable to an action which may be instituted privately by any one of the Salaminioi who wishes.

NOTES

In certain particulars the stone-cutter was negligent. He failed to incise all or parts of particular letters. Such omissions never leave us in doubt as to the words intended. I shall note first the instances which occur in the *diallagai* and the list of jurors (ll. 1–79). There are only three cases of total omissions: in l. 2 the omicron of the archon's name, in l. 66 the omega of *ιδίων*, and in l. 72 the omicron of *Θεοφάνης*. Cognate with these is the omission of the rounded strokes in l. 21 of the rho of *ᾠσοφόρον*, in ll. 32 and 38 of the beta of *λαμβάνειν*, and in l. 67 of the rho of *ἔρχοντος*. Another type of partial omissions is more common—the neglect to inscribe the short strokes of letters which require them. Such errors are found, in the alphas of l. 10 (*Ἀθηνῆας*), l. 18 (*νείμασΟΛι*, *διχῆστήν*), ll. 29 and 35 (*πέλῆνον*), l. 32 (*λῆμῖάνειν*), l. 58 (*ἐργῆζεσθαι*), l. 73 (*Ῥμεινίας*), l. 75 (*Θρῆσνικῆς*), l. 77 (*Ῥρίστῆρχος*), and l. 78 (*Ῥχαρ*); in the epsilons of l. 5 (*ἱερίῃας*), l. 55 (*συμβαλλομῖνος*), l. 61 (*Ῥμῖέρει*), and l. 74 (*Ῥχαρῖως*); in the kappa of l. 33 (*σάκῃας*); in the mu of l. 61 (*πρόθυλα*, *ἐνίλλο*, *Ῥμῖέρει*), and in the eta of l. 79 (*Ἐπιπλήρι*). The explanation of these two types of errors has been discovered by Dr. Sterling Dow: 1) the failure of the stone-cutter to use immediately the narrower chisel required for short strokes and his lack of care to use it in all instances when he laid down the chisel commonly employed and took up the tool of lesser width; 2) his tendency not to etch in with the corner of his chisel rounded strokes as they occurred. This permitted them to be overlooked later. The work did not receive a final revision. No corrections whatsoever were made. Two excessive nus are left (ll. 17 and 55). Twice he failed to dot the theta (ll. 18 and 62); and in the second part of the inscription, to which I now turn, he omitted (without leaving space) the final iota in *Ἰων(ι)* (l. 88) and the final sigma in the last *τῆ(ς)* in l. 94.

The decree of the Salaminioi (ll. 80–97), of which the letters are much more crowded (below, p. 64), manifests these same types of errors, some of them in great profusion. Twice letters are wholly omitted (with space left vacant): the sigma of *ἱεροῖς* in l. 88 and the second omicron of the first *χοῖρον* in l. 91. In the preposition *ἐφ'* in l. 89 the rounded stroke of the phi and the short strokes of the epsilon are both omitted. In the same preposition in l. 90 the short strokes of the epsilon are left out, as in the last *ἐπί* of l. 85 and in *Ἡρακλείω* in l. 84. The preposition *εἰς* in the formula *εἰς τᾶλλα* in l. 88 is noticeably clipped: it appears as *ἑῖ*, while the alphas of *τᾶλλα* lack the cross-bars in ll. 88, 90, and 93. The cross-bars of the etas are lacking in the third *τῆς*, the *στῆσαι*, and the *στήλην* (twice) of l. 84; in *Ἀητοῖ* of l. 89, and *Θησεῖ* of l. 92. The sloping strokes of the mu are not cut in *Σαλαμίνιοι*, as the word appears in l. 80. It serves no useful purpose to list all the instances (50 or more) in which the cross-bars of the alphas are omitted. Toward the end the stone-cutter rarely put them in. A few cases may be noticed: *Ἀγ*Λ in l. 85, *Μαί*Λι and *ΛΛ*ῖΙ (*ἄλλῃ*) in l. 86, *Ἀγε*λῶΙ in l. 90, and in l. 95 *ΑΓΛΝΙΔΤΑΙΙΙΙΔΙΔΝ*, which Meritt reads (undoubtedly correctly) *ἅπαντα τὰ ἱερά. ἐάν*.

The cross strokes of the sign for drachma (Ϝ) are obviously omitted in l. 89 (III = ϜϜ) and l. 90 ([Ϝ]IIII = ϜϜIII).

This record of the Salaminioi is supplemented by another of the same general character, dated on the basis of the writing about a century later. It is as follows:

2. Stele of Hymettian marble, found on February 15, 1936, in Section IIΘ.

Height, 0.77 m.; width (at top), 0.25 m., (at bottom), 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.07–0.085 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

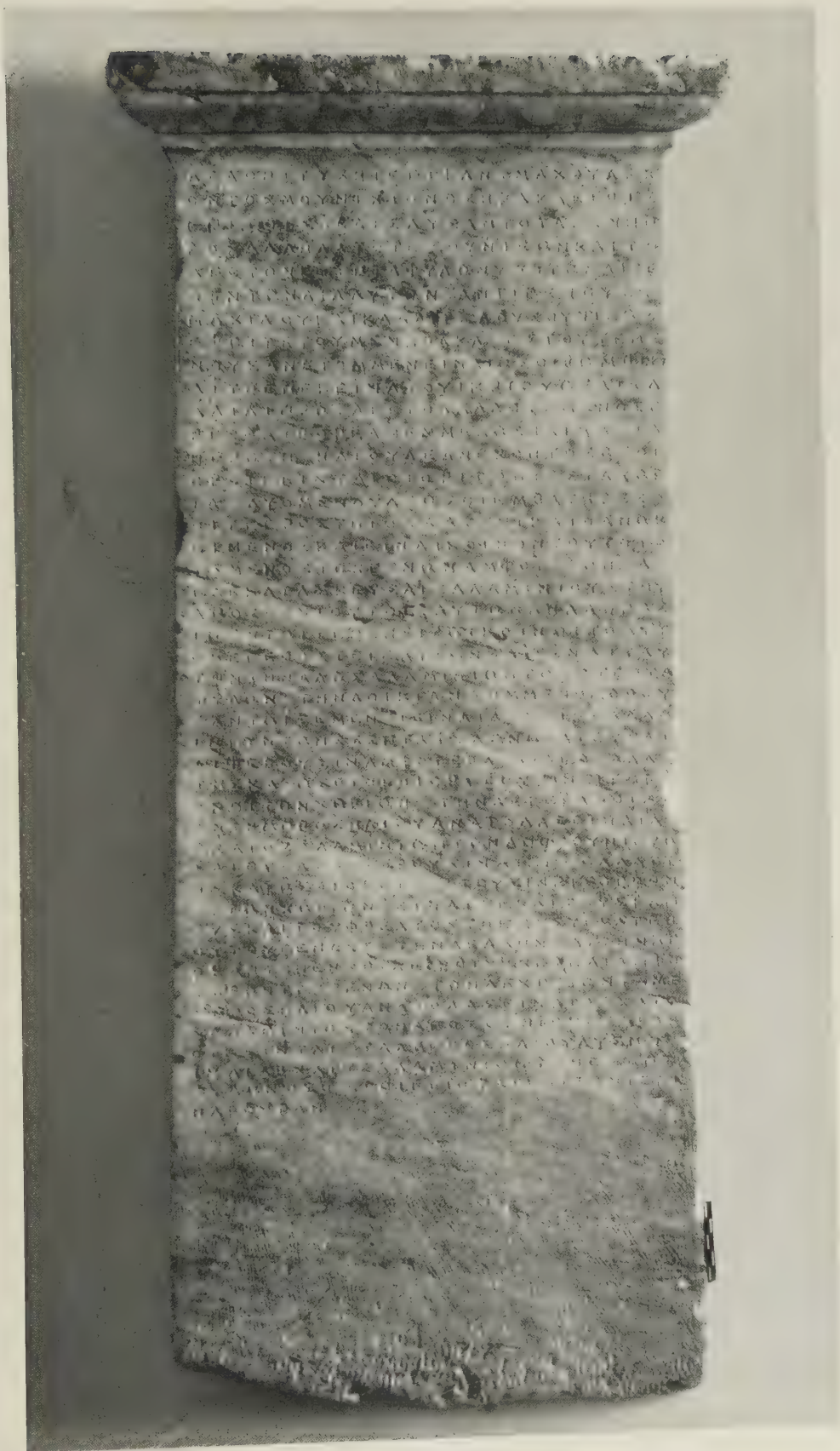
Inv. No. I 3394.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἐπὶ Φανομάχου ἄρχ
οντος. Μουνιχιῶνος Ἡρακλείοις.
ἐπὶ τοῖσδε διελύσαντο τὰ γένη π
ρὸς ἄλληλα, τό τε Σουνιέων καὶ τὸ
5 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ Ἑπταφυλῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν αἰρε
θέντων διαλυτῶν, ἂν Ἀντιγέρον Σι
μαχίδου καὶ Καλλιτέλου Σουνιέως,
ἐφ' ὅτι τοῦ μὲν Ἡρακλέος τοῦ τεμέ
ρους ἔνετο μὲν εἶναι ὡς οἱ βωμοὶ κ
10 αὶ τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ἱερίου ὡς αἱ ἐλ
άαι αἱ πρῶται. ἢ τὸ δ' ἄλλο τέμενος ὡ
ρίσθαι βορρᾶθεμ μὲν ὡς ἡ αἵμασιὰ
ἢ πρώτη, ἢ ἡλίον δὲ ἀνέχοντος ὡς οἱ
δροὶ κεῖνται οἱ δριζόντες τὰ χωρ
15 ία, ἢ δυομένου δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐμβατήρες ἢ

οἱ τε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ὁ ἄνω κ
 εἶμενος, καὶ εἶναι κοινὸν τοῦτο τὸ
 τέμενος τῶν γενῶν ἀμφοτέρων. ὃ ἄλ
 ω δὲ κατασκευάσαι Σαλαμινίους τοὺς
 20 ς ἀπὸ Σουνίου τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀναλώμασ
 ιν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῷ κοινῷ τὸ αὐτ
 ὸ μέγεθος τεῖ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ εἶναι ταύ
 τὴν τὴν ἄλω Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἐξ Ἑπτα
 φυλῶν. ὃ τὴν δ' οἰκίαν τῇ μὲν δημορσοῦ
 25 σαν τῷ τεμένει εἶναι ἀρχαίῳ Σαλαμ
 ινίων τῶν ἐξ Ἑπταφυλῶν ὡς αἱ θύραι
 αἱ φέρουσιν ἀμφοτέραι αἱ ἀπὸ θαλάτ
 τῃς καὶ ὡς οἱ ὅροι ὀρίζουσιν εἰς ὄρ[θ]
 ὸν οἱ τῶν χωρίων. ὃ τὴν δ' ἐτέραν οἰκί
 30 αν τῇ πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνατολᾷ εἶναι ἀ
 ρχαίῳ Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου ὡ
 ς αἱ θύραι αἱ φέρουσιν αἱ ἀπὸ θαλάττ
 τῃς καὶ ὡς οἱ ὅροι ὀρίζουσιν εἰς ὄρθον
 οἱ τῶν χωρίων. ὃ εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κήπ
 35 ους καὶ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ ἤμισυ ἑκατέρω
 ου τοῦ γένους, ὃ τὴν δὲ ἄλλην καὶ τὴν ἀγ
 οράν τὴν ἐν Κοίλῃ κοινήν εἶναι ἀμφο
 τέρων τῶν γενῶν, ὃ τῶν δὲ χωρίων τὰ μὲ
 ν πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνατολᾷ εἶναι ἀρχαίῳ
 40 Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου ὡς οἱ ὅρ
 οι κεῖνται. ὃ τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμᾷς ε
 ἶναι ἀρχαίῳ Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἐξ Ἑπτα
 φυλῶν ὡς οἱ ὅροι κεῖνται, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰ
 ν ἄρουραν. vacat

TRANSLATION

Good Luck. In the archonship of Phanomachos, in Mounichion, at the Herakleia. The
 gene were reconciled to each other, namely that of the Sounians and that of those from
 Heptaphylai, by the mediators (*dialyltai*) chosen by them, Antigene of Semachidai and
 Kalliteles of Sounion, on the following terms: of the temenos of Herakles the part including
 the altars and what lies beyond the railing as far as the first olive trees shall be reserved
 for sacred uses. The rest of the temenos is to be bounded, on the north by the first
 stone wall, on the east by the markers which bound the fields, on the west by the *embateres*,
 both those at the sea and the one which lies above (or inland); and this temenos shall



belong to both gene. The Salaminioi from Sounion shall make a threshing floor at their own expense in the common temenos of the same size as their own, and this threshing floor shall belong to the Salaminioi of Heptaphylai. The house which abuts on the temenos shall be part of the permanent capital of the Salaminioi of Heptaphylai as the gates which lead on both sides(?) from the sea and the markers of the fields (projected?) in a straight line bound it. The second house, the one to the east, shall be part of the permanent capital of the Salaminioi from Sounion as the gates which lead from the sea and the markers of the fields (projected?) in a straight line bound it. The gardens and half the well shall belong to each genos. The Hale and the agora in Koile shall be common to both gene. Of the fields those to the east shall be part of the permanent capital of the Salaminioi from Sounion as the markers lie, while those to the west shall be part of the permanent capital of the Salaminioi of Heptaphylai as the markers lie; also the sacred glebe.

COMMENTARY

THE SALAMINIOI—THEIR ORGANIZATION, FUNCTIONS, ORIGIN

The genos of the Salaminioi has been known to us hitherto only through an honorary decree published in *I.G.*, II², 1232 and dated in the fourth century B.C. (*fin.s. IV*, Kirchner). This connected it with the cult of Eurysakes and Athena Skiras. Now we have much new information.

In 363 B.C. the corporation consisted of two organized branches, οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν and οἱ ἀπὸ Σουνίου. There was then only one genos. A century later each branch had become a genos without, apparently, dissolving the bonds which united it with the other as Σαλαμίνιοι. In 363 B.C. the name genos is reserved for the comprehensive organization; in *ca.* 250 B.C. it is reserved for the two sections. In the later document no abstract term is used to define the united group. It is a new fact, which may have significance for gentile origins in general, that by a process of fission two gene replaced one.

The division of the genos into two branches and the organization of each under its own executive antedated 363 B.C. This executive consisted of an annually changing civil magistrate (archon). In addition, the genos possessed a religious staff consisting of two priests and two priestesses. The priests, one of Eurysakes and the other of Herakles, were, doubtless, primarily, though not exclusively, gentile; the priestesses, one of Athena Skiras and the other of Aglauros and Pandrosos and Kourotrophos, were, probably, primarily, though not exclusively, public (below, pp. 20, 48, 57). The problem whether prior to 363 B.C. all four belonged to the genos as a whole, or some, or all, of them to its branches severally, will be taken up later (below, pp. 54, 57, 59).

One of the two groups constituting the genos in 363 B.C. consisted of men whose ancestors, in known instances, lived in 508/7 B.C. in Acharnai, Boutadai, Epikhephisia, and Agryle (ll. 75–79). The last three of these demes belonged to the Asty, Acharnai to the Mesogeia. The name of this group is tantalizing. In 363 B.C. it is ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φυλῶν

or *τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν*, in *ca.* 250 B.C. *ἐξ Ἑπταφυλῶν*. If "the seven phylai" are seven of the Kleisthenian tribes (what else can they be?), the name arose simultaneously with, or subsequent to, the creation of these units. It would be obvious that the name refers to the Kleisthenian phylai if each one of the seven jurors of the group (ll. 75–79) came from a different tribe. But such is not the case. Five of them belonged to Oineis and the other two to Erechtheis. Yet we cannot conclude from this disparity of tribal representation that the group was not related to seven of the Kleisthenian phylai. The jurors were manifestly selected without reference to membership in tribes or demes. The name Heptaphylai does not correspond in any perceptible way to the internal structure of the group, which acts throughout as an indivisible unit, unless the fact that the jurors are seven in number is a survival from a time when tribal apportionment of functions was a reality.

We have no means of determining which the seven phylai were. Erechtheis and Oineis were certainly of the number. So in all probability was Aiantis. Not only did Phaleron belong to this phyle, but the phyle used the Eurysakeion as its hieron. We may infer with hesitation that the tribes in the territory of which the agora of the Salaminioi and the Eurysakeion were situated—Hippothontis and Kekropis—were also of the number. The arbitrators (ll. 6 ff.) were doubtless chosen two by each side and one in common, but, as other cases of arbitration show ([Dem.], LIX, 45 ff.; 71 ff.), the arbitrators need stand in no tribal or demotic relation to the litigants. In the case recorded in § 45 of the oration against Neaira the two contestants and the three arbitrators all came from different demes and phylai. Hence a scrutiny of the demes and phylai of the arbitrators is valueless in this connection. It may be thought that the phyle to which Sounion belonged (Leontis) was not one of the seven; but this is uncertain, since other demes of Leontis may have had members *ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φυλῶν*; and such was certainly the case if, as seems probable, Alcibiades, whose deme Skambonidai belonged to Leontis, was a Salaminios.¹ Without a catalogue of this branch of the genos, in default of other information, we cannot determine the seven.

But why seven? A deliberate exclusion of phyletai from Leontis is thinkable in view of the constitution of one whole branch from Sounians; but why exclude phyletai of two other tribes? A planned limitation of membership to seven phylai is inexplicable. The conclusion seems inevitable that it was not planned, but came about naturally. Nor is it difficult to see how the anomaly arose. We have simply to assume that at the time the name Heptaphylai was applied the gennetai were so distributed in Attica that, when the Sounians were segregated, the rest belonged in fact to seven phylai alone. The implication of this assumption is clear: the genos of the Salaminioi existed before 508/7 B.C.² If it

¹ Plato, *I Alcib.*, 121; cf. Wade-Gery, *Class. Quart.*, 1931, p. 85; below, p. 51.

² This date would have to be put back 30 or 40 years if Beloch's contention were accepted that the ten phylai were created, not by Kleisthenes, but by Peisistratos (*Griech. Gesch.*, I 2², pp. 328 ff.). Needless to say, I do not accept it. Aristotle's statement (*Ath. Pol.*, 21, 4), rejected by Beloch, that the trittyes were grouped by threes in phylai by means of sortition, presupposes the equality of the trittyes. This,

came into being later all ten phylai would doubtless have been represented in it. The question remains open whether the Sounians, organized separately, were a part of it before the reforms of Kleisthenes. Or were they a wholly independent corporation, united with the Salaminioi at some indeterminate date before 363 B.C.? Or were they simply members of the Salaminioi until the creation of the Kleisthenian phylai manifested the desirability of reorganizing the *genos* in two branches?

As would be expected of a group of *gennetai*, among its known members in 363 B.C. some are prominent people. Thrasykles, son of Thrason, of Boutadai was probably descended from Thrason of Boutadai, Hellenotamias in 410/09 B.C. (*P.A.*, 7383); Stratophon, son of Straton and Demon, son of Demaretos, both of Agryle appear in the phratry list of contributors *I.G.*, II², 2345 (*P.A.*, 12957, 3734); Aristarchos, son of Demokles, of Acharnai was possibly the kinsman of Philokedes, son of Aristarchos, of Acharnai, Areopagite in 305/4 B.C. (*P.A.*, 14508, *I.G.*, II², 1492, l. 128; 1204); Arkeon, son of Eumelides, of Acharnai was the father of Eumelides, son of Arkeon, of Acharnai, Tamias of the Goddess in 343/2 B.C. (*P.A.*, 5830; *I.G.*, II², 1443).

The archon of the Salaminioi from Sounion, Diphilos, son of Diopeithes, of Sounion belonged to a well-known family. He was probably the father of the general Diopeithes who was active in the Hellespont between *ca.* 345 and 339 B.C. and grandfather of Diophanes (prytanis in *I.G.*, II², 1752) and Diphilos, trierarch in 325/4 and 323/2 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1629, l. 774; 1631, l. 134). It was probably for him, rather than for his grandson of the same name, as Kirchner states (*P.A.*, 4467), that Demosthenes *ἐγχαψεν τὴν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνατεθεισομένην εἰσόδα* (*Din.*, I, 43). The Diphilos (*P.A.*, 4466), a rich mine owner who was condemned on suit of Lyeurgus,¹ and of whose confiscated silver mine at Thorikos we have a record in *I.G.*, II², 1587, was probably a kinsman; and the same may be the case with Diopeithes, son of Phasyrkides, one of the jurors for the Salaminioi from Sounion. All seven jurors are listed without demoties. Obviously they were all Sounians. We may connect Philoneos son of Ameinonikos with Ameinonikos of Sounion (*P.A.*, 705), Chalkideus son of Andromenes with Andromenes, son of Chalkideus, of Sounion, prytanis in *I.G.*, II², 1752 (*P.A.*, 888), while Hegias son of Hegesias was probably the father of Hegesias, son of Hegias, of Sounion, Tamias of the Goddess in 349/8 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1436). He belonged to a well-known family.²

The forebears of the Salaminioi from Sounion lived in 508/7 B.C. compactly in the district which was organized as the deme of Sounion. We do not know how widely in Attica their descendants were scattered in 363 B.C. Some had doubtless migrated to the

however, is all but proved by *Hesperia*, V, 1936, No. 10 (ll. 153 ff., p. 402), where we learn that each of the three epimeletai of Aiantis came from a different trittys, and that one epimeletes collected $666\frac{2}{3}$ drachmas of "sacred money of Aias," or "of the phyle." Obviously each of the other two collected $666\frac{2}{3}$ also. $666\frac{2}{3}$ is unintelligible except as the third of 2000.

¹ [Plut.], *X Orat. vit.*, 843 d; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, pp. 4 f.; A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, p. 17, n. 2.

² For stemma see Kirchner, *P.A.*, 6330.

capital, but it is probable that the great majority of them were still domiciled in Sounion. The basis of the settlement made by the arbitrators in 363 B.C. was the full equality of the two branches of the *genos*. They were to share half and half alike in all properties, offices, distributions of sacrifices, and religious privileges. This does not prove the numerical equality of the two branches, but it excludes any marked disparity. As we have seen, both groups were alike prominent in their personnel. Sounion had four representatives in the Council of the Five Hundred.¹ Estimating the total citizen population of Attica in 360 B.C. at *ca.* 100,000, the total citizen population of Sounion would be *ca.* 800.² Of these *ca.* 200 would be men of the ages 18–59.³ The ratio of the well-to-do (potential *gennetai*) to the total is largely a matter of guess-work. The hoplites may have amounted to 50%.⁴ One hundred seems the outside figure for those from whom the Salaminioi were recruited. Since they furnished seven jurors they obviously formed a considerable fraction of the well-to-do men at Sounion.

Since the second branch of the Salaminioi comprised Sounians alone, it might be thought that the group was organized in 508/7 B.C. or later; for if it had been organized earlier some of its members would doubtless have moved to other districts of Attica before 508/7 B.C., and hence would have acquired other demotics on the establishment by Kleisthenes of the *demes*. But this point is not well taken. On migrating they might have settled in places organized as *demes* of the Heptaphylai. Hence prior to 508/7 B.C. there can have been Salaminioi both at Sounion and the urban and suburban districts of Athens. The *genos* of the Salaminioi, accordingly, may have existed prior to its organization in the two branches known to us, which is either Kleisthenian or post-Kleisthenian.

The name Salaminioi is appropriate in so far as two of the cults administered by the *genos*—those of Eurysakes and Athena Skiras—are concerned. The name Eurysakes is derived from the broad shield of Aias, his reputed father; that of Aias' father, Telamon, comes from the shield strap (*τελαμών*) or some distinguishing quality⁵ of his redoubtable son. "Beide, Vater und Sohn," (affirms Töpffer)⁶ "verdanken also ihre Existenz in der Sage erst der mythologisch völlig ausgebildeten Gestalt des Aias." In the epos Aias is designated "the son of Telamon" (*Il.*, XI, 563). Eurysakes is not mentioned, though the tower-like shield of Aias is described at length (*Il.*, VII, 219 ff.). In *Il.*, XVII, 132 it is called *σάκος ἐϋρόν*. The chances are that Eurysakes is a post-Homeric creation. He, and the derivation of his name are, of course, well known to Sophocles (*Ajax*, 575 *et passim*). He seemingly emerged in the time between Homer and the tragedian. In this interval, we may think, "the broad shield" of Aias came to be personalized as

¹ Gomme, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 75 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵ Wilamowitz, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 246; P. von der Mühl, *Der große Aias*, pp. 35 f.

⁶ *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 277 f.

Eurysakes, Aias' son, and Eurysakes came to find a local habitation in Melite in Athens. His shrine there, the Eurysakeion, existed before 508/7 B.C. (below, p. 18). Hence we can date his emergence yet earlier. If there had been, prior to his recognition, a *ἡρώων* in Melite of a nameless hero (like, for example, those at Hale, Antisara, and Pyrgilion), whose cult object was, perhaps, a shield, it is conceivable that he was identified as Eurysakes when a suitable occasion presented itself. The Eurysakeion was a temenos (Harpocr., s. v.), with an altar (Paus., I, 35, 3). It was situated in Melite (Harpocr., s. v. *Μελίτη*; cf. Plut., *Sol.*, 10), on the Kolonos Agoraios (Harpocr., s. v. *κολωνέτας*).¹ Since it lay in the city of Athens and was the preferred place of deposit of the published records of the Salaminioi we may think of it as the headquarters of the genos. There is thus a connection, which is probably genetic, between the recognition of Eurysakes and the Salaminioi.

It seems certain that the presence of Eurysakes in Melite was exploited by the Athenians to support their claim to Salamis. Eurysakes first comes into view in the period when the possession of the island was the object of the long struggle between Athens and Megara. Plutarch is our chief informant. He reports (*Sol.*, 10): *Φιλαῖος καὶ Εὐρυσάκης, Αἴαντος υἱοί, Ἀθήνησιν πολιτείας μεταλαμβάνοντες παρέδωκαν τὴν νῆσον αὐτοῖς καὶ κατέφυκον ὁ μὲν ἐν Βραυρωνί τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁ δ' ἐν Μελίτῃ, καὶ δῆμον ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαιδῶν ἔχουσιν, ὅθεν ἦν Πεισίστρατος*. Pausanias (I, 35, 2) connects the donation of Salamis to the Athenians with Philaios alone, but he makes Philaios the son of Eurysakes and grandson of Aias. According to Herodotus (VI, 35) and Pherekydes² Philaios was the son of Aias.³ Herodotus' further statement that Philaios was the first of the Philaidai to become an Athenian disconnects from Attica Aias and his ancestors, not Eurysakes and his descendants. Sophocles (*Ajax*, 530 ff.) seems to recognize Eurysakes as the only son of Aias. The version which makes Philaios the son of Aias and the sole donor of Salamis to Athens may have been devised *ad maiorem gloriam* of the Philaidai.⁴

It is of course a presupposition of this legend that Aias was the lord of Salamis. He appears as such only in two passages of Homer—*Il.*, II, 557 f. and VII, 198 f. Line 558 of the first passage (*στῆσε δ' ἔγων ἱν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες*) was recognized by Zenodotos as an Athenian interpolation,⁵ and, according to Plutarch (*Sol.*, 10), it was the opinion of most writers that Solon himself composed it and palmed it off as Homeric on the arbitrators who finally awarded Salamis to the Athenians. Naturally the Athenians viewed the report of its spuriousness as an idle tale. It is a suspicious circumstance that Homer connects Aias with Salamis only twice, and many scholars regard both references as interpolations. I am, however, disposed to accept the conclusion of Bethe,

¹ Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², pp. 44, n. 2; 168, n. 2; 368; Honigmann in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*, XI, 1111 ff.

² Marcellinus, *vit. Thucy.*, 3 (Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, I, p. 59); cf. below, p. 46, n. 1.

³ Cf. also Steph. Byz., s. v. *Φιλαΐδα*, and Tzetses, *Schol. on Lykophron*, 53.

⁴ Töpffer, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

⁵ Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

as formulated by von der Mühl:¹ "Zum Salaminier ist Aias der Telamonier bei Homer schließlich geworden, weil er schon vor Homer und ohne ihn auf Salamis Kult hatte." His worship in the Athenian cleruchy is well attested, as it should be if it were practised on the island before it passed over into Athenian hands,² and, what is more significant, he possessed a temenos in the old capital Ky[ehreia] (*I.G.*, II², 1035, ll. 31 f.).³ In the sixth century he was too strongly rooted in the island to be appropriated by the Athenians; hence they based their claim to be its rightful owner not on a donation by him, but by his sons.

The struggle of Athens and Megara for Salamis was ended by arbitration. Sparta was the mediator, and among the five arbitrators designated by her was Kleomenes.⁴ If this was the Spartan king of that name, as Beloch contends,⁵ the island became definitely Athenian, in all probability, between the expulsion of Hippias in 510 B.C. and the archonship of Isagoras in 508/7 B.C., approximately at the time of the dispatch of the Athenian cleruchy.⁶ Plutarch, as we have seen, assigns the award to the time of Solon, and makes him responsible for grounding Athens' case on the donation of Philaios and Eurysakes. In so doing he is probably antedating; but the invention of the Philaios-Eurysakes legend is doubtless considerably earlier than the final settlement, for we may be sure that the mythological propaganda preceded by some time the arbitration. And so did the constitution of the Salaminioi. It would have helped the cause of Athens throughout if they could point to the existence on Attic soil of Salaminioi, ostensibly descendants of Eurysakes.

There was no genos of Eurysakidai in Attica to parallel the genos of the Philaidai. Köhler's idea,⁷ already rejected by Töpffer,⁸ that Eurysakidai and Philaidai conjoined formed the Salaminioi, is now proved to be incorrect. The alleged descendants of Eurysakes called themselves, not Eurysakidai, but Salaminioi—a much more significant name. It was politically programmatic.

It is affirmed that the hieron of Aias as eponymos of the Kleisthenian phyle Aiantis was situated on Salamis.⁹ As authority for this affirmation Töpffer is cited,¹⁰ but no opinion

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff.; cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 246 f.

² *I.G.*, II², 1227, 1006, 1008, 1011; cf. Solders, *Die außerstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, pp. 45, 100 f.

³ The date is ca. 150 A.D.; cf. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, pp. 145 ff.; Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, p. 294. Dr. Dow tells me that the style of writing is imperial. For Kyehreus see Paus., I, 35, 1; 36, 1.

⁴ Plut., *Sol.*, 10; Aelian, *var. hist.*, VII, 19.

⁵ *Griech. Gesch.*, I, 2², p. 313, n. 2; cf. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian*, p. 257; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 871, n. 2; Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, p. 356, n. 1.

⁶ *I.G.*, I², 1; cf. Hiller, *ibid.*, p. 272.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, p. 265.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 289; cf. Hiller in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*, VI, 1352.

⁹ Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 974, n. 7.

¹⁰ Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, I, 926.

on the point is expressed by him. Wachsmuth¹ holds that the phylai did not hold their meetings (*ἀγοαί*) in the hiera of their eponymoi—a view which Busolt-Swoboda tacitly rejects, but which would be substantiated if it were proved that the hieron of Aiantis lay on Salamis. An Attic phyle could hardly have held its meetings outside Attica. A place of assembly on the island would have been most inconvenient for the great majority of the phyletai. Fortunately we now know that the Eurysakeion was the hieron of Aiantis. A stone containing a decree of this phyle (Ag. Inv. I 3625) was found along with our two records of the Salaminioi, and it too was set up in the Eurysakeion: so the phyle ordered. Aias was not an Athenian hero.² He was the only one of the eponymoi of the ten Kleisthenian phylai who, as Herodotus says (V, 66), was not a native but a neighbor and ally. On being adopted in 508/7 B.C. he was accommodated in the temenos of his son Eurysakes. Manifestly the Eurysakeion was well established at that date.

The name Salaminioi is also appropriate for the administrators of the cult of Athena Skiras. Its centre was Phaleron.³ Skiros shared Athena's altar there (I. 93). Philochoros⁴ locates at Phaleron τὸ τοῦ Σκίρου ἱερόν. Athena Skiras had a temple there.⁵ The oschophorion is defined by Hesychius (*s.v.*) as a τόπος Ἀθήνησιν Φαληροῖ ἐνθα τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν. Strabo⁶ tells us that Athena was called Skiras because Skiras was the ancient name of Salamis, thus making the island the original centre of this cult. There was a hieron of Athena Skiras on Salamis,⁷ situated, beyond all question, on the ἄκρον τὸ Σκιράδιον mentioned by Plutarch.⁸ Skiros, the founder of "the ancient shrine" of Athena Skiras at Phaleron according to Pausanias,⁹ was the eponymos of Skiron, a place on the Sacred way, near the crossing of the Kephisos,¹⁰ which played an important rôle in the celebration of the Skira (Skirophoria). Philochoros in the second book of his *Atthis* made him an Eleusinian seer who came originally from Dodona.¹¹ Another authority, Praxion,¹² presenting the Megarian point of view, identified him with Skiron, the allegedly misrepresented Megarian villain of the Theseus legend. Philochoros distinguished him from the Phalerian

¹ *Stadt Athen im Altertum*, II, 1, pp. 239 ff.

² If the lectisternium which the Athenians provided for Aias μετὰ πανοπλίας (Schol. Pind., *Nem.*, 2, 19) was held in Salamis—the question is open (von der Mühl, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 228)—we should have to conclude, on the evidence we possess, that the public cult of Aias was purely insular. His cult, as the eponymos of the phyle Aiantis (cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, No. 10, p. 402, ll. 153 ff.), doubtless centred in the Eurysakeion.

³ Paus., I, 1, 4; 36, 4; Hesych., *s.v.*

⁴ Plut., *Thes.*, 17, 6.

⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1232; Paus., I, 1, 4.

⁶ IX, 393.

⁷ Her., VIII, 94.

⁸ *Sol.*, 9; cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 477 ff.; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 f.

⁹ I, 36, 4.

¹⁰ Paus., *loc. cit.*; cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 488 f.; Gjerstad, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1929, p. 216; Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 f.

¹¹ Harpocr., Suid., Phot., *s.v.*; Paus., *loc. cit.*

¹² Plut., *Thes.*, 10.

Skiros, since he made the latter at home in Salamis.¹ Mythologically Skiros thus belongs in the geographically closely knit area of Megara-Eleusis-Salamis,² and is an intruder in Attica. One fact on which modern scholars are agreed is that Skiras was a Salaminian deity, taken over by the Athenians.³ Since Skiros shared her altar at Phaleron, he may have been her associate on the island also. Whether she was identified with Athena before being transplanted, or only on her arrival at Phaleron, we cannot say for certain. The latter is the view of Gjerstad.⁴ Skiras and Skiros plainly go together.⁵ The male member of the pair was not purely a figure of political mythology, without "kultische Beziehung."⁶ He was the recipient of an annual sacrifice at Phaleron offered by the Salaminioi (l. 93). Incidentally we may note that the Megarian Skiron is included among the ancestors of Eurysakes. The Megarians in their propaganda possibly claimed Salamis on the ground that Aias, the admitted lord of the island, was the great-grandson of their hero.⁷

Since 1885 the question has been debated whether Athena Skiras possessed a shrine at Skiron on the Sacred Way in addition to the one at Phaleron.⁸ Latterly the view has prevailed that she had only one—that the ancient testimony cited in favor of a second is the result of a double confusion, of Athena Skiras with Athena Polias and of the Skira (Skiraphoria) at Skiron with Skiras and Skiros at Phaleron.⁹ The case against a second hieron is strengthened by our document. This proves (ll. 40, 50 ff.) that the shrine of Athena Skiras over which the Salaminioi had jurisdiction (*I.G.*, II², 1232) was at Phaleron, not, as Gjerstad¹⁰ maintained against van der Loeff,¹¹ on Salamis. Van der Loeff's point is, accordingly, well taken, that the Salaminioi must have specified which of the two shrines they meant as the place of deposit of copies of their records if there was an alternative to the hieron at Phaleron. The Salaminioi had no concern with shrines, rites, or sacrifices on the island. We do not know who had charge of the temenos of Athena Skiras on the Skiradian promontory on Salamis. It may have been left to the natives.

¹ Plut., *Thes.*, 17, 6; cf. van der Kolf in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, 2. Reihe, III, p. 543.

² Hanell, *Megarische Studien*, p. 43, makes Salamis the original home of Skiros-Skiron; cf. Joh. Schmidt, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, 2. Reihe, III, p. 549.

³ Robert, *Hermes*, 1885, pp. 352 ff.; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, p. 291, n. d; Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 f.; Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie und Religionsgesch.*, p. 23; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁵ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1358, where a *ἡρωίνη* regularly accompanies a *ἡρώς*.

⁶ Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

⁷ Plut., *Thes.*, 10, 3; cf. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, I, 925 f.

⁸ Robert, *Hermes*, 1885, pp. 357 ff.; Rohde, *Hermes*, 1886, pp. 119 ff.; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 274 ff.; Farnell, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 391 f.

⁹ Gjerstad, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 ff.; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Hanell, *op. cit.*, p. 40. The ancient testimony is assembled by Farnell and Gjerstad. Joh. Schmidt in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, 2. Reihe, III, p. 548 and Geyer, *ibid.*, p. 545 affirm the existence of a second shrine at Skiron.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

¹¹ *Mnemosyne*, 1916, pp. 125 f.

The transplanting of Skiras to Phaleron is generally thought to synchronize with the definite occupation of the island by Athens.¹ The latest possible date is 510–508/7 B.C. (above, p. 17). We may think that on taking possession the Athenians adopted the goddess as part of the process of sacral unification exemplified in the reception of the cults of Brauron, Eleusis, Marathon, Eleutherai, Oropos.² To this same policy we may ascribe their adoption of Kychreus, the eponymos of Kychreia, to whom were given heroic honors in Athens. Nor can the choice of Aias as one of the eponymoi of the ten Kleisthenian phylai be differently motivated.

The possession by the Salaminioi of priesthoods of Eurysakes and Athena Skiras is thus readily intelligible; but what connection a *genos* so named could have with the cults of Aglauros and Pandrosos and of Herakles at Porthmos presents a problem. The connection of the Salaminioi with Aglauros and Pandrosos is noticeably tenuous. They offered sacrifices annually from their own funds to the other deities of whom their priests and priestesses were titular, Kouroutrophos (l. 85), Herakles (l. 86), Eurysakes (l. 88), Athena Skiras (l. 93), but none to Aglauros and Pandrosos. The priests of the *genos* receive special *gera* (*τιμαί*), but the priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos obtains only a portion (*μερίς*) of the sacrifices at which she officiates like all the priests and priestesses (ll. 39 ff.), and like them she obtains a loaf at the Oschophoria, but no *hierosyna*, no allowance for *pelanos*, and no skins or legs. In this respect she was like the priestess of Athena Skiras, who was obviously a public as well as a gentile official. It looks as if both priestesses drew their *gera* from public sources. It is possible that Pheidistrate, daughter of Eteokles of Aithalidai and sister of the famous brothers Chremonides and Glaukon, who made two dedications in ca. 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 3458, 3459) once with and once without the title of priestess of Aglauros, was at that time the priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos designated by the Salaminioi. Töpffer,³ however, holds that she belonged to the *genos* of the Praxiergidai, but does so on the unlikely hypothesis that the Plynteria, with which the Praxiergidai were concerned,⁴ was, as Hesychius states, a festival in honor of Aglauros.⁵ Public fêtes of Aglauros and Pandrosos, at which our priestess may

¹ Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II¹, p. 646 = III², p. 597; Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Notoriously there is endless argument as to when and by whom (Solon or Peisistratos?) Salamis was definitely won. See Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II², p. 217, n. 1. Adcock (*C.A.H.*, IV, p. 61) dates the winning of the island shortly before 570 B.C. Others ascribe its conquest to Peisistratos. If what is written below (p. 39) is correct, namely that the pompe of the Oschophoria was organized in the area of the Dionysiac theatre, it may indicate that the cult of Athena Skiras was not transferred to Attica before 534 B.C. (Adcock, *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 67; Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 69, 317). Hanell (*op. cit.*, pp. 43 f.), so far as I can see, is alone in dating the transfer back to a time when, as he believes, the Megarians held, not only Salamis, but also Phaleron. But since the presence of Skiras and Skiros at Phaleron is his chief evidence that there ever was such a time, his dating hangs in the air.

² Solders, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff.; Kornemann, *Staaten, Völker, Männer*, pp. 30 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 133 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, I, 827 ff.

⁴ Plut., *Alcib.*, 34; *I.G.*, II², 776, 3678.

⁵ Deubner (*op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 4) calls Hesychius' report "ein herausgesponnenes Autoschediasma." Gruppe (*op. cit.*, p. 40) connects the Plynteria with Athena Skiras. Solders (*op. cit.*, p. 10) found this view ungrounded. As is now clear, the Praxiergidai had nothing to do with her cult.

have officiated, are difficult to determine. The daughters of Kekrops are known to us by a rich mythology, but on cultus there is little documentation. Two texts alone are of interest, one of Athenagoras¹ to the effect that the Athenians performed *τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια* to Aglauros and Pandrosos, and another in Bekker, *Anec. Gr.*, I, 239, 7 which runs as follows: *δειπνοφόρος· ἐορτῆς ὄνομα. δειπνοφορία γάρ ἐστι τὸ φέρειν δεῖπνα ταῖς Κέκροπος θυγατρῶσιν Ἑρσῇ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἀγλαύῳ. ἐφέρετο δὲ πολυτελῶς κατὰ τινα μυστικὸν λόγον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οἱ πολλοί· φιλοτιμίας γὰρ εἶχετο.* The *deipnophoroi* here mentioned cannot be included among those for whose appointment provision is made in our document (ll. 47 ff.). The archon charged with the business is to coöperate with only one priestess, who is manifestly the priestess of Athena Skiras, while the herald concerned is indubitably the herald who played a leading rôle in the Oschophoria. If the Salaminioi had furnished other *deipnophoroi* than those participating in the Oschophoria it seems likely that rules for their appointment would have been prescribed in the *diallagai*. If we may judge from the phrase *καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οἱ πολλοί*, the carriers of food at the fête of the daughters of Kekrops were the participating public. The officiating priestess may have been the life-long appointee of the Salaminioi.

The priestess of Aglauros and Pandrosos was at the same time priestess *τῆς Κουροτρόφο*. She was thus a pluralist like several of the priestly officials of the Kerykes² and like the priest of Eurysakes after 363 B.C. (ll. 64 ff.; cf. below, p. 59). From *I.G.*, II², 5152 we learn that a seat was reserved in the theatre for a [priestess] *Κουροτρόφου ἐξ Ἀγλαύρου*. Hence the combination of the two cults may have special justification. But the association is natural. The Kourotraphion, Pandroseion, and Aglaurion lay within the area circumscribed by the *περίπατος* which defined the Acropolis,³ and between Ge (Kourotraphos) and the daughters of Kekrops there was a close natural and mythological relation.⁴ An offering to Kourotraphos was prescribed in Athens as a *prothuma* to every sacrifice;⁵ and in the Marathónian calendar (*I.G.*, II², 1358) the offering to her of a victim is a part of many groups of sacrifices. In our calendar the opening act of the first gentile sacrifice of the year, that at the Herakleion at Porthmos, was the immolation of a goat to Kourotraphos. Associated with her priestess was a *kalathephoros* (basket-bearer), who, whatever may have been her other duties, played some rôle in the oschophoric procession.

¹ *Leg. de christ.*, I, p. 120, 8, Geffcken; I, 13, Schwartz. The text is quoted by Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 8, cf. p. 21, n. 4. Herse was honored at the Hersephoria (Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

² Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez (Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales*, II, 1934, Bruxelles), pp. 819 ff.

³ *I.G.*, II², 2639; cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 347 ff. Cf. Paus., I, 22, 3.

⁴ Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 490 f.

⁵ Suid., s. v. *κουροτρόφος, παιδοτρόφος*. *Κουροτρόφος* Γῆ· ταύτῃ δὲ θῦσαι φασιν πρῶτον Ἑριχθόνιον ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, χάριν ἀποδιδόντα τῇ γῇ τῶν τροφείων· καταστῆσαι δὲ νόμιμον, τοὺς θύοντάς τινι θεῷ ταύτῃ προσφέρειν. Plato Comicus *ap. Athen.*, X, 441 e; Tresp, *Fragmente der griech. Kultschriftsteller*, 27. Cf. Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VII, 468; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum sacrae*, II, 1, p. 72; Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, p. 31, n. 5.

The cult of Herakles at Porthmos remains. Hitherto we have had no knowledge of this Herakles. Porthmos was at Sounion (ll. 94 f., pp. 68 f.). There were, as Hesychius tells us,¹ many local cults of Herakles in Attica. Hence it is not surprising to find one at Sounion. The existence there of undetermined "other shrines" is proved by *I.G.*, II², 1302.² What is surprising is to find it in charge of the Salaminioi. We have not known hitherto of a Porthmos at Sounion. An attempt will be made later (below, pp. 68 f., 75 f.) to determine its approximate situation. It was the site of a temenos of Herakles with "altars" (No. 2, l. 9). Hence it was shared by two or more deities. It apparently lacked a temple of any kind. In ll. 85-87 we have a list of the sacrifices performed in it or in its vicinity by the Salaminioi. They were to Kouroutrophos, Ioleos, Alkmene, Maia, Herakles, the hero at the Hale, the hero at Antisara, the hero at Pyrgilion, and (in alternate years) Ion. This group of sacrifices is separated in the calendar from what follows by the entry *ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς*, which regularly closes the record of an individual sacrifice or group of sacrifices. Since the next item, a sacrifice to Eurysakes, is dated on the 18th of Mounichion, the sacrifice to Herakles and his group came earlier in the month. The occasion was, doubtless, the celebration of the Herakleia, at which, as No. 2 shows, the men of the Heptaphylai foregathered at Sounion with the local members of the genos. It is unthinkable that they came all the way from Athens and its vicinity to Sounion repeatedly during the first half of the month of Mounichion. Yet their presence at gentile sacrifices was indispensable. They contributed half the money and must have been present to receive their half of the victims, which, on this occasion, were augmented by further animals furnished by the state. The conclusion is inevitable that this group of sacrifices was part of a single fête, and was made successively on the same day or days. We are therefore warranted in assuming that when, as in this case, a distinguishable group of sacrifices is entered in the calendar for a given month without specification of individual dates, it was offered as a unit. When the sacrifices of a particular month were not all performed at one and the same time, they are separated into groups by the phrase covering funds for the wood, etc., and distinguished from one another by the specification of the occasion or date (ll. 89, 92). In our calendar there are two other such distinguishable groups of sacrifices, the one offered in Metageitnion, on its seventh day, to Apollo Patroos, Leto, Artemis, and Athena Agelaa, and the second in Boedromion to Poseidon Hippodromios, the hero Phaiax, the hero Teukros, and the hero Nauseiros. These, too, the Salaminioi, assembled at the given time and place, performed as a unit. This determination has certain implications which will be pointed out later (below, pp. 25 ff., 28 ff.).

Let us return to the group with which our calendar opens. The sacrifice to Ion is in order. As Athenians the Salaminioi were his descendants (Plato, *Euthyd.*, 302 c). The offerings to the heroes were, doubtless, made, not in the temenos, but at their heroa.

¹ *S. v.* Ἡράκλεια. Cf. Solders, *op. cit.*, pp. 76 ff.; also *I.G.*, II², 2610, 2609.

² Cf. also *I.G.*, II², 2493.

The positions of Antisara and Pyrgilion are unknown, but they cannot have been far distant from the Herakleion. For the situation of the Hale see below, pp. 54f., 59, 73f., 75f. The worship of local Souniac heroes by a *genos* composed in large part of Sounians is also in order. It was a corollary to the main sacrifice at Porthmos, which was to Herakles and personages associated with him (for Maia see below, pp. 65f.). What link of cult or myth is there between Herakles and his companions and the deities from whom the Salaminioi derived their name, Eurysakes and Athena Skiras? There is indeed a well-established mythological connection between Herakles and Aias, the father of Eurysakes. As reported by Pindar¹ the story goes that Herakles, in return for the friendliness of the reception given to him by Telamon, interceded so that his host's prayers for an invincible son (Aias) were efficacious. This *ἱερὸς λόγος* might link a cult of Herakles with Aias, but not with Eurysakes. We are left without an answer to our question. Nor can we associate in any way Herakles with Aglauros and Pandrosos. This pair, moreover, is without determinable connection with Eurysakes and Athena Skiras. We are thus led to the conclusion most clearly enunciated by Dittenberger in his study of the *genos* of the Kerykes,² that it was not necessary for the deities served by the priestly officials of a *genos* to be integrated in a single cult. The diversity of the cults served by the Kerykes has become increasingly manifest since Dittenberger's time. Their main concern was, of course, with the Eleusinian circle. They were one of the gene *περὶ τὸ θεῶ* (*I.G.*, II², 2944). But they had a priest of Hermes Patroos who was also herald of Apollo Pythios and another priest of the Graces and Artemis Epipyrgidia. These cults were, however, Athenian rather than Eleusinian.³ Yet the two cases are not exactly parallel. The name Kerykes permits wide extension of functions. We find it natural that the *genos* should play a rôle in the celebration of the Dipolieia. The name Salaminioi seems to impose limitations.

Did the association of the Sounians with the men of the Heptaphylai in the *genos* of the Salaminioi presuppose a real bond of kin between all the *gennetai*? The answer must be in the negative. The extant names do not suggest any interlocking of families. The contrast in this particular with the *phrateres* listed in *I.G.*, II², 2344 is striking. The use of Salaminioi, instead of a patronymic, as a comprehensive name is probably in itself significant. Certainly if the corporate title, *genos*, implied a kinship, however unreal, between the members of the two branches, this presumption is absent in *ca.* 250 B.C. when each branch was itself a *genos*. Nor is the case of the Salaminioi an isolated one. The many families of gene like the Kerykes and the Amyndridai (*I.G.*, II², 2388) were already scattered so widely in Attica at the time of Kleisthenes, with so few interlocking common names, that except for the signification of the name *genos*, we should

¹ *Isthm.*, VI, 35 ff.; cf. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, I, 932.

² *Hermes*, 1885, pp. 1 ff.

³ Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 91; Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 157; Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 f.; and especially Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 823 ff.

hardly suspect the existence of kinship among them even as a fiction.¹ The ancient interpreters take pains to differentiate the ties uniting gennetai from real kinship. "Isaios," says Harpokration,² "names kinsmen (τοὺς συγγενεῖς) gennetai, but it is not the kinsmen strictly and men linked by blood (οἱ ἐξ αἵματος) who were called gennetai and members of the same γένος, but those who from the beginning were distributed among the so-called gene." "The gennetai," affirms Pollux,³ were so named, not as belonging to a family (genos), but "because of their association (ἐκ τῆς συνόδου)." They were not such "in virtue of relationship (κατὰ γένος) or of sharing in the same blood," according to the *Etym. Magn.*,⁴ "but because they had a certain partnership in kin rites or deities (συγγενικῶν ὁργίων ἢ θεῶν)." Plainly the kinship uniting all the families of a genos was purely fictional. A genos, so it seems to me, was a closed body of well-to-do citizens open only to the legitimate children of its members. It had a pedigree, reconstructed in a single line from a mythical ancestor down to a certain point; from that point, which, I think, was the point of its organization, the stemma was a demonstrable reality for the various families of which it was composed, but not for their assumed interrelations, which were usually purely fictitious.

Viewed in the light of these determinations the real problem presented by our records of the Salaminioi is not the oddity of the cult practised in the Herakleion, nor yet the lack of evidence of a blood-tie between the families constituting the Souniac branch and the gennetai of the Heptaphylai. It is not the presence in remote Sounion of a cluster of Salaminian families; for similarly isolated families appear, for example, among the Kerykes. The anomaly of the genos of the Salaminioi consists, rather, in the size of the Souniac group and the fact that it had a civil executive officer (archon) of its own. Whatever the reason for the residence in Sounion of approximately half the gennetai, and from whatever time their local organization dates, their separateness had advanced so far that in 363 B.C. it presented a problem to the Salaminioi themselves. The solution found in that year was the division equally of properties and the fusion of priesthoods, sacrifices, and prerogatives. Yet even thereafter the Salaminioi from Sounion preserved their archon, organization, and identity to such a degree that in ca. 250 B.C. they were recognized as a distinct genos. Before 363 B.C. their distinctiveness must have been actually greater than subsequently.

The first group of sacrifices in the gentile calendar took the Salaminioi to Sounion. This was in Mounichion. On the 18th of the same month they were back in Athens. Then they performed their annual sacrifice to Eurysakes (see below, p. 67). Another group of sacrifices took them to what was doubtless the scene of their major public

¹ In *I.G.*, II², 2340 (ca. 200 A.D.), a catalogue of the Kerykes, three brothers, two brothers, and a father and son are recognizable.

² *S. v. γεννῆται* (— *F.H.G.*, Philochoros, 91). Isaios (VII, 1; 27) uses συγγενεῖς where we should expect γεννῆτας. Cf. Wyse, *The Speeches of Isaeus*, pp. 101, 551.

³ VIII, 111.

⁴ *S. v. γεννῆται*. The three texts just cited are quoted by Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II², p. 113, n. 3.

activity—Phaleron. The recipients were Poseidon Hippodromios, the hero Phaiax, the hero Teukros, and the hero Nauseiros. The month was Boedromion. It is Plutarch,¹ reporting Philochoros, who gives us our location. "Philochoros says that Theseus got from Scirus of Salamis Nausithoos for his pilot (*κυβερνήτην*) and Phaiax for his look-out man (*πρωρέα*). - - - And there is evidence for this in the memorial chapels (*ῥοῤῥα*) for Nausithoos and Phaiax which Theseus built at Phaleron near the temple (*ἱερῶν*) of Scirus, and they say that the festival of the Kybernesia, or Pilot's Festival, is celebrated in their honor." Our text presents Nauseiros instead of Nausithoos. Nausithoos appears in the *Odyssey* as the predecessor and father of Alcinoos—*Ναυσίθοον μέγανυμον, ὃς ἐν Φαίηξιν ἔνασσε* (*Od.*, VII, 56 ff.). He was a Phaiax, king of Scheria famed for its seamanship. There is certainly a connection here. I suggest that Nauseiros was the real name of the hero worshipped at Phaleron along with Phaiax, and that the name Nausithoos which appears in Plutarch is a perversion due to Homeric reminiscence.² Clemens of Alexandria names him simply the hero *κατὰ πρύμναν*.³ Nauseiros (*ναῦς* and *εἰρω*) may mean "ship-director."

The heroa of Phaiax and Nauseiros (Nausithoos) were in Phaleron, near the shrine of Skiros (cf. above, pp. 18 f.). We know that Poseidon had a cult there also. It was the subject of a *diadikasia* between the Phalerians and the *genos* of the Phoinikes.⁴ The site of the hippodrome, from which the epithet Hippodromios is surely derived,⁵ has been a subject of controversy. The problem was advanced toward a solution by the discovery about 600 m. north of New Phaleron of a votive relief of Echelos (*I.G.*, II², 4546), the eponymos of Echelidai.⁶ For by determining the position of Echelidai we determine that of the hippodrome also, since the hippodrome lay in Echelidai.⁷ Judeich, however, seems to attach no importance to this find, notwithstanding that Milchhöfer

¹ *Thes.*, 17, 6. The translation presented is that of Perrin in the Loeb Classics.

² The name of the other hero, Phaiax, made the perversion almost inevitable. Cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

³ *Protr.* 2, 40, 2, p. 30, 20 Stähli. The scholiast on this passage, however, names the hero Androgeos (Paus., I, 1, 4); cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 225, n. 8.

⁴ Diony. Hal., *Din.* 10; cf. Töpffer, *op. cit.*, p. 300; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

⁵ In the Greek poets the epithet is found only in Pindar, *Isthm.*, 1, 54: *Κρόνον σείσχεθον' νιδὸν γέλον'* - - - *ἐδεργέταν ἑρμείων ἵπποδρόμιον*. Poseidon is meant. It is not a cult-title. The scholiast on this passage (Abel, *Scholia in Pindarum*, II, 76, p. 373), citing Chrysippos, says that there was a hieron of Poseidon Hippodromios at Thebes. Pindar's allusion (*γέλον'*) is to the temple of Poseidon Hippios at Onchestos. Bischoff in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VIII, 1735, says, on the basis of Pindar, that "*Ποσειδῶν Ἰπποδρόμιος* hat dieselbe Bedeutung wie *Ποσειδῶν Ἰππιος*." I venture to doubt it. Hippios is undoubtedly a cult-title. Hippodromios seems to me to be rather a descriptive epithet. In Athens the well-known temple of Poseidon Hippios was situated on Kolonos Hippios (Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 414, 442), far removed from the heroa of Phaiax and Nauseiros. It cannot come in question in our text. In Thebes, if the scholiast is speaking by the book, the epithet is probably to be connected with Poseidon's month in Boeotia, which was named Hippodromios (Bischoff, *loc. cit.*).

⁶ "Das Relief des Echelos steht auf der Rückseite eines Weihreliefs an Hermes und die Nymphen lediglich um den Ort ihres Kultes zu bezeichnen." Wilamowitz, *Sitz. preuß. Akad.*, 1906, p. 67, n. 2.

⁷ Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

had already evaluated it correctly,¹ since, following Leake and Wachsmuth,² he still locates Echelidai, and with it the hippodrome, in "die weitere nordwestliche Umgebung des Peiraeus." We have, I think, to regard the shrine of Poseidon Hippodromios as one of a complex of shrines to which the heroa of Phaiax, Teukros, and Nauseiros belonged (see above, p. 22), and since two of these lay near the shrine of Skiros in Phaleron, they were all situated in the same neighborhood in Old Phaleron. But since they were also in or near New Phaleron, the conclusion seems obvious that Old and New Phaleron occupied approximately the same site. An alternate site for Old Phaleron, recently taken up again by John Day,³ at St. George, on the east side of the Bay of Phaleron, is too far away (1800 m.) from this group of Phalerian sanctuaries to come in question. The Phalerians cannot have lived thus remote from their temples and heroa. And the same objection applies to the site at St. Sotir advocated by Judeich⁴ for the "Dorf und Demos Phaleron"⁵ which, without evidence, he separates from the "Hafendorf." This he places at the same point as Day.⁶ St. Sotir is even farther distant than St. George from the mouth of the Kephisos. The temple of Poseidon and the heroa of Phaiax and Nauseiros were obviously near the coast. That the sea extended as far inland as St. Sotir in early classical times is an hypothesis only.⁷ We have, I believe, to reckon with the close proximity of the hippodrome and Old Phaleron. The temple of Poseidon, near which the hippodrome lay, as the epithet of the god shows, was in fact in Phaleron. There is no chance that the hippodrome lay near St. George. It was not thus far distant from the Peiraeus or from Athens ([*Dem.*], XLVII, 53, 62, 76). Nor can the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi (cf. p. 26, n. 2) have lain to the east of St. George.

The problem of the Phalerian Wall is involved in this determination. There is no longer any reason for supposing that it reached the sea at St. George. I agree with Lehmann-Hartleben⁸ that it must have included Old Phaleron. Its length, 35 stades,⁹ would permit it, after reaching the coast at a point east of the mouth of the Kephisos, to follow the shore to the fortifications of the Peiraeus.

¹ In Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, V, 1911.

² *Op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 171 ff. This determination rests essentially on (1) Steph. Byz., s. v. 'Εχελίδαι· δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπὸ 'Εχέλου ἥρωος· οὕτως δ' ἀπὸ 'Ελous τόπον μεταξὺ ὄντος τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τοῦ τετρακώμου 'Ηρακλείου, and (2) the identification of the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi (Peiraeus, Phaleron, Xypete, Thymoitadai) with the Herakleion at the ferry to Salamis (Plut., *Them.*, 13). But the identification is baseless. For an alternative location see Milchhöfer in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, V, 1911. Something is thought to be amiss in the text of Xen., *Hipp.*, III, 1, which, treating of cavalry manœuvres, enumerates τὰ τε ἐν Ἀκαδημαίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀνκίῳ καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ, since "nothing in the sequel refers to manœuvres at Phaleron." Some would excise καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ (cf. Marchand in Loeb Classics), others would excise καὶ after Φαληροῖ (Koerte, Sauppe). The text may stand if τὰ Φαληροῖ were simply the preliminaries to τὰ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ. Timaeus, *Lex. Plat.*, s. v. Φαληρικόν appends ἵπποδρόμον Ἀθήνησιν.

³ *Proceed. A. P. A.*, 59, 1928, pp. 164 ff.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 426; cf. Abb. 13, p. 156 and 14, p. 171.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169, n. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 426, n. 5.

⁷ See on the general subject Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, II², 2, p. 113.

⁸ *Klio*, Beiheft, XIV, pp. 79 f., 247.

⁹ *Thucy.*, II, 13, 7.

The conjunction of Poseidon with Phaiax and Nauseiros shows that we have to do with a cult of sea-faring men.¹ The sacrifice of the Salaminioi to this group of three heroes and a god may be motivated in their interest in Teukros, the uncle and guardian of Eurysakes (cf. Horace, *Odes*, I, 6: *Uras ingens iterabimus aequor*); or in their interest in Theseus, Poseidon's son (cf. below), the reputed founder of the heroa of Phaiax and Nauseiros. But it may have no mythological motive at all. The Salaminioi may themselves have had maritime connections prompting them to win the favor of these patrons of navigators (cf. below, pp. 44f.).

According to Philochoros (above, p. 25) the Pilot's Festival (Kybernesia) was celebrated in honor of Phaiax and Nausithoos (Nauseiros). Deubner² links it with Theseus, and makes it one of the fêtes associated with the Theseia. There is unmistakably a mythological connection: the two heroes were made into the ship's officers of Theseus; but the myth is probably late, superimposed on something earlier as the legend of Theseus grew (see below, pp. 28, 41). Now that we find Phaiax and Nauseiros attached to the Phalerian cult of Poseidon we may without hesitation relate the Kybernesia to the sea-god to whom they naturally belong, and date them in Boedromion, probably on Poseidon's day, the eighth. They were probably administered by the genos of the Phoinikes; certainly not by the Salaminioi.

The Salaminioi also offered a sacrifice to Theseus (l. 92), but not in Boedromion. Theseus was honored on the sixth of the following month, Pyanopsion, two days before "the greatest sacrifice" to Theseus on the occasion of the Theseia. The *locus classicus* is Plutarch, *Thes.*, 36, 4: "The chief sacrifice which the Athenians make in his honour comes on the eighth day of the month Pyanopsion, the day on which he came back from Crete with the youths. But they honour him also on the eighth day of the other months, either because he came to Athens in the first place, from Troezen, on the eighth day of the month Hecatombaeon, as Diodorus the Topographer states, or because they consider this number more appropriate for him than any other since he was said to be a son of Poseidon. For they pay honours to Poseidon on the eighth day of every month."³ The Theseia came on the eighth of Pyanopsion.⁴ They were preceded by sacrifices indirectly in Theseus' honor, one to the Amazones,⁵ one to his teacher, Konnidas, on the seventh.⁶ On the sixth the Salaminioi sacrificed to him. On what occasion? Plutarch tells us that when Theseus reached the shore he first offered the sacrifices (those of the Oschophoria)⁷ which he had vowed to the gods at Phaleron when he set sail for Crete; then on the seventh, "after burying his father, he paid his vows to Apollo," that being the day on which "he had come back to the city (ἄστυ) in safety."⁸

¹ Radermacher, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, 1904, pp. 449 ff.; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 225; cf. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 290.

³ Perrin's translation in the Loeb Classics.

⁴ Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 288 f.; *I.G.*, II², 1496, ll. 134, 143.

⁵ Plut., *Thes.*, 27, 7; cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 290, n. 5.

⁶ Plut., *Thes.*, 4. ⁷ Plut., *Thes.*, 22, 3; 23, 2 f.

⁸ Plut., *Thes.*, 22, 4.

The seventh (Apollo's day) of Pyanopsion was the day of the Pyanopsia.¹ On the ninth the Stenia began the cycle of the Thesmophoria, which continued throughout the tenth to the thirteenth.² The calendar of the Theseus legend is obviously derived from the dates of the fêtes with which his story, as it developed, was interwoven.³ When in 475 B.C. the Theseia were taken over by the state, if not first inaugurated, they were assigned to the day conveniently vacant, the eighth,⁴ which was construed as the day of Theseus' return to Athens. The day of the sacrifice of the Salaminioi to Theseus is that of the Oschophoria.⁵ On that occasion they went in a procession from Athens to Phaleron. The sacrifice may have been offered at either place.

The sacrifice to Athena Skiras and Skiros which the Salaminioi entered in their calendar fell, not at the time of the Oschophoria, but in the following month, Maimakterion, not at the time of the vintage, but in November–December, in the lambing season.⁶ The victim offered to the goddess was a pregnant ewe. I can find no fête with which to connect this sacrifice. Maimakterion was the leanest month of the Attic year in public religious celebrations. The failure of the genos to enter in its calendar a sacrifice to Athena Skiras and Skiros from the rental of the land at the Herakleion on the sixth of Pyanopsion does not mean that they did not sacrifice then. They may have used other income for the purpose, or, and this is more probable, the expense of the sacrifice may have been defrayed wholly by the deipnophoroi and oschophoroi and the public treasury. Sacrifice they certainly did (Il. 20 ff., 61 ff.).

Naturally the Salaminioi sacrificed to Athena at the Panathenaia (l. 88) and to Zeus Phratrios at the Apatouria (l. 92). As a corporation of Athenian citizens they could not fail thus to honor Athena, and as a corporation of the Athenian kindred they had to join with their "brothers" in the great festival of the phratries. The Apatouria were a three days' fête, celebrated simultaneously at different points in Attica. The victim of the Salaminioi was a single pig. It was a collective offering, participated in, at least theoretically, by the entire genos. If the Salaminioi belonged to several phratries these phratries obviously celebrated the Apatouria at one and the same place.⁷ The presumption

¹ *I.G.*, II², 1363, 7; Harpoer., s. v.; Deubner, *op. cit.*, 193.

² Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 146.

³ Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 163 ff., where the earlier literature is cited.

⁴ Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, III¹, pp. 502 ff.

⁵ Mommsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 282, n. 4 f., 290, n. 7.

⁶ *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, s. v. πρόβατον, Του. Κ, p. 694.

⁷ Two Salaminioi, Stratophon and Demon of Agryle (above, p. 14), appear in *I.G.*, II², 2345 as members of a thiasos, by name Diogenes' thiasos, of an unknown phratry. Since its roll (col. II, ll. 58–84), which is, to all appearances, complete, lacks the names of all the other contemporary Salaminioi known to us (unless Straton, l. 75, is Stratophon's father, and in *ἩΜΕΡΩΣ Ἀγρυλ.*, l. 83, is hidden Demaretos, Demon's son or father), it is obvious that in this phratry thiasos and genos did not coincide. It is conceivable, though not probable, that all the thiasotai of Diogenes were Salaminioi, but manifestly all the Salaminioi were not members of his thiasos; and since none of the other 15 Salaminioi named in No. 1 is identifiable in the rolls of the other thiasoi, only two of which are, however, complete, it is improbable that all the Salaminioi belonged to this one phratry.

is that this place was Athens itself, where, doubtless, the largest body of phrateres was convened on this occasion (cf. Xen., *Hell.*, I, 7, 8).

The calendar of the Salaminioi records one further sacrifice. On the seventh of Metageitnion (Apollo's day) they offered a pig to Apollo Patroos, a suckling pig to Leto, another to Artemis, and a third to Athena Agelaa. Artemis is associated with Apollo Patroos in *I.G.*, II², 4726. Leto may well have been. That Athena, not Leto, was the mother of Apollo Patroos is affirmed by Wernicke.¹ This affirmation rests on statements of Cicero (*de nat. deorum*, III, 55, 57) and Johannes Lydus (*de mensibus*, IV, p. 135, 9, Wünsch), which in turn are perversions of the legend of Erichthonios and deserve no credence.² Athena Agelaa has been unknown hitherto. Her cult was obviously associated with that of Apollo Patroos (see above, p. 22): the sacrifice to both was made on the same day. The public temple of Apollo Patroos seen by Pausanias³ stood on the western side of the agora, immediately below and east of the Hephaisteion, between the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the Metroon. It was erected in the fourth century B.C. in a temenos which had once possessed a smaller apsidal edifice. Directly north of it was a little detached building, which may be thought to have belonged to Athena Agelaa.⁴ The cult statue of the fourth century temple of Apollo Patroos was the work of Euphranor, whose *akme* is placed by Pliny⁵ in Ol. 104 (364/3–361/0 B.C.). The new temple can hardly have antedated 363/2 B.C.,⁶ but the temenos was ancient. We cannot be sure that the sacrifice of the Salaminioi was offered in the public shrine. One genos (the Elasedai) had a private temenos of Apollo Patroos (*I.G.*, II², 2602), and since another (the Gephyraioi) had a priest of Apollo Patroos (*I.G.*, II², 3629, 3630), it probably had a shrine also. The Salaminioi did not have a priest. Hence they doubtless lacked a shrine. They probably made their offering in the public temenos. Agelaa can have nothing to do with the epic epithet of Athena, ἀγελείη, ἀγελήϊς, which is derived from ἄγω and λεία and means "forager."⁷ Ἀγελάα is a perfectly good Attic spelling of Ἀγελαία, meaning "of a herd" (ἀγέλη). It may also be a distinct word derived from ἄγω and λαός, as ἀγέστρατος, a Hesiodic epithet of Athena,⁸ is derived from ἄγω and στρατός; and if it reflects the epic use of λαός it may mean, like ἀγέστρατος, "leader of the host;" otherwise, "leader of the people." The adjective ἀγέλαος is not attested, but the proper name Ἀγέλαος exists.⁹ Linguistically there is a difficulty to which my colleague Professor Joshua Whatmough kindly drew my attention: "though ἀγέ-λα-ος would be a regular formation, it belongs to a type which normally has only two terminations, masc. and neut., the fem. being the σ-stem masc. form." There are, however, exceptions.¹⁰ The epic epithet quoted

¹ In Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, II, 21, 63.

² H. J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, p. 129, n. 32. ³ I, 3, 4.

⁴ Homer Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 101 ff. Thompson reports that it was constructed before the temple of Apollo Patroos. He takes it to be a temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia. The earlier apsidal building he identifies as a temple of Apollo Patroos destroyed by the Persians in 479 B.C.

⁵ XXXIV, 50, XXXV, 128. ⁶ Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 ff.

⁷ Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum*, p. 5; cf. Cornutus, *Nat. Deorum*, 20, 188.

⁸ *Theog.*, 925. ⁹ *P. A.*, 110, 111.

¹⁰ Kühner-Blass, II, 1, p. 539.

above, ἀγελείη, is a pertinent example. I think this second etymology is to be preferred. "Of a herd," even if it could be construed to mean "protectress of herds," which is doubtful, would be an unique epithet of any Athena, whereas the conjunction of Athena "leader of the host or people" with Apollo Patroos would be most appropriate.

We know that a public sacrifice was offered to Apollo in Metageitnion, but the Apollo in question has the epithet Metageitnios.¹ There was also an Attic festival called the Metageitnia, regarding the origin of which Plutarch² tells a curious tale: Athenian exiles and men without a country moved from Melite εἰς Διωμίδα, and on their arrival founded the fête, τὴν πρὸς ἑτέρους γειννίαςιν εὐκόλως καὶ ἱλαρῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ στέργοντες. This tale may be rejected as a myth invented to explain the name.³ The name alone remains, and I do not see how we can make anything in the least certain out of it. Radermacher, with some aid from Plutarch's tale, an ingenious etymology, and far-fetched analogies, thinks of it as indicating a fête of neighbors. It is not certain that the Metageitnia honored Apollo. Gruppe,⁴ following Mommsen, relates it with Herakles.

Very little is known about the public cult which centred in the shrine of Apollo Patroos in the agora. It had a priest, of course (*I.G.*, II², 5061, 3530, 3697). The Apollo who was patroos was the Pythian Apollo (Dem., XVIII, 141).⁵ The Thargelia, on the sixth and seventh of Thargelion, were an occasion when, as part of the required solemnity, a citizen brought his own or an adopted son ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς εἰς τοὺς γεννήτας τε καὶ φράτερας and swore that he was the offspring of an Athenian mother and born in wedlock (Isae., VII, 13 ff.). What seems to be the same ceremony is described by Demosthenes (LVII, 54): παιδίον ὄντα μ' εὐθέως ἦγον εἰς τοὺς φράτερας, εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος πατρός μ' ἦγον καὶ τᾷλλ' ἱερά (cf. 67, where Ἀπόλλωνος πατρός καὶ Διὸς ἐρχεῖον γεννῆται follows φράτερες). After the oath the phrateres and gennetai took a vote and the son was admitted to their official registers only when the vote turned out in the affirmative (Isae., VII, 16). On the basis of this testimony Mommsen⁶ and Deubner⁷ conclude that the Apollo Pythios in whose honor the Thargelia were celebrated (Suidas, s. v. Πύθιον) was Apollo Patroos. This conclusion may be accepted, but with the modification that the Apollo of the Thargelia was *an* Apollo Patroos. The Pythion was the central point in the celebration of the Thargelia (Suidas, *loc. cit.*). The more natural place for the gene which had a cult of Apollo Patroos to administer the oath was in their own shrines or in the shrine in the agora. All the gene did not admit new members at the same time. The Kerykes, for example, for whom Hermes was patroos, enrolled members on the occasion of the Apatouria (Andoc., I, 126). I suggest that any Pythian Apollo could be

¹ Lysimachides *ap.* Harpocr., s. v. Μεταγεινιών; cf. Suid. and Phot.

² *De exilio*, 6, p. 601 b.

³ Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Radermacher, *Sitz. Wien. Akad.*, 187, 3, pp. 11 ff.; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 202; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 60, n. 6.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, Supplbd. III, 927.

⁵ Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, pp. 45 f.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 485.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

regarded as patroos. If Herakles was the deity in whose honor the Metageitnia were celebrated, Metageitnios simply describes the Apollo who received homage in the month Metageitnion. Hence it is possible that the Salaminioi in sacrificing to Apollo Patroos on the seventh of Metageitnion did so on the occasion of their annual meeting for the admission of new members.

It is frequently affirmed that all the Attic gene possessed cults of Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroos.¹ This is, to say the least, an over-simplification. Two gene alone, the Elasedai (*I.G.*, II², 2602)² and the Gephyraioi (*I.G.*, II², 3629, 3630; *Her.*, V, 53 ff.) are known to have had a gentile cult of Apollo Patroos. A cult of Apollo, possibly Patroos, is also attested for the Erysichthonidai (*I.G.*, II², 4991; *B.C.H.*, LIII, 183). We have now complete lists of the priesthoods of two gene, the Kerykes (Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 819 f.) and the Salaminioi. Neither had a priest of Zeus Herkeios or of Apollo Patroos. Hermes, not Apollo, was patroos for the Kerykes (cf. also *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 59–64). His priest was at the same time herald of Apollo Pythios, with whom the genos had close relations.³ As we have seen, the Salaminioi offered a sacrifice annually to Apollo Patroos from their own funds and another biennially to Íon. These are the primary facts at our disposal.

Eduard Meyer⁴ has argued with great vigor (1) that originally the Attic gene (*Adels-geschlechter*) did not trace themselves back to Apollo Patroos but each to its own particular progenitor deity; and (2) that it was only comparatively late (in the fifth century B.C.) that by a fiction Apollo became their patroos. The case of the Kerykes, could he have known it, would have strengthened his argument; that of the Salaminioi would have given him no serious difficulty; and he could perhaps have explained away those of the Elasedai, Gephyraioi, and Erysichthonidai as the effect of late innovations. In their case the cult of Apollo Patroos was not a fiction but a reality: in order to make a place for it each must have dropped the cult of its own particular progenitor deity if it had one. Surely a genos cannot have had two *θεοὶ πατρῶοι* simultaneously. The only way I can see to get around these three cases is to maintain that these gene themselves were organized late. That is not impossible (see above, p. 12; below, pp. 43, n. 3, 46), except in the case of the Gephyraioi, the genos of which Harmodios and Aristogeiton were members (*Her.*, V, 53). On the other hand, the alternative view, the one generally held, is in flat contradiction with what we now know about the Kerykes and the Salaminioi.

A new hypothesis is required. I suggest that the worship of both Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroos belonged properly to the households (*οἶκοι*)—the family units of which both phratries (originally at least) and gene were composed. In Plato's *Euthydemus*

¹ Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 1885, p. 8; Töpffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 f.; Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, pp. 965, 1168; De Sanctis, *Atthis*², pp. 60 ff.; Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, pp. 237, n. 1, 236.

² Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 269, n. 13; De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 3; Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 268, n. 2.

³ Colin, *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes*, pp. 58 ff.

⁴ *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II¹, pp. 87, 308 ff. = III², pp. 283 ff.; *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.*, II, pp. 520 ff.

(302 c) Socrates says: ἔστι γὰρ ἔμοιγε καὶ ἱερά οἰκεῖα καὶ πατρῷα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα περ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις τῶν τοιούτων. He points out that it was not Zeus who was patroos of the Athenians and the other Ionians,¹ ἀλλὰ Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰωνος γένεσιν. Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν πατρῷος οὐ καλεῖται, ἑρκεῖος δὲ καὶ φράτριος, καὶ Ἀθηναίη φρατρία. He affirms, in substance, that Zeus was herkeios and phratrios and Apollo patroos of all Athenians. The question put to the Nine Archons at their dokimasia²—εἰ ἔστιν ἀντὶ Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος καὶ Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος, καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερά ἐστίν, εἴτα ἡρία εἰ ἔστιν καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα—implies a restriction—that there were some Athenians who could not answer this question in the affirmative; but inability to designate the ἱερά or the ἡρία (and it is here that the point of the interrogation lies) can have arisen purely through neglect. The poor must often have lived in other people's houses and have lacked private burial plots.

As we have seen, the cult of Apollo Patroos was inherent in or cultivated by some of the gene and administered by them for their households either collectively or additionally. Some gene, on the other hand, failing to possess a cult of their own, recognized their descent from Apollo by offering periodically sacrifices to him and to Ion, his son. Others like the Kerykes contented themselves by paying homage to an Apollo, not their patroos. How far the gene went in this direction was a matter of their history or their volition. Yet because of the household cult their members could all answer affirmately the questions put should the lot designate them for the office of archon.³ Their membership in phratries might help them in some cases. For the cult of Apollo Patroos was also cultivated by certain of the phratries, such as the Therrikleidai (*I.G.*, II², 4973) and perhaps the Achniadai (*I.G.*, II², 4974), but not, for example, the Demotionidai who had at most a hieron of Leto (*I.G.*, II², 1237, l. 125).

Zeus Herkeios seems to have remained generally within the ἔρη of the households (ἑρκεῖος Ζεὺς, ᾧ βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἔρκους ἐν τῇ ἀλλῇ ἵδρυνται); but he had an altar in the Pandroseion on the Acropolis—a survival, perhaps, of the household cult of the King;⁴ and in the passage of Demosthenes (LVII, 67) cited above (p. 30) the phrase Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῷου καὶ Διὸς ἑρκείου γεννῆται implies that the speaker's genos had a cult of Zeus Herkeios as well as of Apollo Patroos.⁵ Kahrstedt identifies Zeus Herkeios with Zeus Phratrios

¹ Ditt., *Syll.*³, 987 and 991 (cf. notes) show that Zeus was patroos for at least some Ionians.

² Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 55, 3. The note of Harpocration, s. v. Ἑρκεῖος Ζεὺς is also relevant: Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοσχίωνος· εἰ φράτορες ἀντὶ καὶ βωμοὶ Διὸς Ἑρκείου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῷου εἰσίν. Ἑρκεῖος Ζεὺς, ᾧ βωμὸς ἐντὸς ἔρκους ἐν τῇ ἀλλῇ ἵδρυνται. "Οτι δὲ τοῦτοις μετῆν τῆς πολιτείας οἷς εἴη Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος, δεδήλωκε καὶ Ὑπερείδης. Hypereides, it appears, made the possession of a domestic cult of Zeus Herkeios the criterion of citizenship.

³ See further Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VIII, 686 f.

⁴ Philochoros *ap.* Diony. Hal., *Din.*, 3; cf. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II¹, p. 350; Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 338.

⁵ Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 1885, p. 4, n. 2. Dittenberger's observation, that the word γεννῆται "überhaupt nie anders als in der bestimmten staatsrechtlichen Bedeutung vorkommt," entails this conclusion. Dittenberger himself, however, says of Zeus Herkeios: "ille quidem eorum modo communionem qui eandem domum una habitant tuetur (*Syll.*³, 991, n. 1)."

and thus makes him the prime person in the phratry cult.¹ I can find no evidence for this.² The god of the phratries is, I believe, invariably called Zeus Phratrios.³

The known scenes of the religious activities of the Salaminioi are (1) Athens (Eurysakes; Pandrosos and Aglauros; Apollo Patroos, Leto, Artemis, Athena Agelaa; Athena Polias = Panathenaia; Zeus Phratrios = Apatouria), (2) Phaleron⁴ (Athena Skiras and Skiros; Poseidon Hippodromios, Phaiax, Teukros, Nauseiros), (3) Sounion (Ioleos, Alkmene, Maia, Herakles; the heroes at the Hale, Antisara, and Pyrgilion; Ion). The calendar has characteristics of its own. The cycle opens with Mounichion. The Herakleia at the Porthmos are its beginning. During the following two months (Thargelion and Skirophorion) the calendar is vacant. For each of the first five months of the civil year (Hekatombaion, Metageitnion, Boedromion, Pyanopsion, and Maimakterion) it prescribes sacrifices. The four months Posideon, Gamelion, Anthesterion, Elaphebolion (Dec.—Jan. to March—April inclusive) are blank. The opening of the cycle with Mounichion, instead of Hekatombaion, is doubtless due to the significance of the Herakleia. On this occasion the Salaminioi *αὐτοὶ ἦσαν* as they were not, for example, at the Oschophoria; and it is probably no accident that document No. 2 is dated *Μουνιχιῶνος Ἡρακλείους*. The Herakleia were the first meeting of the genos after a long suspension of activity. There would be arrears of business. There is no trace in our calendar of the division of the year into three month periods, such as exists in that of the Marathonian Tetrapolis (*I.G.*, II², 1358), where naturally the *τετάρτη τρίμηνος* began with Mounichion. The four consecutive months without sacrifices do not coincide with the four months of ordinary maritime inactivity, which included Maimakterion and excluded Elaphebolion.

The sacrifices thus far considered belong to the category introduced by *δσα δέ* in line 24. The other category, that introduced by *δσα μὲν* in line 20, includes two groups of victims, those furnished by the state at the public expense⁵ and those which reached the Salaminioi through the intermediary of the oschophoroi and the deipnophoroi. The

¹ *Staatsgebiet*, p. 231.

² Plato (above) separates them. So does Kratinos the Younger: *Ζεὺς ἔστιν μοι ἑρκεῖος, ἔστιν φράτριος, τὰ τέλη τελεῶ* (Athen., XI, 460 f. Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, 291, 9).

³ Cf. *Hesperia*, 1935, p. 21, No. 1, l. 92.

⁴ The sacrifice to Theseus may have been made either in Phaleron (cf. below, p. 38) or in Athens.

⁵ Aeschines (III, 18) shows that in such cases an accounting was due to the state: "The law directs that priests and priestesses be subject to audit (*δπενθύνοους*), all collectively, and each severally and individually—persons who receive perquisites (*γέγρα*) only, and whose occupation is to pray to heaven for you; and they are made accountable not only separately, but whole priestly families together (*κοινῇ τὰ γένη*), the Eumolpidae, the Ceryces, and all the rest." Adams' translation in the Loeb Classics. Kahrstedt (*Untersuchungen z. Magistratur in Athen*, pp. 168 f.) affirms that only priests and priestesses appointed by the state were *δπενθύνοοι*, and that the word, as used by Aeschines, "bedeutet nur die Verantwortung für die rituell korrekte Vollziehung der Opfer namens des Staates, die durch eine Anklage im Verfehlungsfall, aber nicht durch *ἐθνα* erzwungen werden kann." Dittenberger (*Hermes*, 1885, p. 31) concludes, on the contrary, that the accounting entailed, not "eine strafrechtliche Verantwortlichkeit der Corporation als solcher," but, probably, "nur eine Rechnungslegung über Staatsgelder." In our inscription the state appears as the donor of sacrificial animals and not of money (ll. 20, 87).

flesh of both groups is not to be eaten on the spot but carried home raw. Some victims given by the state were sacrificed at the Herakleia, but these are not included in our first group since they were roasted on the altars at Sounion. Both our groups were manifestly offered at the Oschophoria. The Oschophoria were not financed with the income of the Salaminioi from the rental of the land at the Herakleion. The sources of the victims received from the "bearers of vines laden with grapes" and the "women who carried provisions" is not indicated. The transmitters may have been also the donors, but the words used (*γίγνεται παρά*) suggests rather that they only raised the money or collected the animals. It is not made clear from whom the oschophoroi and the deipnophoroi were themselves chosen. According to the rules for their appointment laid down in the text they need not have been members of the *genos*. The *genos* doubtless comprised, on the basis of consanguinity with its members boys and women—the sons, daughters, and mothers of the men; for the priestesses as well as the priests were allotted *ἕξ ἀμφοτέρων* (ll. 11 ff.). Hence the deipnophoroi may have been Salaminioi. But there is nothing in the rules to exclude the possibility that the Salaminioi went outside their own group to recruit the oschophoroi and the deipnophoroi. There is, however, nothing to suggest that such was the case. The oschophoroi had to be rich and well-born (*τῷ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προύχοντες*),¹ i.e., *gennetai*. The chances are that both those charges were liturgical in character. The flesh of the victims they transmitted was distributed among the Salaminioi alone (ll. 23 ff.). In view of this reservation it is best to think that the choice was limited to the families of the *genos*. Otherwise oschophoroi and deipnophoroi might be debarred from sharing in the sacrifice.² The deipnophoroi were doubtless responsible for the food they carried. The oschophoroi were only two in number—and boys. Since the funds for the victims for the Oschophoria are not debited to the account of the *genos* they probably represent voluntary contributions, mainly, it is to be presumed, on the part of individual Salaminioi.³

In the *gnosis* of the arbitrators provision is made that the two branches of the *genos* shall receive, half and half, the flesh and skins of the victims offered at the "*prothuma* of the contest." The *prothuma* was not one of the private sacrifices of the *genos*. Had such been the case, it must have appeared somewhere in the calendar drawn up on Archeleos' motion. Of the sacrifices there calendared the only one which could possibly be identified with the *prothuma* is that offered to Theseus. The time accords. But the victim offered to Theseus was a pig, which, of course, yielded no *derma*. The "contest" is not defined, but a contest between ephebes furnished by the *phylai* was a feature of the Oschophoria. So far as we know this is the only contest with which the *genos* was

¹ Hesych., s. v. *ὀσχοφόροι*; cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

² Cf. Plat., *Thes.*, 23, 1.

³ Such contributors may have received the thanks of the *genos* in *I.G.*, II², 1232 if Wade-Gery's restorations of lines 3 ff. (*Class. Quart.*, 1931, p. 85, n. 2) are correct: [τοὺς τεθυμ]έτους καὶ τὰς τεθυ[μένους τὰς θυσι]ας ὑπὲρ τοῦ δ[η]μον τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ [τοῦ γένους | τοῦ Σαλαμινίων]. Unfortunately the length of the lines is unknown.

concerned. The rule covering the sacrifice of victims not furnished by the *genos* itself runs as follows: *ταῦτα μὲν κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρως θύοντας νέμεσθαι τὰ κρέα ὥμᾳ τὰ ἡμίσεα ἑκατέρως*. Compare this with the section dealing with the "prothuma of the contest:" *τὸ δὲ πρόθυμα τῷ ἀμύλλῳ ἐμ μέρει ἑκατέρως κατάρχεσθαι· τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα ἑκατέρως λαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν δεσμάτων*. Can the latter concern a particular feature of the former? In the one case both parties appear as *κοινῇ θύοντας*. In the other case each party is required *ἐμ μέρει κατάρχεσθαι*. There is no contradiction here: both could sacrifice in common yet each officiate in turn (see below, p. 61). The general rule prescribes only the division of the flesh. The particular prescription, if such it is, adds the division of the skins. The sacrifice obviously consisted of a number of pelted animals. The skins were not sold for the benefit of the state treasury, as they were, for example, at the Theseia (*I.G.*, II², 1496, ll. 134, 143). Neither the repetition concerning the flesh nor the addition concerning the skins need be a differential. No moneys from the sale of skins *ἐξ' Ὀσχοφορίων* were received by the state.¹ The omission of *ὥμᾳ* may imply a different disposition of the flesh and, hence, two occasions; but not necessarily. The absence of *ὥμᾳ* does not require the consumption of the flesh on the spot. The animals for the *prothuma*, it should be noted, are taken for granted. If they were not secured from either of the two sources set forth in ll. 20 ff. they must have been acquired through gentile resources not acknowledged either in these lines or in the annual budget. In that case a ruling of the arbitrators on the method to be followed in financing the *prothuma* would be expected. It is emphasized in our record that the rent of the land at Porthmos is to be drawn on to defray the cost of *all* the sacrifices which the Salaminioi performed from their own resources (ll. 26 f., 82, 84, 94). That seems to exclude straight gentile financing of the *prothuma*. However, it is not said or implied that all the rent should be devoted to these sacrifices, nor is it suggested in any way that the Salaminioi possessed no private resources other than those budgeted for the sacrifices. And, in fact, it is clear that they disposed of funds over and above the 530 drachmas, 3 obols expended for this purpose. They had the money with which to defray the cost of repairing the shrines (ll. 54 ff.). They made outlays for inscribing their records on stone (*I.G.*, II², 1232). The balance of the rental, if there was any, may have sufficed for these expenditures. Possible income from the Hale and the agora in Koile may also be considered.

In conclusion, I think we may say that the *prothuma* was a feature of the Oschophoria. After all, the casual reference to *the* contest implies that the Salaminioi were concerned with only one.

¹ According to Kahrstedt (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 191, n. 2, 286 ff.) the state obtained and sold for its own benefit the skins only in the case of sacrifices performed by magistrates without the services of priests. Except in the case of priests who received a salary (*I.G.*, I², 21) the skins were the perquisite of the officiating priest everywhere in the Greek world (p. 289). Kahrstedt points out himself the difficulty presented by *I.G.*, II², 1496—the change from year to year in the case of the same fête of the responsible magistracy. It seems to me that the receipt of the skins by the priest was conditioned in each case by the issuance of special orders to that effect. If the priest received them as a matter of course why issue the orders?

The Oschophoria were the occasion when the Salaminioi appeared most conspicuously in the public view. It seems appropriate to enter at this point a statement of what, with the aid of our new documents, we are able to ascertain regarding this fête. The oschophoroi were only two in number.¹ There is a confusion in Athenaeus (XI, 495 f. = Aristodemos) and Schol. Nikand. *Alexipharmacea*, 109² between the oschophoroi and the ephebes from each phyle who, according to Proclus διημιλλῶντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους δρόμῳ. The latter were, after 508/7 B.C., at least ten in number. Robert makes them definitely ten,³ Stengel definitely twenty,⁴ neither with any real evidence. Their ἔμιλλος, as we have just seen, had a place on the program of the Oschophoria. We now learn that an official (ἄρχων), designated by lot from the two branches of the Salaminioi in turn, selected the oschophoroi (and the deipnophoroi) "with the coöperation of the priestess and the herald." The purport of this rule was obviously to equalize the two branches of the genos. Complaints that in their selection one branch or the other was favored doubtless called for the action of the arbitrators. One oschophoros probably represented each branch. The priestess is, of course, the priestess of Athena Skiras. The herald of the Salaminioi played an exceptional rôle at this fête. The two oschophoroi were youths (νεανίαι) who, "clad in women's garments," i.e., probably, in old Ionic chitons,⁵ and bearing branches of grapevines laden with clusters of grapes, went from the shrine of Dionysos to the temenos of Athena Skiras at the head of a procession which included a chorus and was marshalled by a herald (in 363/2 B.C. named Thrasykles). In Alkiphron's epistles (I, 11) the oschophoroi are depicted as charming young city lads who, when seen in the procession, might captivate impressionable maidens. They played the leading rôle in the Oschophoria, and since the Salaminioi appointed them, doubtless from their own members, it is obvious that at least the central religious feature of the fête was administered by the genos. Since it also had control over the temple of Athena Skiras (*I.G.*, II², 1232, ll. 15 ff.), designated the deipnophoroi and the priestess of Athena Skiras, and conducted the "prothuma of the contest," it can, I think, be said to have possessed the public cult of Athena Skiras.

According to Liddell-Scott-Jones (*s. v.*) deipnophoroi are "bearers of meat offerings;" but the word need not be interpreted thus narrowly. Perrin translates it as "supper-carriers."⁶ Food-carriers is more neutral. A religious occasion for the carrying is presupposed. After dealing with the oschophoroi Plutarch (*Thes.*, 23, 3) continues: αἱ δὲ δειπνοφόροι παραλαμβάνονται καὶ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς θυσίας, i.e., "are taken along (Perrin has, "take part in the procession") and share in the sacrifice." Our inscription No. 1 brings

¹ Proclus, *Chrest. ap. Phot., Bibl.*, p. 322, 13 Bekk. (quoted by Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 142, n. 10, and by Pfuhl, *De Atheniensium pompis sacris*, p. 55); Harpoer., *s. v.* ὀσχοφόροι; Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, I, p. 318, 23, *s. v.* ὀσχοί, ὀσχοφόροι. Plut., *Thes.*, 23, 2.

² Quoted by Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 144, n. 9.

³ *Hermes*, 1885, p. 356, n. 2.

⁴ *Griech. Kultusalt.*³, p. 229.

⁵ Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 178, n. V; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 142, n. 2.

⁶ Loeb Classics, *Theseus*, 23, 3.

the *ἄρτοι* into the picture. They are described as being in the shrine of Skiras (ἐν Σκιράδος).¹ From the total number of loaves the Salaminioi first subtracted the loaves which were wont to be subtracted by ancient practice. These were set apart for a purpose which is not defined.² The remainder were divided, six going to specified officials, the balance, half and half, to the Sounians and the men from the Heptaphylai. The *gennetai* were, accordingly, present in the shrine at Phaleron. There are only two possible designations for the loaves reserved—the goddess and the non-Salaminioi taking part in the festival, among whom were, for example, the members of the chorus and the ephebes contesting in the foot race.³ If, as seems probable, the *δεῖπνα* which the matrons carried included, or were, the *ἄρτοι*, they contributed to the sacrifice by offering loaves to the goddess. If the loaves were not part of the sacrifice those given to the priests would not have been characterized as *gera*.⁴ The matrons had a further duty—the telling of tales during the stay at Phaleron. What these were we do not know. At some point in the proceedings dancers unapparelled trod the oschophoric measure (below, p. 39).

Ῥσχοι were carried by the oschophoroi to the shrine of Athena Skiras and *ἄρτοι* by the *deipnophoroi*. There, in the oschophorion, an area in which the temple stood, drink offerings were made, on which occasion those present at the libations cried out “Eleleu! Iou! Iou!” (Plut., *Thes.*, 22, 3). There, too, victims were slaughtered, the flesh being distributed raw and carried away by the recipients. Each branch of the *genos* received half. If this sacrifice was “the *prothuma* of the contest,” the foot race of the ephebes, one or more from each phyle, followed. The winner (ὁ πρότερος, ὁ νικήσας), or, if there were as many victors as there were phylai, the victors, drank from a bowl, called the *pentaploa*, a punch of wine, honey, grated cheese, and a little barley meal and olive oil.⁵ The finish of the foot race was undoubtedly the oschophorion. The starting point is uncertain. None is given by Proclus. Aristodemos (Athen., XI, 455f.) says: *τοῖς Σκίροις Ἀθήναζε ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐφρήβων δρόμου*. “Ἀθήναζε cannot be right as the text stands.”⁶ If *Σκίροις* is right the *ἀγών* had nothing to do with the Oschophoria; but since we know nothing of an *ἀγών* at the Skira (Skiraphoria), *Σκίροις* is probably an error. It was easy to call a festival of Athena Skiras *τοῖς Σκίροις*. Aristodemos also says that the runners carried *Ῥσχοι* and ran from the shrine of Dionysos to that of Athena Skiras. This was the route of the procession headed by the oschophoroi according to Proclus. One thing is certain, the runners did not form part of the procession. The matrons

¹ It was there that the *deipnophoroi* (according to Hypereides κατὰ Δημέου as interpreted by Harpocr., s. v. *δεῖπνοφόρος*) delivered the *τροφήν* which they had brought. For *ἐν* with the genitive see Meisterhans, *Grammatik*³, p. 214, 18.

² Instead of the active *ἀφελόντας* we should have the middle *ἀφελόμενους* if these formed the lot which was subsequently divided among the Salaminioi.

³ Cf. below, pp. 40 f.

⁴ Cf. Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 37, 48; 40, 8.

⁵ Proclus, *loc. cit.*; Athen., XI, 495 f.

⁶ Gulick, Loeb Classics, Athenaeus, V, p. 210.

and they could not have gone *pari passu*. Deubner¹ is, I think, right in contending that the ephebes are confused by Aristodemos with the oschophoroi, the race with the procession. Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, 239, 15, misrepresenting Philochoros probably, errs in making the deipnophoroi males. They were certainly women (l. 49). If the ἐμύλλος started from Athens we should perhaps put the *prothuma* there. It would then have to be distinguished from the sacrifice in the oschophorion, and since the Salaminioi were present at its performance it must have preceded the starting of the procession, and the *dromos* must have followed at a sufficient interval to allow the procession to reach Phaleron before the runners did. But for all we know the race may have been a short one and had its starting point not far from Phaleron. The Peiraeic Theseion was perhaps only about three stades away. As already noted (above, pp. 27f.) the Salaminioi made a sacrifice to Theseus on the day of the Oschophoria (see also below, p. 41).

There is yet another feature of the Oschophoria to which Proclus gives attention—the participation in the procession headed by the oschophoroi of a chorus, singing songs (μέλη) called oschophoric. We are not told what these were. They may have been vintage songs. The chorus also appears in the report of Aristodemos.² Of the victor (victors?) in the foot race he says that he celebrated his triumph by reveling with the chorus (κωμᾶζει μετὰ χοῶν). “Gewiß war es diese Form eines losen dionysischen Schwarmzuges,” says Deubner,³ “in der sich alle Beteiligten nach Athen zurückbegaben.”

Deubner's interpretation of this special feature of the Oschophoria harmonizes with his general understanding of the fête. In his judgment the Oschophoria were celebrated in honor of Dionysos, and, accordingly, in his admirable book, to which I am greatly indebted, he enters the festival in the section entitled “Dionysos.” On page 143 he affirms that the ᾄσχοι were “keine Gabe für Athena Skiras oder die Oschophoria ihr Fest. Am allerwenigsten aber hätte man diese das Hauptfest der Athena Skiras nennen sollen,” as Gjerstad does.⁴ Mommsen⁵ discusses the Oschophoria in the Section of his book entitled “Theseen und Epitaphien,” and remarks, “An den Oschophorienbräuchen fällt es auf, daß das Temenos der Athena Skiras benutzt wird, die Göttin selbst aber nebensächlich und geradezu überflüssig ist.” Pfuhl⁶ likewise regards the association of the Oschophoria with Athena Skiras, instead of Dionysos, as accidental: “fortuito enim Oschophorium Minervae fano vicinum erat; cum autem Bacchi locus sacer templo careret, Minervae templum loci signum erat. quare, ut pompa ad illud duci videretur, factum est.” This subordination of Athena Skiras to Dionysos or to Theseus and

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 114f.

² *Athen.*, XI, 496.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

⁴ *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, 1929, p. 224.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.

⁶ *De atheniensium pompis sacris*, p. 50. It seems to me obvious from the passage of Hesychius quoted above (p. 18) that the oschophorion was the enclosure (ἐκφών) in which the temple (ναός) of Athena Skiras stood.

Dionysos conflicts with the ancient tradition. Suidas¹ and Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, I, 318, 23, our only authorities who make an express statement on the matter, report that the Oskophoria were an *ἐορτή* of Skiras Athena.

This tradition is substantiated by our new text. The Salaminioi, whose rôle in the administration of the Oskophoria was predominant, not only possessed the cult of Athena Skiras, but had nothing whatever to do with Dionysos. They do not even offer a sacrifice to him. The ascription of the fête to Dionysos rests on two grounds: (1) the designation of a shrine of Dionysos as the point of departure of the oskophoric procession;² and (2) the presence of allegedly Dionysiac characteristics in the ceremonies performed. It seems to me probable, in the light of our present knowledge, that by the shrine of Dionysos our authorities, i.e., their sources, meant simply *τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέαιρον*—the shrine of Dionysos *par excellence*—, and that the choice of this area as the point of assemblage for the participants in the procession was commended by its situation near the gate (the Diomeian?) whence started the road to Phaleron.³ As to the second point this must be said in general, that it is hazardous to deny to Skiras Athena (and Skiros) rites which have a Dionysiac appearance. Rather, it is from the rites constituting the Oskophoria that we must form our conception of her cult. What come in question are in the first place the *ᾄσχοι* and in the second place the chorus and its performances. A chorus has no necessarily Dionysiac connotation. *Χοροί* were also associated in Athens with Apollo, Athena, Prometheus, Hephaistos,⁴ and, doubtless, other deities as well. Of the *μέλη ᾠσχοφορικά* we know nothing; of the dances called oskophoric we know only that they belonged to the type of dancing known as *γυμνοπαιδική*. In Athenaeus they are paired with *οἱ βακχικοί*, by whom, too, both species are related to Dionysos.⁵ At Sparta gymnopaedic dances belonged to the cult of Apollo. The performers were presumably naked, probably, but not necessarily, boys.⁶ Like the ephebes the choreutai were probably *ἀγωνισταί*.⁷ The “carriers of vines laden with grapes” furnish the strongest Dionysiac suggestion; but the *ᾄσχοι* were a peculiarity of the Oskophoria and are not otherwise connected with Dionysos. Plutarch offers the hypothesis that the oskophoroi carried them in honor of Dionysos and Ariadne, but prefers the simpler explanation that they bore them because the procession occurred at the time of the vintage.⁸ His first suggestion recurs in modified form in Proclus, again as part of the aitiology connecting

¹ *S. v.* Ὀσχοφóρια.

² Proclus, *ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἱεροῦ*; Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, I, 318, 23, *παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου*; Aristodemos (Athen., XI, 495 f.), and Schol. Nikand. *Alexiph.*, 109, *ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διονύσου*.

³ *Ἦν ἑλάδε ἐξελαύνουσιν οἱ μύσται*, *I.G.*, I², 94; cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

⁴ Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 56; [Xen.], *Const. of Ath.*, 3, 4; *I.G.*, I², 84, II², 1138. Cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 212 f. Robert (*Die griech. Heldensage*, II, p. 696) makes the chorus consist of “die übrigen zwölf Kinder, die das Festlied sangen.”

⁵ XIV, 631 b.

⁶ Cf. Hiller in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VII, 2089.

⁷ Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, pp. 140 ff.

⁸ *Thes.*, 23, 3.

the festival with Theseus: Theseus established the rites of the Oschophoria, *χαριστήρια ἀποδιδούς Ἀθηναῖ καὶ Διονύσῳ, οἳ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τὴν Δίαν ἐπεφάνησαν*. That these rites were thought to have been created by Theseus is undeniable, equally so that they were understood in the light of his alleged acts on returning from Crete (see above, pp. 27f.; below, p. 41); but this is universally recognized as relatively late mythology. Rites really Skiradic resembled rites familiar to our literary sources, all far removed in time from the age when Athena Skiras was a reality, in the many cults of Dionysos. The calendar of the Salaminioi compels us to extrude Dionysos.

From the rites, in their totality, we must seek to discover the goddess in whose honor they were performed. The fact that the grape-vines were laden with clusters of grapes seems significant. They were laid on the altar in Phaleron in thanksgiving, perhaps, for a bountiful vintage, for which, accordingly, credit was given to Athena Skiras. She was a goddess, possibly, not of generation, but of fruition. The same idea may underlie the fact that the ewe sacrificed to her in the lambing season (above, p. 28) was pregnant: she helped the flocks to safe and abundant deliverance in the critical time when their young were born. The loaves made from wheat specially ground (below, pp. 57f.) were offered about four months after the grain harvest: bread, not grain, was the gift. The animal sacrifices and the *σπονδαί* are a common feature of Greek worship. The exclamations made at the latter, "Eleleu! Iou! Iou!" admit of a variety of interpretations,¹ and are not specifically Dionysiac.² A footrace of ephebes was a popular number on many religious programs; but the ingredients of the cup of which the victor (victors?) drank, olive oil, wine, honey, barley meal, and cheese, were the finished products of most of the arts of Attic husbandry. It was probably a joyous occasion, graced by a singing and dancing chorus and "eine festliche Mahlzeit" for the goddess and her worshippers.

The running contest was perhaps an Athenian addition to the rites.³ The rest may have been taken over with the goddess herself from Salamis. As we have seen (above, pp. 34f.), the Salaminioi offered the animal sacrifice before the contest, but the section of the *gnosis* dealing with the selection of the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi has nothing to say about the selection of the ephebes. The contest was a competition between representatives of phylai. Only eight at most of the ten phylai furnished members to the genos, and since one of the eight had approximately as many members as the other seven put together, the terms of the competition would have been grossly unequal if the runners were chosen from the Salaminioi alone. Besides, the fête was indubitably a state affair. According to Alkiphron⁴ it attracted young women from the sea-coast

¹ Cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.*

² Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 288, n. 1.

³ After 508/7 B.C. the phylai were Kleisthenian. Prior thereto, if the contest existed thus early (cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 145, n. 5), the Old Attic phylai can have come in question (Pfuhl, *de Ath. pompis*, p. 50, n. 27). Stengel (*Griech. Kultusalte*,³ p. 229) overlooks this possibility.

⁴ I, 4; 11.

and the Peiraeus as well as rich ladies from the city. Alkiphron centres it in the *asty* (ἄστυς); where in fact the *pompe* was formed. The chances are that the phylai themselves furnished the youths who were to represent them in the race. But the management of the contest—of its successive “heats”—may have been in the hands of the Salaminioi; and, if the restoration of *I.G.*, II², 1232 given below (p. 62) is correct, officials of the genos called hieromnemones had it in their charge. Who furnished the members of the chorus we do not know.

As we have seen, there is no place for Dionysos in the part (the central part) of the Oskophoria administered by the Salaminioi; but since he had a way of insinuating himself into alien cults (the Mysteries at Agrai, the Apatouria, the Haloa, the mysteries of Eleusis, where Iakchos seemed Dionysos, to cite a few examples), he may have done this in the case of part of the Oskophoria, if there was any, administered directly by the state or its organs. Such an intrusion would explain the late interpretations noted above (p. 39). But if this had occurred before 363 B.C. it is curious that the genos did not recognize his presence by some religious act.

Whatever may have been the original significance of the rites of the Oskophoria we may, I think, infer from the sacrifice of the Salaminioi to Theseus on the sixth of Pyanopsion that already in 363 B.C. they had come to serve as αἰτίαι for the elaboration of the story of the hero's departure to and return from Crete. Accordingly the two νεανῖαι (oskophoroi) heading the procession doubtless imagined themselves to be youths palmed off by Theseus for two of the seven maidens destined as victims for the Minotaur. The deipnophoroi envisaged themselves as the mothers of the young men and women bringing to Phaleron bread and meat for their children, and spinning out for them, while they waited before embarking on their terrible voyage, tales (μῦθοι) of “comfort and encouragement.”¹ Thrasykles was the herald of Theseus returning from Athens with the sad news of Aigeus' death, and carrying the wreath which he had received from the Athenians, not on his head, as was customary, but on his staff, thus playing a part which, perhaps, magnified his office. Those partaking of the libation were the companions of Theseus, and their cries “Eleleu! Iou! Iou!” reflected their mixed feelings when, triumphant at their successful return from Crete, they heard the message of the herald. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἀθήμων ἰστόρηκεν,² and Philochoros³ followed suit. An aitiological myth, which centred the Oskophoria in Theseus, gave a national allure to rites which, transplanted from Salamis to Phaleron, originally (and doubtless for some persistently) acknowledged the help of Athena Skiras in the various activities of farmers.

Of the sacrifices performed by the priests and priestesses of the Salaminioi some were purely gentile, some were both gentile and public, and some were private. To the last class we now turn. Of the performance of private sacrifices by the priest of

¹ Plut., *Thes.*, 23, 3.

² Demon is the Atthidographer of ca. 300 B.C. who also wrote a work *περὶ θυσιαῶν*; cf. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, V, 142.

³ Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, 239, 5.

Herakles we have indirect evidence in the stipulation that the gera specified should be allowed him in the case of victims offered by him which were *koina*. Victims which were *idia* are clearly contemplated. Similar offerings on behalf of private persons were manifestly made by the priest of Eurysakes also. He received as gera 13 drachmas annually on the score of the hides and legs of the victims sacrificed in the Eurysakeion (ll. 35f.). Each of the two branches of the genos was to contribute half of this sum. The genos did not dispose of the legs and hides and give him 13 drachmas from the proceeds, nor did it simply let him keep 13 drachmas' worth. The 13 drachmas came from the rental of the land at Sounion (below, pp. 64f.). It was a payment in commutation of a right. From what sacrifices were the skins and legs derived? Not from the calendared sacrifice of the genos. The victim there was a pig, which had no hide. Clearly other sacrifices were made in the Eurysakeion. They must have been private sacrifices. Yet the genos had an interest in them. The probable explanation of the payment of 13 drachmas is that the sacrificers were individual gennetai. In consideration of this payment the priest probably waived his claims on perquisites from his fellow Salaminioi. The primary occasion for such offerings may have been the admission of new members. In the case of sacrifices made in the Eurysakeion on behalf of the phyle Aiantis the priest of Aias doubtless officiated and received the gera. The priest of Eurysakes also received the skins and legs of the victims sacrificed to the hero at the Hale. The calendar provides for only one offering—a sheep (l. 86). This animal cannot be all that is meant by *τῶν θυομένων* in line 38. Private sacrifices alone can come in question, whether by gennetai, non-gennetai, or both, there is no way of knowing.

In combining in an intelligible whole the facts now established regarding the origin and early history of the Salaminioi we have to resort to hypothesis; and it is as an hypothesis only, though, I trust, a well-grounded one, that I present what follows.

The Salaminioi as an organization so named cannot antedate the opening of the struggle between Athens and Megara for Salamis. This is inferred from the tardy emergence in myth of Eurysakes and the name Salaminioi. It was only on the annexation of Eleusis that the possession of Salamis became a sort of geographical necessity for Athens. To be sure the island had formed theretofore a bridge between Megara and the basin of the Kephisos, but it had not shut off completely from the open sea a valuable part of Attica. In fact the struggle did not open till the end of the seventh century B.C. at the earliest. The Kerykes were an association, from which residents of the Thriasian plain were excluded, organized or reorganized after the conquest of Eleusis to give other Athenians a worthy share in the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The Salaminioi, on the other hand, came into being to promote and justify the claim of Athens to possession, on the basis of rightful ownership, of Salamis. If, as seems probable, such possession was first made definite in *ca.* 509 B.C., the Salaminioi were already organized at that date, since they antedated the Kleisthenian phylai, and their central shrine, the Eurysakeion, was well-established in 508/7 B.C. Ignoring for the moment the public cults which they served, we see that the Salaminioi, as a genos, had

two roots, one in Melite in Athens and the other at Porthmos in Sounion. Our construction to take account of this inherent dualism is that a group of families serving a private cult of a hero in Melite, on becoming interested in Salamis, identified their hero as Eurysakes, thus transforming themselves, his descendants, into Salaminioi; and that either simultaneously or later, in return, perhaps, for a state subsidy, a similar group of families, possessing a temenos of Herakles at Porthmos¹ and probably an interest in Salamis also, was merged with them, thus increasing notably, to the advantage of public policy, the number of Attic Salaminioi. There was no problem of cult or kin to consider in such a merger, since unrelated cults could be thus associated, and the ties of kin between the families constituting a *genos* were generally fictional. Both groups undoubtedly accepted a common family tree, advancing down in a single line through Aias to Eurysakes and beyond. How easy, and at the same time essential to sixth century Attic thinking, it was for a scattered group, designed to be permanent, thus to beget a progenitor is shown by the designation of eponymous heroes for the ten Kleisthenian phylai.²

When the *genos* of the Salaminioi becomes really known to us in the fourth century B.C. its functions are mainly, if not exclusively, social and religious. It doubtless certified to the legitimacy and citizenship of its members. It administered public and private cults and performed a round of sacrifices. Land at Porthmos, subsidies from the state, contributions made by and through the *oschophoroi* and *deipnophoroi*, and the yield of the Hale and the agora in Koile (if any) provided it with funds. These functions are doubtless a residuum. The functions of which it was deprived by their canalization into other channels are the ones which would throw most light on its origin did we know them. The general name *genos* yields nothing specific. There is no trace among the Salaminioi of a leading family, like the *οἰκία* of Miltiades-Cimon among the Philaidai, or that of Megakles-Kleisthenes among the Alkmaionidai,³ or that of Hipponikos-Kallias

¹ The Herakleion was probably an old shrine. In the sixth and early fifth century B.C. Herakles was eclipsed in Athens by Theseus (Nilsson, *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 163 ff.).

² Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 21, 6; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II¹, p. 801 = III², p. 744.

³ Wade-Gery (*Class. Quart.*, 1931, pp. 82 f.) argues that the Alkmaionidai were an *οἰκία*, not a *genos*, and Kahrstedt (*Staatsgebiet*, p. 268, n. 2) follows him. His arguments are not conclusive. Herodotus distinguishes between the *οἰκία* and the *genos* of Isagoras in V, 66, 1, but even so he does not use the word *genos*. In VI, 35 he uses *οἰκία* of the Philaidai. Were the Philaidai not a *genos*? "The Alkmeonid *οἰκία* was small and compact enough to share --- in the seventh century in the curse incurred by the archon Megakles I. It is improbable (indeed impossible) that either such a curse, or such fortunes, were shared by the Gennetai of a whole *Genos*." But Herodotus (V, 72) says that "to take away the curse" (Godley, Loeb Classics) 700 Athenian households (*ἐπίστια*) were banished in 508/7 B.C., and Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 20, 2) repeats his words (*ἡγγέλαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτοκίας οἰκίας* [*Κλεισθένης*]). In *Class. Quart.*, 1933, p. 26, n. 3 Wade-Gery accounts for the largeness of the number of *ἐναγείς* by taking them to include Kleisthenes' *συστασιῶται* (Her., V, 70). In fact these cannot have been all *συγγενήται* of Kleisthenes, since the case of Pericles (Thucy., I, 127, 1) shows that men of other gene who were connected with the Alkmaionidai matrilineally were also *ἐναγείς*. These accounted for an uncertain number of the 700 households. That the curse was thought to be transferable in the female line is also made clear by Herodotus (I, 61; cf. Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 15): Peisistratos refused to beget children with the daughter of Megakles on this score. A third point made

among the Kerykes; but our sources are so late and defective that they may give a false impression on this point. If there ever was a time when a *genos* possessed dependants (*hektemoroi*) they were lost in the age of Peisistratos.¹ In any case there is no sound evidence that the *gene* as corporations ever owned lands and properties beyond those which they still possessed in the fourth century and used to defray their religious and other communal expenses.² The economic influence which they had once possessed was based, not on their wealth, but on the wealth of the individual families of which they were composed, and to an even greater extent, on the will of the heads of these families to use their wealth for the promotion of gentile ends. It seems to me that the activities which explain, if not the origin, at least the enlargement of certain *gene* are to be sought in the sphere of politics;³ and that it was only when these had been rendered innocuous that Kleisthenes τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίδας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας εἶλεσεν ἔχειν ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. The political activities of the Alkmaionidai and the Philaidai consisted in the support of their leading houses in the struggle for power and office in Athens. Seven hundred households, attested as descendants of the Alkmaionidai of ca. 630 B.C. by inheriting the curse imposed upon the *genos* for massacring the adherents of Kylon, rallied round Kleisthenes in 508/7 B.C. Even though many of these are to be abstracted as being sprung from exogamous marriages of Alkmaionid women, the *gennetai* would still be very numerous. The Kerykes and Amyndridai were each some one hundred men strong.⁴ The Salaminioi may have been in their class. They had only one discernible common interest which can be termed political—their interest in Salamis. It is, I take it, significant that the Souniac Salaminioi had their *temenos* at Porthmos, on the sea coast, near the “embarking places.” They did not offer sacrifices to the Souniac Poseidon, nor did they make his shrine a place of deposit for their published records. They had no known religious relations to the Souniac Athena. Their rites were centred in the port. It seems to me not unlikely that Phaleron was the other end of the ferry which started at Porthmos. The normal connection of Sounion with Athens was by sea (cf. Her., VI, 87)—prior to 493 B.C. *via* Phaleron. The Salaminioi

by Wade-Gery, and approved by Kahrstedt, that no one is referred to as Alkmaionid who is not a direct descendant of Megakles II, or of his father, the Alkmeon of ca. 600 B.C. (*P. A.*, 651), simply registers the fact that our authorities concern themselves exclusively with the fortunes of the members of the leading house of the *genos*. The evidence suggests that the Alkmaionidai, like the Philaidai, Salaminioi, and the Kerykes, were organized at a comparatively late date. For what it is worth I note that both Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 1) and Thucydides (I, 126, 11) use the word *γένος* in speaking of the Alkmaionidai.

¹ Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, II², pp. 327 ff.

² A regime of communal family, and by extension gentile, ownership of land is postulated by Glotz for early Greece (*La solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, pp. 1 ff.; cf. *La travail dans la Grèce ancienne*, pp. 12 ff. and *La cité grecque*, p. 8). As concerns Attica I share the opinion of Adcock (*C.A.H.*, IV, p. 34, n. 1) that this view “is hard to reconcile with the historical evidence.” Cf. Pöhlmann, *Die Feldgemeinschaft bei Homer*, *Z. f. Social- und Wirtschaftsgesch.*, I, 1893, pp. 1 ff. cited with approval by Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, III², p. 272, n. 1.

³ Ferguson, *Class. Phil.*, 1910, p. 279.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

from Sounion and the Salaminioi of the Heptaphylai united in offering annually at Phaleron sacrifices to Poseidon and Teukros and to Phaiax and Nauseiros, the patrons of navigators in whose honor the Pilot's Festival was celebrated. It was undoubtedly in Phaleron that boats were assembled for launching attacks on Salamis. Its rôle in the war may have something to do with the fact that it was there, and not in Athens, as was usual with such importations, that Skiras was settled on becoming an Athenian goddess. The whole south coast of Attica must have been unsafe while the war lasted. Sounians, like the worshippers of Herakles—a considerable fraction of the well-to-do-inhabitants of the peninsula—, with distinct maritime interests, could not fail to be affected by the prolongation of the struggle. Their isolation and their maritime line of communications exposed them peculiarly to Megarian enterprises. We may think that they faced the choice of throwing in their lot with the defeatists (Salaminaíphetai) or with those whose program was that of Solon—to fight on till they had conquered. By becoming Salaminioi they took a definite stand and at the same time increased notably the number of Athenians who could claim that they, not the Salaminians resident on the island, were the rightful owners. On the definite assignment of the island to Athens by the Spartan arbitrators, probably in *ca.* 509 B.C., the chief insular goddess, Skiras, was transferred to Phaleron, and her cult, as Athena Skiras, was assigned, as was natural, to the Salaminioi. Theoretically at least, she thus came into the care of her rightful worshippers. The circumstances in which the Salaminioi came to possess their other public cult—that of Aglauros and Pandrosos—are wholly unknown.

The Sounians brought to the *genos* its most valuable property, the land at the Herakleion. From the income it yielded the Salaminioi defrayed, both before and after 363 B.C., *all* the gentile sacrifices. One of two inferences deducible from this fact is that the *genos* never existed as a sacrificing body, i.e., never existed at all, without the Sounians; the other is that the Sounians on joining the *genos* relieved it wholly of the financial burden of paying for the sacrifices which it had offered theretofore. Of the two we unhesitatingly accept the former, and thus resolve the problem left suspended hitherto (above, pp. 14, 24, 43) in the sense that the Sounians and the men from Athens and its environs were alike, so to speak, charter members of the organization. The only alternative is that originally the Sounians alone constituted the *genos*; but, if so, they cannot have been called Salaminioi, for this name is manifestly derived from Eurysakes. Certainly there were Salaminioi in what we may call the central branch before the time of Kleisthenes (above, pp. 13, 16 f., 18, 42).

As is well known the *gennetai* of each particular *genos* found themselves allocated by Kleisthenes' reforms to the different *phylai* assigned to the demes in which they were resident. Thereafter the state-determined hereditary groups of *phyletai* and *demotai* were the strongest loyalty-evoking subdivisions of the Athenians. In the rivalries of *phylai* in the Council, the army, and the athletic and musical contests the *gennetai* of any one *genos* found their sympathies enlisted on different sides. The *gene* had to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. Some of them, like the Kerykes and the Amyndridai,

found that they had members in all ten phylai. They could dispense with a reorganization. The Salaminioi had to face a situation perhaps peculiar to themselves. About half their number were massed at Porthmos. These became members of the deme of Sounion, which in turn was allotted to the phyle Leontis. The rest were scattered in seven phylai. It was natural in these circumstances for the Salaminioi resident at Porthmos to be organized with an archon of their own as *οἱ ἀπὸ Σορίο*, and for the Salaminioi resident elsewhere in Attica to be drawn together in a central branch, again with an archon of their own, as *οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φυλῶν*. Whether an archon continued to exist for the whole genos is a moot point (see below, pp. 61 ff.). Problems connected with the management of the cult of Athena Skiras, which, according to the most probable theory, was entrusted to the Salaminioi in *ca.* 509 B.C., may have had some bearing on this reorganization. Oschophoria had probably been celebrated by the natives of Salamis in the shrine at the Skiradion, and the native oschophoroi may have been two in number, one for Skiras and another for Skiros. We really know nothing on the point. In the Attic Oschophoria there were two oschophoroi, one probably from each branch. Had the central branch been in existence before 508/7 B.C. it would doubtless have retained its pre-Kleisthenian name. The new name *οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φυλῶν*, originally at least, simply described a situation, and was hardly a title at all. *Οἱ ἀπὸ Σορίο* is of the same character. Both were make-shifts and arose, apparently, because of the lack of earlier designations, which, however, must have existed if the division into two branches had been pre-Kleisthenian. The fundamental reason for the separate branch at Sounion was undoubtedly the size, isolation and religious distinctiveness of the group composing it. For the next 145 years the Salaminioi disappear from our sight, to reappear in 363 B.C. beset with the differences between the two branches which required resort to arbitration.

How the two groups, the one with its hieron in Melite, the other with its cult centre at Porthmos, were organized before they united to form the genos of the Salaminioi, we do not know: they may have been *orgeones*. If the view here developed of the origin of the Salaminioi is correct, the foundation of this particular genos does not go back beyond the latter part of the seventh century and may be later. The Kerykes, as an agency for the administration of its chief charge—the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis—, cannot be traced plausibly beyond 700 B.C. Clearly gene of this type have nothing to do with “primitive” times. Nor do gene of a more common type—those built round the eminence of a single house—necessarily have a greater antiquity. The Philaidai, for example, cannot be much earlier than the Salaminioi.¹ Both were creations of a society becoming, or become, aristocratic, or of an aristocratic state.

¹ The genealogy of the Philaidai given by Pherekydes (Jacoby, *F.G.H.*, I, p. 59) runs as follows: Aias Philaios—Daiklos—Epilykos—Akestor—Agenor—Oulios—Lykes—Tophon (Iophon?)—Laios—Agamestor—Teisandros—[Miltiades]—Hippokleides (archon in 566/5 B.C.). This would place Philaios *ca.* 900 B.C. (Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II¹, p. 310 = III³, p. 285, n. 1). All the names in the stemma except Daiklos and Tophon are attested as Athenian. It is impossible to say where reality ends and construction begins. Philaios and Aias are clearly fictional. I do not think that we can evaluate highly the chronological implications

Toward the end of the first century A.D. marble tablets were taken from the Eurysakeion for use in constructing a water tunnel in the neighborhood. We might think that the Salaminioi, who had this shrine as their headquarters, were already extinct at this date. But the evidence does not warrant this conclusion. For one of the tablets thus discarded was a decree of the phyle Aiantis, which shared the Eurysakeion with the Salaminioi; yet Aiantis was an active organization long after the end of the first century. A different explanation of the removal of the marbles suggests itself. From *I.G.*, II², 1498 we learn that stelai erected on the Acropolis during the last decade of the fifth century B.C. were *πλῆγ' αἰ* *χαμαί* seventy or eighty years later. We have no reason to suppose that the Eurysakeion was better tended than the central sanctuary of Athena. It is therefore conceivable that the Eurysakeion was renovated near the end of the first century A.D. and that the marble tablets which were then re-used in the water tunnel had been broken in pieces or had fallen to the ground during the centuries which had elapsed since they were set up. Hence both the *genos* and the phyle can have continued to offer sacrifices in their hieron for an indeterminate period thereafter. If this is the true explanation, and if the Eurysakeion was set in order toward the end of the first century A.D., we may conclude that the *genos* of the Salaminioi was still a going concern at this date.

NOTES ON No. 1

Line 2. In drafting their decision the arbitrators used for purposes of dating the name of the Athenian archon (ll. 2, 56, 67). In the two records appended to the decision—the list of the jurors and the decree of the *genos*—the dating is given by the names of the archons of the Salaminioi. In all cases except one (l. 82) it is made clear to whom the archon belonged. The exception is discussed below (pp. 61 ff.). From line 67 it is clear that the decision was rendered at or after the first of Boedromion, 363 B.C.

Line 3. The *diaitetai* (named *diallaktai* in line 81) are private arbitrators, not the public officials of the same name. In cases of public arbitration a single arbitrator was assigned by lot by the Forty to try the case (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 53, 2; cf. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, pp. 5 ff.; Harrell, H. C., *Public Arbitration in Athenian Law* [Univ. of Missouri Studies, XI, 1], p. 21). In other cases of private arbitration known to us the number of arbitrators varied from one to four (Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 224, n. 14; Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realenc.*, V, 314). There was no rule on this point.

of a pedigree of this character, especially since it is clear that the stemma, as it stands, is irreconcilable both with data given by Herodotus (VI, 127, 35) and the chronology of Kastor (Ed. Meyer, *Forsch. z. alt. Gesch.*, I, p. 174, n. 1; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, II, 2², pp. 37 ff.). If Agamestor is identified with the life-long archon of that name, he ruled, according to Kastor (De Sanctis, *Atthis*², pp. 99 ff.), from 794 to 778 B.C., and Philaios will fall ca. 1060 B.C. In any case the pedigree does not disclose when the family became the leading house of a *genos*. In a study entitled "Classes and Masses in Homer" (*Class. Phil.*, 1934, pp. 192 ff., 301 ff.) Calhoun has presented reasons for doubting that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reflect a society in which aristocracy was highly institutionalized.

The disputants determined the number. In our case they settled upon five. In instances where the arbitrators were three each party nominated one and the third was *κοινός* ([Dem.], XXXIII, 14; for the use of *κοινοί* for arbitrators in general see Klaffenbach, *Sitz. preuß. Akad.*, 1936, pp. 25, 30), designated either by the two already nominated ([Dem.], LIX, 45), or by the two disputants ([Dem.], XXXIII, 14); where they were four (Dem., XXXVI, 15; Isae., V, 31f.) each party nominated two. It is probable that our five consisted of two nominees of each party, while the fifth was *κοινός*.

The first step of the public *diaitetai* is described thus by Aristotle: οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες, εἴαν μὴ δύνωνται διαλύσαι, γινώσκουσι (*Ath. Pol.*, 53, 2; cf. Harrell, *op. cit.*, p. 23). They modelled their procedure on that of the private *diaitetai* (Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Bonner, *Class. Phil.*, 1916, pp. 191 f.; Bonner-Smith, *Administration of Justice*, I, pp. 346 f.; Harrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff.). The first step of both was to effect a reconciliation (*διαλύειν*) without the formal proceedings involved in *γινώσκειν*. In our second record (No. 2, ll. 3 ff.) a reconciliation was effected (*διέλυσαντο τὰ γένη πρὸς ἄλληλα*), and the arbitrators are accordingly named *διαλυταί*. In our first record (No. 1) formal proceedings had to be taken (l. 5: *ὁ ἔγνωσαν οἱ διαιτηταί*), and the arbitrators are accordingly named *diaitetai* or *diallaktai*. The latter name is descriptive of their function: they mediated (*διήλλαξαν*), and their findings are appropriately called *diallagai* (No. 1, l. 83). Counting No. 2, which differs only in the phraseology of the preamble, we have now five texts emanating from private arbitrators, two transmitted in the Demosthenic oration against Neaira (LIX, 71 and 47), our two, and the fifth preserved in *I.G.*, II², 1289. The latter, dated *med. s. III*, is an "arbitrorum disceptatio in lite orgeonum." It is introduced by *τάδε διέλυσαν οἱ δικασταί*. The verb (*διέλυσαν*) indicates that in this instance, as in our second case, which belongs to approximately the same time, reconciliation was successful without resort to formal proceedings. *Δικασταί* is peculiar. The following phrase (*[ἐπιτρεψάν]των ἀμφοτέρων*) proves that we have to do with private arbitration (Hubert, *de arbitris atticis*, p. 8; Thalheim in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, V, 341; Bonner-Smith, *op. cit.*, I, p. 349). *Δικασταί*, therefore, is either used in a loose sense for *διαλυταί*, or the litigants chose on this occasion *dialytai* from among those drafted for heliastic service.

The introductory phrase in our two literary texts is in the one case identical ([Dem.], LIX, 71) with that of our *diallagai* (*ἐπὶ τοῖσδε διήλλαξαν*), in the other ([Dem.], LIX, 47) approximately so (*κατὰ τάδε διήλλαξαν*). The new record proves the authenticity of the literary documents, if any proof is needed (Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 223, n. 9); and since these documents concern merely stark adjustments of roisterers' quarrels about courtesans and consist of little more than one sentence, we have now for the first time in our possession records of some length covering important cases of private arbitration. An analysis of this type of Athenian legal record is now possible. The language is simple and the style clear and uninvolved. As is commonly the case in psephismata the command is conveyed by the infinitive. The text records the decisions only. The points at issue and the counterclaims of the two litigants are not set forth. The arbitrators never present an argument for their findings. In No. 1 the decisions succeed one another

until we reach line 52 in an orderly sequence. Beginning with this line we have a series of decisions unrelated to one another. One of them (ll. 58–61) deals with a point raised by an earlier decision (see below, p. 60). Another covers particulars not touched upon in a general ruling already made (see above, pp. 34ff.). To another is appended a sentence which is anachronistic in that it records the execution of a ruling just made (ll. 56f.; see below, p. 59). Omitting as it does the points at issue and the grounds of the controversies, the text is not as illuminating historically as we should like it to be. We may tentatively infer what the points at issue were in some instances (cf. above, p. 36; below, pp. 50, 53f., 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 71f., 73f.).

Lines 4f. Agreement to accept the decision of the arbitrators appears as part of the contract of submission (*συνθήκαι*; cf. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, p. 224, n. 12) in [Dem.], XXXIII, 14, and other texts cited by Lipsius (*loc. cit.*) show that this was customary. Indeed the law quoted below (under l. 5) required it. In our case all that is recorded is the contentment of both parties with the decision rendered. This does not exclude an advance agreement to accept the findings. The phrase *ὁμολογοῦντας—ἔγνωσαν* cannot have been in the original judgment of the *diatetai* since it describes the action taken by the two parties after the decision was rendered. See below, p. 59. If the arbitrators failed to take an oath before adjudicating, the state might refuse to recognize and execute their findings (Isae., V, 31 ff.; Lipsius, *op. cit.*, pp. 222f.; Thalheim, *op. cit.*, 313f.). Lipsius affirms that an award made by sworn arbitrators was a *δίαιτα* and that one made by unsworn arbitrators was a *διαλλαγή*. *Διαλλάττειν* he takes to be a synonym for *διαλύειν* (p. 223, n. 9). But this is incorrect. As we have seen (above, p. 48), *διαλύειν* and *διαλυταί* are the technical terms employed for the action and the actors in the first stage of arbitral procedure—that of reconciliation. If the arbitrators failed to effect a settlement by persuasion, then and then only they gave a formal hearing and issued an arbitral order. Such an order was, however, a *διαλλαγή*. I take it that *δίαιτα* and *διαλλαγή* were synonyms; and that an oath on the part of the arbitrators was mandatory before they were competent *γινώσκειν*. The *diatetai*-*diallaktai* of No. 1 doubtless took an oath, the *dialytai* of No. 2 did not. In the agreement to arbitrate it might be required that the litigants bind themselves by oath to give effect to the decisions (Isae., V, 31f.). In our case No. 1 an oath was taken by seven representatives of each party (ll. 69ff.), but by it they ratified, not the articles of submission, but the findings themselves (l. 81).

Line 5: *καλῶς ἔχειν*. *Ἐμμένειν* is the formal word of acceptance used in advance agreements (Isae., V, 31; Dem., XXVII, 1; XXXIII, 14; XL, 31). The law quoted in Dem., XXI, 94 has *μενέντωσαν ἐν*. Cf. Dem., LVII, 12f.: *καὶ ὁ τι γνοίησαν περὶ ἐμοῦ, τούτοις ἔβηλον ἐμμένειν*. *Καλῶς ἔχειν* is an appropriate term to express satisfaction with a decision already reached.

Lines 6–8. Stephanos of Myrrhinous is known: *P.A.*, 12891. He was a trierarch *p. annum* 358/7 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1615, 102; 1616, 125). His tribe was Pandionis. For Kephisodotos of Aithalidai (Leontis) see *P.A.*, 8321–23. Euthykritos came from Erech-

theis, Aristogeiton from Pandionis, and Kleagoras from Oineis. The arbitrators were acquaintances of the Salaminioi, and probably of the same social position.

Lines 8 ff. The first ruling of the arbitrators would have no point if the priesthoods had been κοινὰ ἀμφοτέρων theretofore, unless it was directed against a project to distribute them among the two branches. The perpetual unity of the genos in this important particular was its object in either case. In lines 63 ff. the office of the herald is also named a ἱερωσύνη.

Lines 11 f.: καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀγλαύρο, κτλ. One priesthood, but two cults—that of Aglauros and Pandrosos and that of Kourotrophos. From lines 45 f. we see that the genos had also a kalathephoros of Kourotrophos. See further above, p. 21.

Lines 12 ff.: καὶ κληροῦσθαι, κτλ. Harpokration, s.v. γεννῆται reports that gentile priest-hoods generally were assigned by sortition (πάλιν δὲ τῶν φρατριῶν ἐκάστη διήρητο εἰς γένη ᾧ, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἱερωσύναι αἱ ἐκάστοις προσήκονσαι ἐκληροῦντο). In the *Lexicon Dem. Patm.* (B.C.H., I, 1877, p. 152) we have the same statement, with the addition οἷον Εὐμολπίδαι καὶ Κήρυκες καὶ Ἐτεοβοντάδαι. Their common source is Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.* (Rose, *frg.* 385³). Sortition of priest-hoods may also be inferred in a particular case from Pseudo-Plutarch, *X or. vit.*, 843 f, where it is affirmed that Habron, the son of Lycurgus, λαχὼν ἐκ τοῦ γένους (τῶν Ἐτεοβονταδῶν) τὴν ἱερωσύνην, withdrew in favor of his younger brother Lykophron. This last statement opened a long controversy. Dittenberger (*Hermes*, XX, 1885, p. 22, n. 2) accepted λαχὼν at its face value and concluded that in case of a vacancy in the priest-hood of Poseidon-Erechtheus the successor was designated by lot from the whole body of the Eteoboutadai without reference to his relationship to his predecessor. Töpffer (*Att. Gen.*, pp. 125 ff.) asked very pertinently, How in that case did Habron pass the office along to his brother? Transference of the priest-hoods of the Eteoboutadai by sortition he found irreconcilable with the genealogy of the priests and priestesses of the genos given by Pseudo-Plutarch, and, accordingly, he rid himself of the evidence for allotment by translating λαχὼν, not, wie gewöhnlich, "durchs Los erhalten," but as "einfach erlangen." "Wie ist es möglich," he inquires, "wenn der Staatspriester durch das Los aus der Mitgliederzahl des Eteobutadengeschlechtes designiert wurde, daß der Fall eintreten konnte, daß die Priesterämter des Poseidon Erechtheus und der Athena Polias auch mit Nichteteobutaden, z. B. mit Eumolpiden und Keryken besetzt wurden? Dieser Fall ist aber in der Tat eingetreten. Wie Plutarch im Stemma des Redners Lykurgos ausdrücklich angibt, haben sowohl Medeios (*P.A.*, 10098: his son was also ἐξηγητής, *I.G.*, II², 3490) als auch Philippe, die Kinder des schon früher erwähnten ἐξηγητῆς ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν Medeios (*P.A.*, 10097), also zweifellos Angehörige des Eumolpidengeschlechtes, jene beiden Staatspriestertümer verwaltet. Ein gleiches gilt von dem Hagnusier Diokles (rather his brother Theophrastos, *I.G.*, II², 3509), der τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως διετάξατο, obwohl er als Sohn des Daduchen Themistokles notorisch zu dem Geschlechte der Keryken gehört hat." These instances raise a preliminary question: How could the son of a high official of the Kerykes come to hold a priest-hood of the Eteoboutadai? How could the

children of the Eumolpid Medeios do likewise? The only possible answer is that they became eligible matrilineally. Yet eligibility presupposed membership in the *genos* of the Eteoboutadai. Hence persons might be, at one and the same time, both Kerykes or Eumolpidai and Eteoboutadai, or cease to be Kerykes or Eumolpidai and become Eteoboutadai. Similar cases of confusion or transference of *gentilitas* are known. Nor are the persons concerned in them all members of the two great Eleusinian gene. An exegetes of the Eupatridai (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 59), Diotimos, son of Diodoros, of Halai, sprang from the *genos* of the Bouzygai (Wilhelm, *Wien. Anz.*, 1924, pp. 124 ff.). Wade-Gery (*Class. Quart.*, 1931, pp. 83 ff.), acting on a suggestion of Wilhelm, argues that the name Eupatridai does not designate a *genos* but only the nobility as a whole. If true, this contention would vitiate this example; and its truth is contested by Kahrstedt (*Staatsgebiet*, p. 266, n.). But the careful examination of the stones recently made by G. Daux (*Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} siècle*, pp. 551 ff.) shows that the Delphian texts by which Kahrstedt was influenced favor the view that the Eupatridai figuring in them were the caste. Let us, then, reject this case. A second case concerns Pammenes, the son of Zenon, of Marathon (Sundwall, *Nachtr. P. A.*, p. 85), who, as Roussel has shown clearly (*B. C. H.*, 1929, pp. 179 ff.), belonged simultaneously or successively to the Bouzygai and the Erysichthonidai. More recently Roussel has added another such case. "Dans le dernier quart du 1^{er} siècle av. J.-C., un *Ἀεωνίδης Μελιτεύς* appartient au *génos* des Amyndridai. Pourtant un descendant immédiat de ce personnage, si l'on en croit la généalogie donnée par J. Kirchner (*I. G.*, II², 3609), inaugure la série des dadouques de Melitè qui reçoivent cette charge après Themistoklès (II) d'Hagnous." (*Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 827 f., 831 f.; Kirchner, *I. G.*, II², 3510, substitutes Themistokles [III] for Themistokles [II].) I am also inclined to place in the category of men with double *gentilitas* Diotimos, the son of Diodoros, of Halai, a member of the Bouzygai (cf. above), who appears in the important new document first published by Threpsiades (Kourouniotes, *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, pp. 223 ff.) and republished by Roussel (*Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 819 ff.) as one of twenty appointees of the *genos* of the Kerykes, all of whom I rate as Kerykes because they were neither Eleusinioi nor Thriasioi (cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, 1885, p. 9; *Syll.*², 605, n. 6; Ferguson, *Class. Phil.*, 1910, pp. 276 f.; above, p. 42).

Let us examine the situation predicated by our text. The use of sortition for the designation of priests and priestesses serving both gentile and public cults is clear and unequivocal. Any woman of the Salaminioi might become priestess of Athena Skiras or of Aglauros and Pandrosos and Kourotrophos. She might be married to a man from another *genos* or might marry such a man subsequently. Though the wife (it may be) of a Keryx or an Eumolpid, she would hold the charge since it terminated only with her death. Did her children cease to be Salaminioi? The cases adduced above show that this was not at all times necessary. Under certain conditions and circumstances men assumed their mother's *gentilitas* in lieu of or in addition to their father's. There must have been some limitation since otherwise the lines between gene would speedily have become completely blurred. The instances cited of double or alternate *gentilitas* have two things

in common: they all belong to the last half of the second century B.C., an epoch of much social and religious confusion (*Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 418 ff.), or later; they all involved persons who held gentile *ἱερωσύνη*. We may assume, tentatively, that restrictions earlier existent were abandoned in the interest of men or women who, on the basis of matrilinear connection, had a claim on a priesthood.

This duality or transference of *gentilitas* is unattested earlier than 150 B.C. It has yet to be proved that it existed in Aristotle's time. What then existed was clearly compatible, at least in the case of the Salaminioi, with the designation of gentile priests and priestesses by lot. The tenure of a priesthood by the mother gave a child no right to the succession whether she had married within or without the *genos*. Writing in ca. 325 B.C. Aristotle affirmed that sortition was the rule for the transmission of the gentile *ἱερωσύνη* generally. Habron *ἔλαχε* the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus at about this same time. Allotment accords with the view expressed by Isocrates (II, 6, post 374 B.C.), that a priesthood was a charge which any man could fill (*ἱερωσύνην παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι*). Sortition was the logical way of realizing equality among the members of a group whether they were *Ἀθηναῖοι* or *γεννηταί*. Shall we defer to this evidence and accept Aristotle's statement as true for his time? The only opposing evidence, so far as I can see, is the transaction by which Habron yielded the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus to his brother Lykophron, and the tenure of the *dadouchia*, apparently in succession, by Kallias II of Alopeke, whom Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.*, II, 2², pp. 44f.) rather arbitrarily divides into two Kalliases, uncle and nephew, both *dadouchs*, Hipponikos, his son (*P.A.*, 7658), and Kallias III (*P.A.*, 7826), his grandson. There is, however, no evidence that Hipponikos was *dadouch*. Andocides (I, 115) does not say so (Foucart, *Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 191, n. 5). These cases may be, and perhaps are, explained satisfactorily by the formula advocated by Foucart (*op. cit.*, pp. 192 f.), that the Kerykes, while using the lot, could, "par une abstention volontaire laisser aux membres d'une famille plus riche ou plus influente une sorte de possession exclusive de la *dadouchie*." But if we interpret these cases in the light of later practice we can hardly find this formula adequate. Leontios of Acharnai (*akme* ca. 204 B.C.) and his descendants for seven generations held the *dadouchia* as a sort of family possession. Then (ca. 50 A.D.) it passed over to the family of Leonides of Melite, whose descendants held it for four generations and possibly longer. Such control of this *ἱερωσύνη* by members of two families implies so prolonged *une abstention volontaire* on the part of other Kerykes that sortition cannot have continued to exist even as a fiction.

Roussel in his commentary on the Eleusinian document (*Mélanges Bidez*, p. 831) raises another point. "Le décret," he writes, "ne s'accorde guère avec cette théorie" (Foucart's). "Ce n'est pas que l'expression *μεταπαράλαμβάνειν τὴν δαιδουσίαν*, employée à deux reprises (l. 48 et 50), exclue nécessairement une désignation par le sort, mais l'hérédité de certains droits dans certaines familles paraît ressortir du passage qui introduit la généalogie de Thémistocle (II): *παρεκληφότα τὴν ἐγγένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἱερωσύνην ἐγ' διαδοχῆς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Θεοφράστου*." The important phrase is, I suppose, *ἀπ' αὐτῆς*. It connects derivatively the priesthood which Themistokles took over from

his father at his father's death with the nobility which he inherited from his father at his own birth. There were, of course, differences of social position, wealth, and influence between the families of any *genos*; but, so far as I know, all *gennetai* of a given *genos* were *εὐγενεῖς*. If this is so, the *εὐγένεια* which Themistokles inherited from Theophrastos may be, though it need not be, simply that of any *Keryx*; and from this a priesthood might be said to spring. Strictly, therefore, the passage does not prove the *traditio* of the *dadouchia* by inheritance; but it certainly misrepresents the transaction if the *traditio* was actually effected by sortition, even if this was a mere form. The implication of the passage is clearly that Themistokles, like his father, was of noble birth, that his birth gave him a claim to the office, and that accordingly he succeeded his father. Inheritance of the *dadouchia* by some rule seems indicated. Töpffer (*Att. Gen.*, pp. 89f.) suggested a right of seniority. Roussel dissents and concludes: "D'après le tableau qu'on a pu dresser, l'hypothèse la plus simple est qu'il y avait hérédité, mais que, selon des règles déterminées, la *dadouchie* passait à un autre membre de la famille, si les fils du *dadouque* défunt n'étaient pas en âge de remplir la charge."

No data permitting inferences as to the *traditio* of the *dadouchia* are extant for the period between the succession of Kallias the son of Hipponikos in *ca.* 425/4 B.C. and *ca.* 200 B.C. Kallias presumably held the office till his death (post 358/7 B.C. *Kirchner, P.A.*, 7826). For anything we know his successor may have been designated by lot. But to enable the use of sortition during the whole or part of the interval between 424 and 200 B.C. we should have to postulate two changes, one away from heredity (if the succession of Kallias III, *P.A.*, 7826, was really thus determined) and another back to it, which in the absence of positive evidence we are hardly warranted in doing. The maintenance of heredity throughout, if it really existed in the fifth century B.C., is more probable. But we cannot draw a valid conclusion from a premise thus weakly grounded. Moreover, what may be true of this particular office of this particular *genos* is not true of all gentile *ἱερωσύναι*. *Κληροῦσθαι* in our text proves it. The *Kerykes* may have been governed by an ordinance peculiar to them alone. The exclusion, valid in 508/7 B.C., of Eleusinioi and Thrasioi from the *genos* shows in itself that the *Kerykes* were, at least in one respect, unique among Attic *gene* (above, p. 51). By the fourth century the *gene* generally, not excluding the *Eteoboutadai* (Lykophron's receipt of the priesthood allotted to Habron may have been facilitated by *une abstention volontaire*), can have passed on, and probably *did* pass on, their priestships by lot.

This raises the question whether allotment in the case of the Salaminioi was an innovation of 363 B.C. That the clause *καὶ κληροῦσθαι κοινῇ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ τις τῶν ἱερείων ἢ τῶν ἱερέων* settled a controversy is indubitable; but this controversy is not defined. The point at issue may be found in the words *κοινῇ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων* rather than in *κληροῦσθαι*; and, indeed, this harmonizes better with the general tenor of the *diallagai*. Had allotment existed before 363 B.C. *κληροῦσθαι* would still have to be used. Some of the priestly officers of the *genos* served public cults. Is it likely that the Salaminioi were competent to alter radically the mode of designating the priestesses of

Athena Skiras by agreeing among themselves to be content with the rule private arbitrators selected by themselves laid down? The authority of the state itself to regulate disputes as to priesthoods and conflicts between gene and priests *ὑπὲρ [τῶν γε]ρῶν* (or *[ἱε]ρῶν*) was vested in the King, with whom a graphe might be entered by anyone who wished. A trial followed in a heliastic court (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 57, 2). Such trials were of frequent occurrence in Athens (Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, p. 267, n. 4). Whether *κληροῶσθαι* is accented or not, the ruling *κοινῇ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων* suggests that the controversy centred in the monopoly of the priesthoods, not by particular families, but by the branches individually, that of Eurysakes, for example, by the men of the Heptaphylai, and that of Herakles by the men from Sounion. The opening of them to all gennetai would be a proper subject for settlement by arbitration, especially if allotment was already in use for designating the holders.

Lines 14 f. Again the stress need not be, and probably is not, upon *τοὺς λαγχάνοντας*. The effect of the decision was (we may believe) to limit the duties of the priests and priestesses in the way in which they had been limited before they came to be selected from the gennetai collectively. The widening of the area of their recruitment was not to entail any change in their functions.

Line 17. *ἄλλην* is undoubtedly a scribal error for *ἄλγν*. The same misspelling is found in Mss. and Papyri (Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v. *ἄλγν*). Hitherto the plural alone, *ἑλαί*, has been found. It means "salt works." If the singular has a quite different meaning I do not know what it is. In any case the Hale was something of which the halves, like those of the agora in Koile and the land at Porthmos, could be bounded by markers. A salt pond (*ἄλνκῆ* in modern Greek) attests the territory of the Attic deme Halai Aixonides, another that of Halai Araphenides, and a third that of Halai in Lokris (Kolbe in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VII, 2226 ff.). Our Hale doubtless lay in the vicinity of Porthmos since it was near the Herakleion there that the sacrifice to the hero at the Hale was offered (l. 86; cf. above, p. 22). There exists, however, in the Souniac region a Halyke to-day. According to the *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, IV, p. 92 the coast of the southeastern recess of the Bay of Sounion, between the northwestern corner of the phrourion and a small shallow pond, is now known as Halyke. It forms a microscopical *ἄλιπέδον* at Lat. 37° 39' 00", Long. 24° 01' 52". The pond is visible in the distance on the photograph published by Staes in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1917, p. 173. Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, p. 8) observes that it contains fresh water; but this report is correct, if at all (cf. below, p. 75), only when it was swollen by winter freshets (Milchhöfer in Curtius und Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Text, Heft III-VI, p. 30). The Great Hellenic Encyclopedia (*loc. cit.*) defines *ἄλνκῆ* as follows: *Τοπωνύμιον ἐν χρήσει, παρὰ ναυτικοῖς ἰδίως, καὶ ἀπαντῶν εἰς διάφορα μέρη, τῶν ἑλληνικῶν ἀγίων, εἰρισκόμενα πλησίον αὐτοπύκτων ἄλνκων, ἢ καὶ πλησίον ἄλιπέδων ἢ ξηρολιμνῶν ἐπικαλυπτομένων ὑπὸ "έλοσάχνης."* It thus applies to a great many coastal points at which we have no reason to infer the existence of ancient salt works. There may have been another salt pond in antiquity in the Souniac region. At the moment

I do not know of any. In view of Thompson's report (below, pp. 75 f.) I do not hesitate to identify Hale with the modern Halyke, and to claim that the floor of the pond served as a basin in which salt water deposited by evaporation salt. One such basin I take to have been a hale. Usually several pans were used in a salt works; hence the plural *ἅλαι*. A division of the Hale (so defined) was feasible and *ῥοι* could be placed to mark it. Half the area on which the salt formed could thus be assigned to each branch of the Salaminioi. In *ca.* 250 B.C. the mediators decided that the Hale should be held in common, thus abrogating the division of the property made in 363 B.C. (No. 2, ll. 36 ff.).

Line 17. The agora in Koile is unknown. The deme Koile adjoined Melite, the site of the Eurysakeion. It lay in the "hollow" south southwest of the Pnyx, between the points at which the north and south "legs" of the Long Walls reached Athens. The agora need not have occupied much space. We learn from *I.G.*, II², 1180 (*ca. med. IVs.*) of the delimitation, for the benefit of the demotai, of a new agora at Sounion approximately two plethra long by one plethron wide (214 by 107 English feet according to Dinsmoor, 194 by 97 according to Dörpfeld). The only other urban agora (apart from *the* Agora) known to us is that of the Skambonidai (*I.G.*, I², 188, 19 and 53). We learn that this was used for the distribution and sale of *ἱερεῖα* to the members of the deme. As to its other uses we have no information. The division of the agora in Koile into halves, one for each branch of the genos, involves the use of it for other than communal gentile purposes. Previous to 363 B.C. it was, of course, undivided. It may have belonged to the whole genos, or, more probably, to one branch only. And the same was true of the Hale. For the *γῆ* see below, p. 60, ll. 58 ff. It is likely that before 363 B.C. the agora belonged to the men from Heptaphylai, the Hale to the men from Sounion. An agora was a place for the buying and selling of goods. Salaminioi of the Heptaphylai who lived in Athens and its neighborhood would find a business centre of their own a convenience, or, if it was let (cf. below, p. 60, ll. 58 ff.), a source of profit. The purpose of the division made in 363 B.C. may have been to put the Salaminioi from Sounion, some of whom undoubtedly lived in the capital, on an equality with them in its use or exploitation. In *ca.* 250 B.C. (No. 2, ll. 36 ff.) the division was annulled and the two branches (then separate gene) were given the enjoyment of the agora in common.

Lines 17 f. The adjective *διχαστός* appears in [Iamblichus], *Theologumena Arithmeticae*, 35, with the meaning "divisible by two" (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s.v.*). Here it seems to mean "halved."

Line 25. *Παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν* means "from their own resources;" cf. *I.G.*, II², 1277, ll. 10, 13. For it to mean "among themselves," i.e., without the presence of non-gennetai, the dative would be in order. The phrase might be construed with *ἐξῆγον* or *θύειν*. If taken with *θύειν* its position would make it emphatic, and thereby authorization would be given to the Salaminioi to draw on other revenues than rental if they had any. Since the rental belonged to the Salaminioi, *παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν* would be redundant if taken with *ἐξῆγον*. The implication of the phrase is that the genos was not wholly dependent on the

land at the Herakleion for its income. By their decree (ll. 80 ff.) the Salaminioi limited their expenses for gentile sacrifices to receipts from the rental.

Line 27. The section of the *gnosis* ending with the sentence *ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγράψαι, κτλ.* (ll. 50 ff.) probably begins with *τοῖς δὲ ἱερεῦσι*. In it are specified αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν ἱερέων mentioned in line 82 of the decree of the Salaminioi. The arbitrators ordered this section to be inscribed on a "common" stele which was to be erected in the hieron of Athena Skiras. For all we know this may have been done. It is clear, however, that the Salaminioi caused the entire text of the *gnosis* (αἱ διαλλαγαί, l. 83) to be inscribed on stone and that this was already done when the decree of the Salaminioi was passed. If it was already erected the stele was taken down so that the decree of the Salaminioi might be added (below, p. 60), as required (ll. 82 f.). Then it was set up, also as required (ll. 84 f.), in the Eurysakeion, near which it was found. In the decree of the Salaminioi known heretofore (*I.G.*, II², 1232) it is prescribed that two copies of the record should be inscribed on stone, one to be set up in the Eurysakeion, and the other in the [peribolos] of the temple of Athena Skiras. Since the stone which is preserved was discovered in Athens it is obviously the copy which was set up in the Eurysakeion. The reason for erecting in the shrine of Athena Skiras the stele specifying the *γέρα* (l. 50) was, doubtless, the fact that upwards of one half the regulations to be inscribed on it concerned the Oschophoria. In *I.G.*, II², 1232 a special reason is also perceptible for the requirement that a copy of this honorary decree be set up in the [peribolos] of the temple of Athena Skiras. The anathema referred to in line 15, with which the vote of thanks was somehow connected, was a gift to Athena Skiras. A copy of the vote of thanks was manifestly in place in the shrine which contained the dedication. The Eurysakeion was probably the normal place for the deposit of the gentile records. In *ca.* 250 B.C. no provision was made for recording on stone the findings of the dialytai. None the less, they were inscribed on a stele which, as the place of finding shows, was erected in the Eurysakeion. The Eurysakeion was, in all likelihood, the central headquarters of the *genos*. The *grammateia* referred to in lines 57 f. were presumably written rather than inscribed records. They were to be all κοινὰ ἀμφοτέρων, i.e., equally accessible to both parties. Where they were to be kept is not stated.

Line 30. For the accentuation *πελανόν* see Bücheler, Herond., *Mim.*, IV, 91, cited by Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum sacrae*, II, 1, p. 20, n. 7, and Liddell-Scott-Jones, s.v. "*Πέλανος* bezeichnet 'den erlesensten Teil des einem Gott gelieferten Getreides, aus dem man die Opferkuchen bereitet,'" writes Nilsson (*Griech. Feste*, p. 90), quoting Stengel (*Hermes*, 1894, p. 283). Stengel later (*Griech. Kultusaltertümer*³, p. 99; cf. *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, pp. 66 ff.) defined it as follows: "Es ist das ein mehr oder weniger flüssiger Mehlteig, Honig, oft auch Mohn enthaltend, der je nachdem in die Flammen geworfen oder als eine Art Spende gegossen werden konnte. In festerem Zustand erscheint er als flaches, rundes Gebäck, unsern Eierkuchen oder Flinzen ganz ähnlich. Gegessen wird niemals davon. Er ist als Opfertgabe namentlich in chthonischen Kulte häufig, begegnet jedoch auch in andern." Cf. Ziehen, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f.

Line 31. *Κοινῶν*, i.e., "of the genos," not "of the state," which would be *δημοσίων* (*I.G.*, I², 190, ll. 32 ff., 24; cf. Ziehen, *op. cit.*, p. 201, ll. 26 ff.). The contrast of both is *ιδίων*.

Line 32. *Τό* may be thought to be lacking after *δαρνῶ*. The omission would be intelligible in view of the *-το* which precedes. If it were also absent with *σκέλος* no question would arise: cf. ll. 35 f. For the distinction between *δαρνά* and *ἐδστά* see Ziehen, *op. cit.*, p. 44, n. 21; Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*³, p. 112, n. 21.

Line 33. For *σάραγας* cf. *I.G.*, I², 190, l. 29; II², 1359, l. 4. Ditt. *Syll.*³, 1047, 1171; *S.G.D.I.*, I, 276.

Line 35. *Ἀμφοτέρωσε* = "for or to both." "Both" must mean Eurysakes and the hero at the Hale; cf. ll. 52 ff. For *σκέλος* (gen.) *καὶ δέματος* see above, p. 57. Each of the two priests receives specific gera and a portion (*μερίς*) from each branch of the genos. The two priestesses receive the two portions but no special gera except in the case of the offerings of *ἄρτοι* to Athena Skiras, when, however, they receive no more than the priests. Probably the priestesses fare thus badly because they served public cults and hence can have received special gera from the state. Ordinarily priestesses received gera just as priests did (Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*³, pp. 40 ff.). The two portions awarded by the arbitrators to the priests and priestesses are connected with the organization of the genos in two branches: each furnished one. Since, as officiants, they would receive without question a portion, the sole point of this section is to double the portion, and (or) to make each branch responsible for the half. If several possession of priesthoods and ownership of property obtained before 363 B.C. (above, pp. 54, 55), the chances are that the first of these alternatives is correct. It is quite conceivable that theretofore a priest or priestess offering a sacrifice in his or her own shrine received a portion only from the branch by which he or she was appointed even though both parties were present and participated in the offering; and it is equally conceivable that the priests and priestesses should claim two portions.

Lines 41 ff. See above, pp. 33 ff.

Lines 44 ff. It is remarkable not to find the priest of Eurysakes among the recipients of *ἄρτοι*. Conceivably the herald took his place; but this is not plausible, since ordinarily the herald was remembered on such occasions. Perhaps Eurysakes had no share in the Oschophoria precisely because, though of Salaminian descent, he had had no place in the cult of Skiras and Skiros on Salamis. His absence may emphasize the fact that his cult was Athenian, that of Athena Skiras an importation.

Lines 45 f. "Also to the basket bearer." The priestess of Kourotrophos was at the same time priestess of Pandrosos and Aglauros (l. 12), and is thought of as already attended to; hence the position of *καί*.

Line 46. *Κῶπαι* (English, haft, heft) means "handles." Since handles cannot have been the recipients of a loaf, the persons who used the handles must be meant. From *κῶπη*, the handle of an oar, the meaning "rowers" might be deduced, just as from

κωπέες, "pieces of wood for making oars," the meaning "oarsmen" (κωπηλάται) was in fact derived (Bekk., *Anecd. Gr.*, II, 274, 31). A good parallel is the use of δπλα for δπλῖται. But what have rowers to do with the Oschophoria? As we have seen (above, p. 27) the ship's officers of Theseus were associated with Poseidon, not Athena Skiras. Besides the κῶπαι are obviously subordinates: as a group they receive a single loaf. Κῶπη is also the handle of a handmill, specifically the "Drehstange am Mühlstein" (Preisigke, *s. v.*). Κῶπαι can, therefore, mean "millers," i.e., the men who turned the millstones. In English a parallel use is found when it is said that a tithe of the grist goes to the mill, i.e., to the miller. The justification for interpreting the word here in this sense is found in the context: the grinders of the wheat from which the ἄρτοι were made were suitable recipients of a loaf, especially if, as is probable, selected wheat was used and the grinding was done in a particular way.

Line 47. A similar use of intermediaries in the selection of religious officials is found in the section of the King's Law quoted by Athenaeus (VI, 235 c): ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὅπως ἂν καθιστῶνται καὶ τοῖς παρασίτους ἐκ τῶν δήμων αἰρῶνται κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα i.e., ὅπως ἔν οι ἄρχοντες καθιστῶνται καί, κτλ. As the rule stands two objects were effected: (1) the delegation of the business of selecting the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi to a single person, and (2) the alternation of his charge between the two branches. Since we do not know how the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi were selected before 363 B.C., the extent of the innovation of the arbitrators is conjectural. Some change was certainly made. Otherwise the arbitrators would have passed over the whole matter in silence. The absence of specifications as to the number and provenience of the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi indicates that in this matter no change was made. Presumably the rôle of the priestess and the herald was not affected. In view of ll. 56f. (below, pp. 59f.), I am inclined to think that the entire provision ἄρχοντα δὲ κληρῶν ἐμ μέρει παρ' ἑκατέρων is an innovation, and that the new official relieved the annual archons of the task described in the following relative clause. He had this charge alone: they had much other business. His jurisdiction extended each year over the whole organization: theirs concerned primarily the branches severally. Responsibility was vested in a single person thenceforth. If an official favored his own branch, his successor would favor the other. Thus the score would be evened up. Wrangling each year between the two archons, each backed by his own branch, would be precluded. We can thus see how the new rule would remove a cause of dissension. The selection of the new official by sortition would have significance only if the two archons were not so designated (see below, pp. 61 ff.).

Line 49. The spelling of ὠσχοφόρος with an omega occurs both here and in line 21. The omega is also found in our best Ms. tradition (Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 146; cf. the texts quoted in footnotes to pp. 142 ff.). Ὅσχοφόροι is a variant given by Harpokr., *s. v.*, Hesych., *s. v.* δειπνοφόροι, Phot., *s. v.* ὀσχοφορεῖν. The form ὠσχοφόροι is derived from ὠσχοφόροι in accordance with the rule that two rough consonants should not occur

in successive syllables of the same word (Goodwin-Gulick, *Greek Grammar*, § 105; Meisterhans, *Grammatik*³, p. 102). Ὀσχοφόρος is derived by the scholiasts and lexicographers from ὠσχη or ὠσχος (Plut., *Thes.*, 23, 3 has ὀσχοί), which in turn is defined as a κλάδος κατάκαρπος ἀμπέλου; κλήμα ἀμπέλου μεστὸν εἰθελῶν βοιγύων. Van der Loeff's derivation of the first component of the word from ὀσχεά, ὀσχεός = the scrotum = Hodenbeutel (*Mnemosyne*, 1915, p. 414), in itself most improbable (Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 146), is definitely overthrown now that we have inscriptional proof that the first letter was omega.

Line 50. Ταῦτα, the foregoing γέγρα. Τὰ γεγραμμένα, written out in the *gnosis* of the arbitrators.

Lines 52 f. If, as seems assured, the Hale was at Sounion, the priest of Herakles was the natural person to tend to its hero. The assignment of half of it to the men from the Heptaphylai gave the priest of Eurysakes a counterclaim, and the arbitrators decided the question in his favor. Since thereafter the priest of Eurysakes was as likely as not to be a Sounian and the priest of Herakles to be from the Heptaphylai the juncture of the cult in Melite with the cult in Sounion did not affect the branches as such. It affected only the emoluments of the priests.

Lines 54 ff. The question whether the phrase ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος belongs with the sentence beginning with ἐὰν δέ (l. 54) or with that introduced by οἱ ἐκ τῶν (l. 57) may be raised. I have chosen the latter alternative mainly because of the position of the phrase. If it belonged with ἐὰν δέ we should expect it to precede or follow immediately ἐπισκευάζειν. Affixed to οἱ ἐκ τῶν it falls in its natural place in the sentence. The conditional form of the first sentence, and possibly the use in it of the present instead of the aorist infinitive of the main verb suggest, moreover, that the continuing rather than the immediate problem of repairs was being dealt with. If the problem had been one of specific repairs, the need would have been known, and the order would perhaps have run ἐπισκευάσαι δὲ τὰ δεόμενα τῶν ἱερῶν ἀντίκα μάλα (cf. *I.G.*, II², 2496). The asyndeton would also be less harsh if ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος stood at the beginning of the second sentence; but in any case an asyndeton was inevitable. The ensuing sentence has no connection with what precedes. It is couched, not in the form of an order, but of a report. It is an historical postscript such as frequently appears in Athenian inscriptions (Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.*, p. 51; Dinsmoor and Ferguson, *A.J.A.*, 1933, p. 55; cf. above, p. 49). It registers the fact that the archon whom each party was to designate in turn to select the youths and matrons serving at the Oschophoria—the only archon with whom the diallagai are concerned—was furnished in the initial year by the men from the Heptaphylai. The arbitral order did not determine with which party the rotation was to begin. This problem was settled by lot or by arrangement, possibly through the agency of the diaitetai. It is pertinent to ask why this postscript was not inserted in l. 50. I suppose the answer is that a record of this sort was alien to the material to be recorded on the stele in the shrine of Athena Skiras. It dealt with a situation which could never recur. The natural place for it would be,

perhaps, in l. 52, but, as has been remarked already (above, p. 49), the entire section beginning with l. 52 contains "a series of decisions unrelated to one another."

Now the activity of this archon fell in the period preceding the Oschophoria, and this fête came, as we have seen (above, pp. 27 ff.), on the 6th of Pyanopsion. Since the arbitrators took cognizance of all disputes which originated *εἰς τὸν Βοηδρομιῶνα μῆνα τὸν ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος* (ll. 66 f.), this phrase must mean "up to the beginning of Boedromion;" otherwise the archon for Charikleides' year would have had only six days in which to act, and the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi yet fewer. We might appropriately date the meeting at which the findings of the diaitetai were accepted and sworn to by the Salaminioi on the 8th of Boedromion—on the occasion of the sacrifice at Phaleron to Poseidon, Phaiax, Teukros, and Nauseiros (above, p. 27). In such circumstances the order to erect the stele containing the ritualistic prescriptions (ll. 27–50) in the shrine of Athena Skiras might have seemed all the more natural (above, p. 56). The diallagai, however, were inscribed before the decree of Archeleos was enacted (ll. 80 ff.). Unfortunately neither the occasion nor the date of the meeting of the Salaminioi at which the enactment took place is indicated. Meetings of the *genos* were held at the Herakleia in Mounichion (No. 2); but they were also feasible on any occasion of collective sacrifices. Such occasions during the remainder of the archonship of Charikleides were, possibly, the Oschophoria, certainly, the Apatouria and the Herakleia, to say nothing of the meeting to sacrifice to Athena Skiras and Skiros. Archeleos' decree can hardly have been cut on the stone while the stele containing the diallagai was upright in its socket. If such had been the case, not incomplete, but badly formed letters would have resulted, especially since the lower lines were practically on the level of the foundation (cf. below, p. 64). Yet we do not need to conclude that the decree was passed before the stele was erected: the stone might have been taken down for the addition to be made and then set up again. It finally came out of its socket undamaged. The space left at the end of the diallagai was normal. Hence at the time they were inscribed the addition was not contemplated. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that the stele was not set up immediately after the diallagai had been accepted. Since it can have been taken down at any subsequent time, we can allow any desired interval to elapse between the acceptance of the diallagai and the passing of Archeleos' decree. Yet *prima facie* no grounds exist to justify the supposition that the decree was not enacted in 363/2 B.C. In favor of dating it thus early two considerations may be urged: (1) the desirability that the budget for *τιμαί* and *θυσίαι*, which forms the substance of the decree, should be enacted and recorded publicly as soon as possible, and (2) our expectation that the date *ἐπὶ Μόλωνος ἄρχοντος* should appear at the head of the decree if it were not enacted in Charikleides' archonship. Neither of these is, however, conclusive.

Lines 58 ff. The motive of this finding is to be found in the division of the land into halves, with two owners instead of one (ll. 16 ff.). With the division the problem would arise as to the validity of the existent lease. The arbitrators decided that the lessee was to be undisturbed during the period of his tenancy, but that the rental was to be paid

half and half to each branch. The land was obviously leased to a single party. The division of the agora and the Hale apparently did not raise a like problem. They may not have been leased at all. In the case of the land, after the expiry of the lease each party might do what it pleased with its own.

Lines 61 ff. See above, pp. 34 f. "Das Wort *προθύμα* bezeichnet in allen diesen Fällen das Opfer, das vor dem Hauptopfer stattfindet" (Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, p. 4; cf. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, p. 31). Here the word is used in a different sense. *Προθύμα τῷ ἀμύλλῳ* means simply *τὸ θῦμα πρὸ τοῦ ἀμύλλου*. Cf. Aesch., *Agam.*, 225: *προτέλεια ναῶν*; *I.G.*, I², 5: [*προτέ*]λεια -- *Ἐλευσινίων* for which see Ziehen, *op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 7 f.; *I.G.*, II², 1635, l. 37: *προθύματα τῆς ἐορτῆς*. Elsewhere the accusative is found with *κατάρχεσθαι* only in Hom., *Od.*, 3, 445 (Stengel, *Opferbräuche*, p. 40). The genitive appears in line 38, as is usual. The word means literally "to make a beginning of," and technically, according to Stengel, it comprised only the sprinkling of the sacrificers and the victims with water and the scattering of meal on the altar and the victims. "Beim Speiseopfer," he says (p. 44), "vollziehen alle Teilnehmer das *κατάρχεσθαι*," but in the note he adds the qualification: "Wobei freilich anzunehmen ist, daß der Priester oder der das Opfer Darbringende die heilige Handlung zuerst vornimmt." In line 38 the priest *κατάρχεται*, in line 61 *ἐκάρτεροι*. It seems to me that in both cases *κατάρχεσθαι* means "to officiate at the sacrifice," its primary significance of "beginning" being lost even grammatically in line 61.

Lines 63 f. The office of herald is not included in the *ἱερωσύνη* (ll. 8 ff.) of which the incumbents serve for life. The question probably was whether the heraldship should be rated with these or with the annually changing archons. The arbitrators decided that it was a priesthood and named it such. They cited *τὰ πάτρια* in support of their finding. The special rôle of the herald at the Oskophoria (above, pp. 36, 41) probably influenced them. There, it will be noted, the herald received *γέρα*, the archons did not. Thrasykles, the herald, is, doubtless, the first juror for the men of the Heptaphylai—Thrasykles, the son of Thrason, of Boutadai (above, p. 14).

Lines 65 f. This use of *ἀφείσθαι*, "to be discharged" is well recognized; cf. Dem., XLVII, 64: *εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὸν ἀφήσει καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων*. Here we have the passive with *ἐκατέρος* understood.

Lines 66 f. See above, pp. 47, 60.

Line 69. At this point the writing ceases to be stoichedon. The number of letter spaces per line varies from 39 to 41. The stonecutter is the same. For the identity of individuals among the jurors see above, p. 14. From lines 69 and 74 f. we see that the Salaminioi had two eponymous archons, one taken from and representing each branch. One further "archon" per year, taken from each branch in turn, was to be designated by sortition in the future to attend to the nomination of oskophoroi and deipnophoroi. It is improbable that this archon existed before 363/2 B.C. (above, p. 58). In 363/2 B.C. he was taken from the men of the Heptaphylai. He was appointed

for the performance of a single definite act. In his case archon means only "official." In the decree of Archeleos (l. 82) there is mention of "the archon Aristarchos." He is ordered to inscribe "all the sacrifices and the stipends of the priests" on the stele on which the diallagai were already engraved. Aristarchos is indubitably the Aristarchos, son of Demokles, of Acharnai whose name appears inconspicuously in the catalogue of jurors for the men of the Heptaphylai (l. 77). The two archons representing the branches in 363/2 B.C. were Diphilos and Antisthenes. We have, therefore, in Aristarchos' case to consider two possibilities: (1) the Salaminioi had an archon who represented the genos as a whole in addition to the two representing its branches, (2) Aristarchos was one of the two archons of the year 362/1 B.C. The points which militate against dating the decree of Archeleos as late as the archonship of Molon (362/1 B.C.) have already been made (above, p. 60). If they are accepted as valid Aristarchos must have served in 363/2 B.C., and the first possibility must be accepted. But, as already stated, they are not conclusive; and there are points which can be urged against its acceptance: (1) from the position of Aristarchos' name in the list of jurors we should never imagine that he was at the time *the* archon of the whole genos, (2) from *Σαλαμινίοις* in lines 69 and 74f. we infer that Diphilos and Antisthenes, notwithstanding that each was taken from and represented a single branch, were archons of the whole genos, and (3) the archons who are to be kept cognisant of the sums required for all the sacrifices and gera are those serving from time to time *παρ' ἀμφοτέρων* (l. 83). Again the evidence is not conclusive. It would prevail if we should assume that the officials of the Salaminioi served, not from Hekatombaion 1 to Hekatombaion 1, but from Herakleia to Herakleia—the cycle followed in the religious calendar (see above, p. 33).

We must now turn to the old record of the Salaminioi, the honorary decree *I.G.*, II², 1232. The significant section runs as follows:

νέμειν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ-
 [ατέρωι κρέα τ]ὸν αἰεὶ λαγχάνοντα ἄρχο-
 [ντα ἐκ τοῦ γέν]ους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμ[ον]-
 [ας τοὺς ἐφ' ἀμ]ίλλους· κατανέμειν δ[ὲ κα]-
 [ὶ ἐκάστωι ἄρτον]· ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τ[ὸ ψή]-

The restorations *κρέα*, *ἐκ τοῦ γένους*, and *τοὺς ἐφ' ἀμίλλους* are my own. (For the filling in of other portions of the text see Wade-Gery, *Class. Quart.*, 1931, p. 85, n. 3. Instead of [τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ Εἰδυ]σάχ[εῖα] in line 27 I should prefer [τὸ ἱερὸν Εἰδυ]σάχ[ονος]. If Wade-Gery's restoration of line 3 is correct we should substitute *ἐκάστωι* for *ἐκατέρωι* in ll. 16f. Cf. above, p. 34, n. 3.) They meet the spatial requirements. For *ἐκ τοῦ γένους* cf. *Mélanges Bidez*, p. 821, l. 63: *τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἱερέων*; *I.G.*, II², 1235: *τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς αἰεὶ καθισταμένους ἐξ ἐκατέρου τοῦ γένους*; and above, p. 50. For *τοὺς ἐφ' ἀμίλλους* cf. *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰς συμμορίας*. The archon mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1232 has been identified with the *ἄρχων τοῦ γένους* found generally in the gene (cf. Töpffer, *Att. Gen.*, p. 21; Kahrstedt,

Staatsgebiet, p. 267), and the passage has been taken as an indication that this officer was elected by lot (Töpffer, *loc. cit.*). Our texts show that the question is not thus simple. We have to determine which of the archons of the Salaminioi is meant. The occasion of his activity is a sacrifice; a sacrifice, moreover, which seems to concern Athena Skiras. If the proposed restorations are correct, the persons honored were given prerogatives at the sacrifice of the Oschophoria. Naturally the task assigned to the archon would be appropriate for *the* archon of the genos, if there were one; but the archon specially elected by lot to select the oschophoroi and the deipnophoroi (above, p. 58) also comes up for consideration. His rôle, however, was limited to the selection of these persons and ended before the day of the festival. In the festival itself, according to the rule establishing the office (ll. 57 ff.), he took no special part. Another archon, moreover, demands attention. Each branch of the Salaminioi performed the prothuma of the contest in turn (above, pp. 34 ff., 61). *Ἐκατέρος* is the word used for those officiating. As the executive officer of each branch its archon must have been in general charge. Though selected from a particular branch, he was, as we have seen (above, p. 62), an official of the whole genos; and those for whom the prothuma was offered in each particular year were the Salaminioi collectively. This was an occasion when meat (*κρέα*) was distributed. If, as seems likely, he had charge of the distribution, he was designated clearly enough by *τὸν αἰεὶ λανχάνοντα ἄρχοντα*. But could either he or the archon for selecting the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi have been designated as allotted *ἐκ τοῦ γένους*? For the latter archon "allotted" is, of course, as it should be. We do not know by what method the archon of the genos (assuming it to have had a single head) or the two archons (assuming it to have had a double headship) were selected, nor have we this knowledge regarding the archon of any genos. Kahrstedt (*Staatsgebiet*, p. 267) says, "der ἄρχων mag das Altershaupt der Hauptlinie gewesen sein," but the wide use of sortition and the annual term of the office does not commend this conjecture in the case of our genos, which apparently did not have a "Hauptlinie." Since all the priestly offices and one of the civil offices were subject to sortition, it is natural to suppose that the rest of the civil offices were subject to it also. If this is so, the word *λανχάνοντα* does not limit us to the archon for the selection of the oschophoroi and deipnophoroi. What about *ἐκ τοῦ γένους*, assuming this to be correct? I do not think it compels us to conclude that the Salaminioi had a single archon taken from their entire membership to the exclusion in this connection of the two archons taken each from one of their branches. In an honorary decree, which, of course, had no occasion to notice the internal structure of the Salaminioi, any archon could, I believe, be said to have been taken *ἐκ τοῦ γένους*.

In conclusion I think it more probable that the Salaminioi were headed by two archons than by one, that these archons were elected by lot, and that Aristarchos, one of the jurors of the Heptaphylai in 363/2 B.C., succeeded Antisthenes on the expiration of his term. If this was at the Herakleia, in Mounichion, 362 B.C. things would go a little easier. The reason why Aristarchos was selected (to the exclusion of his colleague) for the task

of engraving on the stele the budget for priests and sacrifices is unquestionably (this conclusion being accepted) because the stele was to stand in the Eurysakeion. His colleague lived too far away, in Sounion, to be associated reasonably with him.

Elsewhere *ἱερομνήμονες* appear three times in Attic records and *μνήμονες* (obviously a synonym) once. In three of these four instances they have to do with a cult of Herakles. In *I.G.*, II², 1596 two hieromnemones of Herakles in Kynosarges sell a piece of land; in *I.G.*, II², 1248 (as restored) the archon and the hieromnemones of the Mesogeioi are instructed to give some individual a share [τῶν κοινῶν ἀπάντων; in *I.G.*, II², 1247, a decree of the Mesogeioi in honor of their archon, praise is bestowed on the priests of Herakles and Diomos, the mnemones, the pyrphoron, the koragogon, and the herald for having helped the archon in administering the procession and sacrifice for Herakles. Since the Herakleia at Porthmos were one of the chief fêtes of the Salaminioi it is tempting to think that the Sounians brought the title with them into the genos. But the fourth case (*I.G.*, II², 1299, 80) gives us pause. There hieromnemones are associated with the demarch of Eleusis in the commonplace task of proclaiming a crown and making and setting up a stele. The stele, however, was to be erected "in the court of the sanctuary." This fact, doubtless, explains their association with the demarch. They had, apparently, authority over the use of sacred property.

It is not permissible to regard hieromnemones as a comprehensive term for the priestly personnel of the genos (*I.G.*, II², 1247). They are a board which does not appear in our document because their duties were rather administrative than priestly (Hepding, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, VII, 1495; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 489, n.1). If [ἐμ]ίλλους is correct, the plural may be reconciled with the singular ἐμίλλο in line 61 of No. 1 by the fact that a foot-race consisted of a number of "heats" (E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, pp. 277 f.). [A study of the stone, made at my request, did not confirm -ίλλους.]

Line 80. At this point the style of writing changes. The stonecutter was hard put to it to inscribe on what was left of the stele the record resulting from Archeleos' motion. He had one seventh of the stonespace for about one third of all the letters. Accordingly, the lines become crowded, the letters are made smaller and set closely together, 78-104 to the line. The margins on both sides were used and no space whatsoever was left at the bottom. Since the same kinds of errors of inscribing occur in all sections of the record (above, pp. 8 f.) a single stonecutter doubtless did the whole job.

Line 82. The *τιμαί* of the priests were engrossed in the diallagai and hence did not need to be recorded again. They amounted to 59 drachmas (30, 3, 6, 7, 13). The cost of the *θύσῖαι* was 460½ drachmas (Mounichion: 10, 15, 12, 12, 70, 15, 3½, 3½, 10, 40, 3 = 194; Hekatombaion: 40, 3 = 43; Metageitnion: 40, 3½, 3½, 3½, 3½ = 54; Boedromion: 40, 3½, 3½, 3½, 3 = 53½; Pyanopsion: 40, 3, 40, 3 = 86; Maimakterion: 12, 15, 3 = 30). This makes a total of 519½, or 11 drachmas short of the sum entered on the stone as *καφάλειον*, 530½ drachmas (l. 94). For one sacrifice—the sheep offered to Ion in alternate

years—no sum is entered in the budget. The reason for this omission is obvious—the occurrence of a biennial charge in an annual budget. To halve the sum without an explanatory statement might result in the purchase of an undesirable sheep. At the regular price paid for a sheep (15 drachmas) the cost to the genos would be $7\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas per year. The difference ($3\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas) may be the allowance for $\xiύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ εἰς τεύλλα$ (cf. l. 90). This would be excessive for the sacrifice of one sheep in alternate years, but I see no other way of making the account square. The budgeting for an extra supply of wood, etc., may be taken to mean that the sacrifice to Ion was made on a different day from the other sacrifices in or near the Herakleion.

Lines 85–93. See above, pp. 21 ff.

Line 85. The sacrifice of a sheep to Ioleos, for whom see Kroll, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, IX, 1843 ff., and Robert, *Die griech. Heldensage*, II, pp. 618 f., is also entered in the Marathonian calendar (*I.G.*, II², 1358, col. ii, l. 14). A holocaust was prescribed in chthonic, and was traditional in heroic, cultus; but a hero might be treated like a god and the holocaust dispensed with (Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*³, pp. 138 ff.; Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, p. 433; Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, p. 474; cf. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II¹, pp. 425 ff.). Ioleos is the only deity in our calendar who receives a holocaust. I doubt if the word is to be supplied in the case of the other “heroic” sacrifices, even though our record is one, not of rites, but of prices. The priest of Herakles received a leg of the porker sacrificed, on behalf of the genos, to the hero at Antisara, as he did also in the case of the porker offered to the hero at Pyrgilion (ll. 32 f., 86 f.). He could not do this if the animal was completely burned. The name $\etaῖρας$ is reserved in our calendar to the three heroes at Porthmos who were known only by the places in which they resided, and Phaiax, Teukros, and Nauseiros, who were associated with Poseidon Hippiodromios at Phaleron. It is not applied to Skiros or Theseus, or in its masculine or feminine form, to any of the Herakles group. The only one of the six $\etaῖρας$ (so entitled) who did not receive a $\chiοῖρος$ was $\delta ἐπὶ τεῖ ἀλγῖ$: he received a sheep.

Line 86. The association of Ioleos and Alkmene with Herakles calls for no comment. Maia, on the other hand, was famed in myth as the mother of Hermes (Homeric Hymn). Thus on the François vase (Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, pp. 1–14, 55–62; Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, pp. 150 ff.), dated ca. 570–560 B.C., she appears along with him among the thirty deities represented as present at the marriage feast of Peleus and Thetis. Herakles was absent. To the best of my knowledge (cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, XIV, pp. 527 ff.) she lacks elsewhere *kultische Beziehungen* until Hellenistic times, when she possesses them, but only in conjunction with Hermes (Mercury). In the peribolos of the Hermaistai (Mercuriales) at Delos there were, it seems, altars of Hermes and Maia and, in addition, others of Herakles and Athena (Minerva) (*B.C.H.*, 1912, pp. 164 f.; Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne*, pp. 272 ff.); but there we have to do with the fused Greek-Italian goddess Maia. This juxtaposition of cults has no relevance to that of Herakles and Maia at Porthmos.

A mythological connection of Maia with Herakles is possible. She was a daughter of Atlas, the collaborator of Herakles in his quest of the apples of the Hesperides; but neither Maia nor the Pleiades figure in this story. I have been unable to discover any connection in cult or myth between Maia and Ioleos or Alkmene. More to the point is the report of Joh. Laur. Lydus (*de mensibus*, IV, 46, p. 122, Wünsch) that his seventh Herakles (Her., II, 44 knew only two) was the son of Zeus and Maia. Since Maia figures nowhere else as the mother of Herakles one suspects that Lydus confused him with Hermes, but it must be remarked that Lydus knew perfectly well that *the* son of Zeus and Maia was Hermes (*de mensibus*, IV, 52, pp. 127 ff., Wünsch). Cf. also Gruppe, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, Supplbd. III, 1101. It seems to me improbable that the constant association of Hermes and Herakles in the gymnasium led to their fusion (cf. T. A. Brady, *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, XI, 1936, pp. 18 ff.; A. D. Nock, *Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, 1936, p. 72, n. 99; C. C. Edgar, *Ann. Serv. Ant.*, 19, pp. 62–65). The fourth day of the month, on which Herakles was born, was also Hermes' day (Tresp, *op. cit.*, 37).

Maia, the "fairest" (Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 85), or the "eldest" (Apollodoros, II, 10, 2, 15), and perhaps the most luminous (*candidior Atlantidum*, Martianus Capella, II, 180; cf. R. H. Allen, *Star-names and their Meanings*, p. 405), sometimes gave her name to the whole constellation (Verg., *Georg.*, I, 225). But it is not easy to synchronize the sacrifice to Maia at Porthmos with a significant point in the movement of the Pleiades. The first half of Mounichion, in which the sacrifice fell, normally belonged in the forty days between the heliacal setting (April 6–10, Ginzel, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I, p. 27, II, p. 345) and the heliacal rising (May 15–19) of the Pleiades (cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 427), during which they were invisible. [The date set for the heliacal rising of the Pleiades in Aëtius, III, 1, 164 and Geoponica, I, 9, May 7, holds only for the times in which these treatises were written. For further "later dates" cf. Nock, *Gnomon*, 1934, p. 291, n. 2: the Greek calendars discussed by Rehm, *S. B. Heid.*, 1913, iii, pp. 11, 31 and Bianchi, *ibid.*, 1914, iii, p. 33 date the rising "May 8 or 9, always between 7 and 11."] In such years, however, as Mounichion coincided with May (Meritt, *A. J. P.*, 1936, p. 383) the Herakleia might fall at the heliacal rising. The grain-harvest, the beginning of which Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 383 ff.) synchronizes with the rising of the Pleiades, is in Attica now normally at the end of May (Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 379). For the significance of the rising of the Pleiades, cf. also Arat., *Phain.*, 264 ff.; Hippokrates, *Περὶ διαίτης*, III, 68.

Lines 86–87. For the Hale see above, pp. 54 f. Both Antisara and Pyrgilion are unknown places. The sixth letter of *Πυργιλίωι* is lambda, not delta; hence *Ἐπιπυργιδίωι* (for which as a cult title cf. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 819, 823 f.) is excluded.

Line 87. The final iota of *Ἰων(ι)* was omitted by the stonecutter (cf. above, p. 8). For Ion, one of the Other Gods (*I.G.*, I², 310, 212), see Eitrem, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, IX, 1857 ff. The sacrifices offered on behalf of the Old Attic phyle of the Geleontes also came in alternate years, at least after 401 B.C. (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 21). The

θύειν, like the θύειν in line 94, is thought of as governed by ἐψηφίσθαι in line 81. The sentence interrupts the grammatical structure of the calendar. Ziehen (*Leges sacrae*, II, 1, pp. 30, 65), following Dittenberger (*Syll.*³, 1026, 1038), identifies τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς found in *I.G.*, II², 1363, with ἱερά found in *I.G.*, I², 843, 7, cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 31 f.; *I.G.*, II², 1673, 62 and elsewhere: "voce ἱερά sine dubio minora illa, quae ad sacra perficienda opus erant, velut mel mola oleum, significantur, quae sacerdos praebere debebat." In *I.G.*, I², 843 (cf. *Class. Stud. presented to Edward Capps*, p. 148, n. 20) we have *ἱερέαι ἀπόμειτρα τῶν χοίρον, χσύλον, ἱερόν*. In our text ἐφ' ἱεροῖς goes with ξύλα: otherwise we should have ξύλα, τὰ ἐφ' ἱεροῖς (or ἱερά). Τέλλα (ll. 88 ff.) designates minora illa. They may have been provided by the priests, but the *genos* paid for them.

Line 87. The wood was used also for the sacrifice of the victims given by the state; hence their flesh was roasted, not left ὠμά (cf. above, p. 34). Ἐκ νόρβειων must mean "in accordance with," i.e., "as prescribed by" law. In 363/2 B.C. the law in question can be only the code of 410–401 B.C. The name νόρβεις was carried on to this code from the code of Solon which it superseded. Whatever its origin may have been, the word came early to denote an "abstraction, the ancient Law of the Land" so that it made no difference, so far as its use was concerned, whether the law was inscribed on wooden axones or a wall of marble stelai in the Royal Stoa (Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 9; Ferguson, *Class. Stud. Capps*, pp. 144 ff.). For older views see Swoboda, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, XVI, 134 ff.; Kathleen Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon*, pp. 143 ff.; and the earlier literature cited by these authors.

Line 88. The sacrifice to Eurysakes was made on a different (obviously later) day than those preceding it in our text. It is separated from them by the entry ξύλα, κτλ., which regularly closes a sacrifice or group of sacrifices. In line 92 we have a shift of place, similarly indicated. There is no other sacrifice to Eurysakes entered in the calendar. Hence we can be pretty certain that the place of offering was the Eurysakeion, not Porthmos. Of course the priest of Eurysakes attended the Herakleia: he had to offer the sacrifice at the Hale after 363/2 B.C. But the place for the *genos* to make its one annual offering to Eurysakes was his own shrine in Athens. The Herakleia must have preceded the 18th of Mounichion long enough to permit the Salaminioi to reassemble in the capital.

Line 89. For Πατρώϊωι see above, pp. 28 ff.

Line 90. For Ἀγελάαι see above, pp. 29 f.

Line 91. For Ἰπποδρομίωι see above, pp. 25 ff. For Phaiax and Nauseiros see above, pp. 25 ff.

Line 92. For the sacrifice to Theseus see above, pp. 27 f. The Apatouria were a three days' fête, celebrated simultaneously at different points in Attica in Pyanopсион (Schol. Aristoph., *Achar.*, 146; Deubner, *Att. Feste*, p. 232). Since they came later than the sixth they doubtless came later than the thirteenth (above, p. 28). The exact days are unknown. The Salaminioi probably offered their sacrifice in Athens (above, p. 28).

Line 93. For the sacrifice to Athena Skiras and Skiros see above, p. 28. *Ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν* is synonymous with *ἐφ' ἱεροῖς, κτλ.* Why it was used here, and not in the cases of Eurysakes, Athena, Zeus Phratrios, and Theseus, we cannot imagine. The scribe also left out *καὶ εἰς τὰλλα*. He also left out *ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς* in the entry dealing with Theseus in line 92, and in lines 92 and 93 he failed to insert the preposition *εἰς*. Perhaps all these omissions are to be attributed to the stonecutter, hard pressed for space. In any event the synonym discloses that Athena Skiras and Skiros were *σύμβωμοι*. For other examples see A. D. Nock, *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.*, XLI, p. 46, note.

Lines 94 f. We learn from this passage that the Herakleion to which the rented land was attached lay at Sounion. Since the Herakleion was *ἐπὶ Πορθμῷ* Porthmos was also at Sounion. The land yielded at least $530\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas per year. Capitalizing this figure at $7\frac{0}{10}$ (the mean between the two rates established for Attica in the fourth century— $6\frac{0}{10}$, Isae., XI, 22; $8\frac{0}{10}$, *I.G.*, II², 2492; cf. Billeter, *Gesch. d. Zinsfußes*, pp. 15 ff.), we obtain $7578\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas as the minimal value of the land. From Lysias (XIX, 29) we learn that a property of "more than 300 plethra of land" ($70\frac{1}{2}$ acres) was worth 25,000 drachmas, thus giving us a fourth century B.C. valuation for land (without a house) of $354\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas per acre. On this basis the land at the Herakleion would amount to at least 21 acres. Naturally this is only an approximation. The figure should probably be raised. The chances are that $354\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas per acre is an excessively high value (Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, III², 1, p. 317, n. 2). We do not know the quality of the land at Sounion. It included *κῆποι* (possibly olive groves), a sacred glebe (*ἄρουρα*), and *χωρία*, on which, obviously, grain was grown (cf. No. 2, ll. 18 ff., 34 f., 44). The yield in money per unit of land seems to have been about the same whether olives, grapes, or cereals were grown on it (Kahrstedt, *Staatsgebiet*, p. 251, n. 2).

A Porthmos has been known hitherto in Euboea (Dem., IX, 33, X, 8, XVIII, 71, XIX, 87; cf. *I.G.*, XII, 9, p. 152, 50 ff.), and another on the strait between Karpathos and Saros (*I.G.*, XII, 1, p. 158 and Nos. 1031 ff.). The Euboeic Porthmos probably occupied the site of the present Skala Aliveriōu (Baedeker, *Greece*⁴, p. 228), a port in which passenger boats are to be found to-day for Chalcis and Laurion. The position of the Souniac Porthmos remains to be determined. The data for its determination are as follows: it was on the sea coast, with the sea to its west (below, pp. 70 f.); east of it lay at least 21 acres of cultivable land (No. 2, ll. 24 ff.; below, p. 72); near it was the Hale (above, pp. 54 f.); it was possibly at some distance from the temples of Poseidon and Athena (above, p. 44). But see the additional topographical note by H. A. Thompson at the end of this article).

Line 96. *ὑπεύθυνον*: responsible as all Athenian office-holders were (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 52, 2; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 1076). The accounting was to be rendered to the whole *genos* and the priests. The priests were, of course, primarily interested in the maintenance of the schedules and were given moral support for the protection of their rights by being thus singled out. *ὑπόδικον*: liable to legal action, which would normally be entered with the King Archon (Arist., *Ath. Pol.*, 57, 2).

NOTES ON No. 2

Line 1. Phanomachos was the Athenian archon, if, as seems probable (above, pp. 61 ff.), the Salaminioi did not have a single archon at their head. As it happens, the other records of Attic gene (*I.G.*, II², 1229–1236), except one (*B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 245), are either broken away at the top or undated altogether. The exception, like two catalogues of gennetai (*I.G.*, II², 2338, 2339), uses both archon-names in the prescript. Orgeones and thiasotai regularly date their records by the Athenian archon, but these corporations did not have archons. There was a risk of ambiguity in our record since the Salaminioi had archontes of their own. Either *Ἀθηναίους* (No. 1, l. 2) or *Σαλαμινίους* (No. 1, ll. 69, 74) was required to avoid this. There are certain considerations which favor taking Phanomachos as the archon of the Athenians. While the stele was undoubtedly inscribed and set up by the Salaminioi, the record it contained originated with the dialytai, who were indubitably non-Salaminioi. There was the same reason for dating No. 2 by the Athenian archon as there was for dating No. 1 *ἐπὶ Χαρίκλείδου*. Since the two stones were found in the same water tunnel, it is probable that they stood close together in the Eurysakeion, and that the contents of No. 1 were known to the drafters of No. 2. Both records deal with the same general problem. No. 2 contains amendments and additions to No. 1. No. 2 may have followed the example of No. 1 in dating by the Athenian archon.

Assuming Phanomachos to be the Athenian archon we cannot do more than date him *ca.* 250 B.C. (cf., however, below, p. 74). The chief evidence is the style of writing, which seems to both Meritt and Dow to belong to this period. One slight prosopographical index is confirmatory (below, note on l. 6). Now that Polyektos is dated with security in 243/2 B.C. there is abundance of room for Phanomachos in the 'fifties.

Line 2. See above, p. 33.

Line 3. See above, pp. 47 ff.

Line 5. Note the omission of the article before *Ἑπταφυλῶν*. Cf. above, pp. 12 f. Without the article the reading *Ἑπταφυλῶν* is to be preferred to *ἐπὶ φυλῶν*.

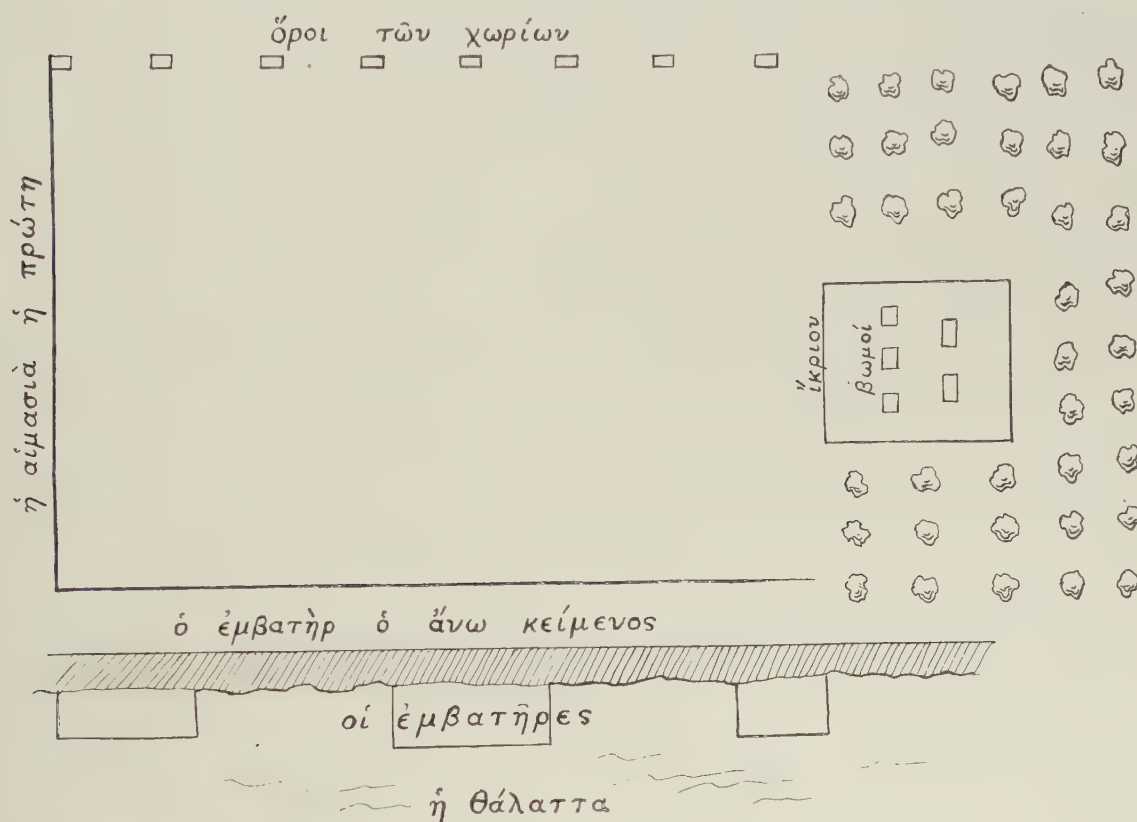
Lines 5 f. *Αἰρεθέντων* by itself shows that we have to do with private arbitrators. We have no evidence for the existence of public arbitration after 322 B.C. (Harrell, *Public Arbitration in Athenian Law*, p. 9); but in view of the slenderness of our documentation hitherto for private arbitration, we must not stress too much the argument *ex silentio*.

Line 6. Antigenes is probably the son of Xenokles, son of Antigenes, of Semachidai, owner of a property which was sold by the poletai at *fin. s. IV* (*I.G.*, II², 1581). For *ἀνετομ* cf. *I.G.*, II², 204, l. 30. The reservation of part of the temenos implies the non-reservation of the remainder.

Line 10. The singular, ἵκριον, is rare and late (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.*), and means a mast or pole. Here it must, I think, be used in the general sense in which the plural appears in *I.G.*, I², 94: κατεθέτο (τὴν σιγήλην) ἐν τοῖς Νελείοι παρὰ τὰ ἵκρια. "Cancelli significari videntur," writes Dittenberger (*Syll.*³, 93), "quibus delubrum (ἱερόν) a reliqua area (τέμενος) separatur." The plural is also used in *I.G.*, IV, 39, where the item ἵκρια περὶ τὸ ἔδος appears in an inventory made by the Athenian cleruchs of the temenos of Aphaia at Aegina. The holes, one at each corner of the basis for the statue, in which were set the uprights supporting the fence, have been found in the ruins (Furtwängler, *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, Text, p. 43, Taf. 31, 32, 37). The *ikrion* was, I take it, a rail, probably wooden, set on, or nailed to, posts, setting apart the area in which the altars stood. For such a rail the singular would be permissible. The railing ran, in all probability, on all sides of the altar area. Certainly this would be necessary if its object was to protect the altars from straying animals. With ὥς the appropriate form of ὀριζέειν is understood. The first olive trees defined the outer limit of the reserved area that lay beyond the railing. The reserved area obviously formed the southern portion of the temenos, and was situated in an olive grove.

Line 11. In line 17 "the rest of the temenos" is designated τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, if this phrase does not comprehend also the part reserved for religious purposes, which is improbable. I submit a rough plan of the temenos. The dimensions and shape are of course unknown, as are the form of the area marked off by the *ikrion*, the extent of the olive grove and the number of the *embateres*. The unreserved portion of the temenos contained enough level ground to admit of two threshing floors. The only problem of interpretation is presented by ἐμβατήρες οἱ τε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ὁ ἄνω κείμενος. The word ἐμβατήρ is defined by Hesychius (*s. v.*) as τοῖς ἀρχιτέκτοσι τόπος. This does not help us, though it may be relevant to the other known use of the word ([τ]ὸνς ἐμβατ[ήρας]) in a Nemean building account (*I.G.*, IV, 481, 2). In our context I think ἐμβατήρες must mean "embarking places." I imagine that there was a series of piers jutting out at or near sea level, each leading by grading, or steps, or passages up to a quay which ran parallel to the coast at the level of the sea-wall. They may be compared to the "moles" set along the water front of Delos, south of the Sacred Port (J. Paris, *B.C.H.*, 1916, pp. 30 ff.; cf. Planches i-iv, Môles, 4, 5, 6, 9). Paris notes that similar "moles" are found at Larymna and Gytheion. Lehmann-Hartleben (*Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres*, pp. 157, n. 6; 158) objects to calling these projections moles. They were, he thinks, designed to create "Anlegefläche." He refers to Carthaginian and Alexandrian analogues (pp. 139, 135). On page 135, n. 1 he collects many cult-titles, etc., derived from ἐκ-, ἐπι- and ἀπο-βατήρ-. Ἐμβατήρια (ἱερά), sacrifices made on embarking, are also known (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.*). The Herakleion was conveniently situated for such rites. Naturally this construction for docking and loading and unloading boats lay outside the temenos. The temenos was, however, immediately contiguous. It probably overlooked the Porthmos (ἐπὶ Πορθμῷ).

Lines 18 ff. There was a famous *ἐλως* at Delphi which was used for organizing processions and other religious ceremonies (Plut., *de def. orac.*, 15; cf. Pomtow, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, Supplbd. IV, 1296), and at Eleusis ἡ *ἐλως* ἡ *ἱερά* is known (*I.G.*, II², 1672, 233). In the case of the boundary property (*ἐσχατιὰ*) at Poros in Attica entitled *δημοσίᾳ ἐλῳ* (*I.G.*, II², 1594, 17) we may have to do simply with a threshing floor that was public property. In the absence of any indication to the contrary we



Suggested Plan of Temenos. North is on the left

may take *ἐλως* in our text in its common work-a-day sense. The situation seems to be that the Salaminioi at Sounion had encroached on the temenos without authorization by constructing in it at their own private expense, or more probably with gentile funds in the possession of their "branch," a threshing floor for their exclusive use. The dialytai sanctioned this encroachment by opening all but the reserved portion of the temenos to profane uses, but they required the local Salaminioi to duplicate their *ἐλως* at their own expense for the use of the Salaminioi of Heptaphylai. Presumably each group used its floor for threshing the grain reaped on its own *χωρία* (see below, p. 72). We do not know whether the Salaminioi now farmed the "fields" themselves or continued

to let them to a tenant or tenants. Nor do we know whether Salaminioi individually tilled private lands in the vicinity of Porthmos and used the floors for threshing the yield. Presumably those resident in Sounion did. A fee may even have been collected from non-Salaminioi for their use of the floors. This portion of the findings of the dialytai plainly met demands made by the *genos* of Heptaphylai.

Lines 24 ff. This same spelling, *αρχαίο*, occurs also in lines 30, 39, and 42. It is, therefore, not a stonecutter's slip. The form is troublesome. If it is a neuter adjective, *ἀρχαῖο(ν)*, the systematic omission of the final nu is hard to explain. If it is the genitive of the substantive, *ἀρχαῖον*, "capital" as opposed to *ἐργον*, "interest," we have two difficulties: (1) the omission of the article, and (2) the use in this document of omicron for the false diphthong *ov*. The omission of the article is intelligible if, despite its form, the word was thought to be a predicate neuter adjective. The spelling is not only unparalleled in this text, but is an anachronism. Meisterhans (*op. cit.*, p. 6, n. 22) cites parallels from *I.G.*, II², 1534 B (241/0 B.C.), but Kirchner (n. on l. 199) rightly points out that in this crowded inventory, in which many words are clipped, *o* is written for *ov* *compendii causa*. Otherwise there is no instance of the use of *o* for *ov* after 300 B.C. None the less I think that we should write *ἀρχαῖο*. I assume that it is an archaic spelling preserved as a business, perhaps legal, expression, and thought of as a neuter adjective. The word is used to denote a particular kind of ownership; otherwise it would be unnecessary. What *ἀρχαῖο* adds to plain ownership is, doubtless, the limitation of inalienability. That *genos* might sell property is, I think, clear (*I.G.*, II², 1594 ff.). But it seems to me unimaginable that either *genos* of the Salaminioi was given the right freely to dispose of its *χωρία* by sale or otherwise. The *χωρία* were, of course, in accordance with the terms of No. 1, pledged for the maintenance of the sacrifices offered by the Salaminioi from their own funds. The case of the *ἑρὰ ἔργον* is particularly clear. The *genos* of the Salaminioi from Heptaphylai, of whose *ἀρχαῖο* it thenceforth formed part, cannot have possessed full rights of ownership in its regard. They cannot, for example, have had the power to sell it even if they were to devote the interest of the price received to the support of the cult. It was *ἑρὰ*.

Lines 26 ff. A house with two doors opening on the sea is intelligible, but how these two doors could form boundaries for the house I cannot understand. The first house abuts on the *temenos*, but was not in it; the second is to the east of the first. Both houses are bounded by the *θύραι* and the markers of the fields; but in the first case the *θύραι* are defined as *ἀμφοτέραι*, in the second not. The *θύραι* are doubtless the same in each case, but they stand in different relations to the houses. The markers may denote in each case a different section of the boundary of the fields. It is unlikely that the houses were situated one in each farm. If such were the case it would have sufficed to say that a house and *χωρία* were to belong to each *genos*. It seems clear that the two houses were not far apart. It is in connection with them that the common *κῆποι* and the well, of which each *genos* received half, are mentioned. The well should be within

easy reaching distance of both houses. *Εἰς ὁρθόν* means "in a straight line" (cf. Diphil., *Paras.*, 2, 5: *εἰς ὁρθὸν τρέχειν*), i.e., from *ὅρος* to *ὅρος*, or continuing a row of *ὅροι*. This definition of a boundary is unintelligible of a house. The wall of the house was already there and did not need to be thus defined. The use both of *θύραι* and of *ὅροι* leads to the conclusion that what is defined is not the house but the lot on which the house stood. *Θύραι* must, therefore, be a gate opening from the sea, or from the side facing the sea, into the lot or lots. The first house-lot had a gate on both sides, the second had a defining gate on one side only. There may have been only three gates in all. Gates seem meaningless, unless there was a wall closing the lot or lots at certain points. Perhaps the walls of the houses were extended at suitable heights to serve as a fence in barring access to the lots. If so, the lines indicated by the *ὅροι* were not so walled, and why indicate the boundaries by the gates and not by the walls themselves?

With these data I do not see how we can place the house-lots on the Plan. We know the location of only one (probably a small) section of the *ὅροι τῶν χωρίων*. How the other sections ran we cannot conjecture. The situation of the *κῆποι* is not indicated. They may be the olive grove which bounded the reserved portion of the temenos, or they may be gardens rather than orchards, and hence placeable anywhere. We do not know what lay south of the part that was *ἔννετον*. The house-lots lay outside the temenos and the *χωρία*. Without finding the temenos and tracing its remains a plan seems to me impossible.

The houses are not mentioned in No. 1. They were probably built between 363/2 and ca. 250 B.C. The diaitetai assigned the land at the Herakleion half and half to each branch and required the owner to bound it by markers. This order was executed. What they did not do was to determine which half belonged to which branch. This may have seemed unnecessary, since a fair division would have left no basis for preference. The situation very likely changed in 100 years. In any event the dialytai were called upon to decide which fields and which house belonged to each *genos*. They assigned the easterly house and the easterly fields to the Sounians, the house which abutted on the temenos and the fields which were nearer to it to the men from Heptaphylai. They did not disturb the existing markers. They gave half the well to each. It was presumably unimportant to divide the *κῆποι*. They were to be held in common.

Lines 35 f. By this decision the halving of the Hale and of the agora in Koile ordered in 363 B.C. was annulled. Thenceforth both *gene* were to enjoy them in common. Why was the item inscribed at this point? It separates rather unnaturally the section dealing with the houses and their appurtenances from that relating to the fields. Two reasons occur to me: (1) the Hale was so situated that it seemed appropriate to dispose of it immediately after the *κῆποι* and the well, (2) the Hale and the agora were dealt with in conjunction by the diaitetai in 363 B.C. Both can have been operative. The implication of the latter is that the dialytai had in their hands in ca. 250 B.C. a copy of the diallagai of 363, as, indeed, is probable on other grounds. The mediators of ca. 250 B.C. accepted

as the basis of their settlement the diallagai of 363 B.C. There seems not to have been resort to external authority during the intervening period. The presumption is, therefore, that all the earlier enactments regarding cultus remained in force. Another conclusion is permissible, that the substitution of two gene for one was a spontaneous development. It was substantially simply a shift of the name *genos* from the comprehensive organization to its branches. At various times during the interval Athens and Sounion were isolated one from the other. For a generation and more the sea route between Athens and Sounion was seldom in Athenian hands. Each branch was thus impelled to act independently. A similar consequence of the political separation of Athens and the Peiraeus in the early third century was the constitution of a separate branch of the Thracian orgeones of Bendis in the *asty* (*I.G.*, II², 1283). In 261/0 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 477; XI 2, 114; cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 75 ff.) the conclusion of peace between Ptolemy II and Antigonos Gonatas, in which Athens was involved, opened the roads between Athens and Sounion. Shortly afterwards, we may think, the two gene came together and agreed to settle differences which had arisen by referring them to mediators. Phanomachos can have been archon in 260/59 B.C. He cannot well be placed before 271/0 B.C.—one of the other alternatives. But he may come after 252/1 B.C.

3. A pillar of poros found on December 4, 1934, in the wall of a modern house in Section N. It is broken away above, below, and behind. Sides and inscribed surface are very roughly dressed.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.04 m.

Inv. No. 2221.

[*h*]όρος [*oi*]

[*x*]ίας *ἡερ*

ᾶς Ἀθηναῖας

Πολιάδος

For other mentions of an *οἰκία ἡερά* see *I.G.*, I², 363, l. 24; 364, col. ii, l. 8; 367, l. 6. The word *ῥος* may have two related meanings: (1) a marker, and (2) a boundary stone. In other words, the stone may be one of a series establishing the boundaries of a property, or it may be a single stone designating an object (Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz*, II, pp. 877 ff.: "Now a single Horos cannot *delimit* a property or a house, it can only *mark* it"). Wade-Gery argues that the *ῥοι* which served as "pawn-stones" of houses or lands or lands and houses were, as he calls them, *singletons*. It is indeed difficult to imagine why a building, which is the ordinary meaning of *οἰκία*, should have boundary stones; but when *οἰκία*, as seems to be the case in No. 2 (above, p. 73), designates the lot on which the building was set (including the building), *ῥοι* in the sense of boundary stones are quite possible.

WILLIAM S. FERGUSON

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROPERTY
OF THE SALAMINIANS AT SOUNION

The Souniae Porthmos may be placed with reasonable assurance at the head of the little Bay of Sounion to the northwest of the Temple of Poseidon and the Phourion. This is today the regular harbor of the fishing craft of the district and the refuge of passing boats which frequently take shelter here while awaiting the abatement of the northeast winds that sweep so violently past the other side of the peninsula. The rugged character of the north and south sides of the bay and the lowness of the middle part of the eastern side would suggest either the northeast or southeast corner as the most suitable site for a settlement which, from its very name, must obviously have adjoined the water. Thus situated, the place would have had the sea to its west (above, p. 71). To the east opens out no small area of arable land. At present the more level ground around the northeast angle of the bay is sown to grain. The sides of the hills which rise from the little coastal plain to east, northeast and southeast are today uncultivated but the depth of soil that overlies them and the remains of ancient terrace walls leave little doubt that the situation was otherwise in a more industrious age. The contours of the hills would permit of conveniently situated and gently wind-swept threshing floors.

Nor have we far to seek for a suitable site for the salt pans. Immediately to the east of the head of the bay, and separated from the water by a narrow neck of sand, is a flat-bottomed basin of irregular outline, *ca.* 155 paces from north to south, 45 paces from east to west. Its floor lies but a few centimetres above sea level and is crisp with the salty incrustation deposited by the natural capillary action of the sea water. It would seem quite possible that the process should have been controlled and hastened by human manipulation in antiquity and that the basin should then have served as a salt pan of the sort to be seen today at Anavyssos on this same coast a few miles to the west, at Messolonghi and elsewhere on the Greek shores.

Despite the proximity of the sea, fresh water is to be found in the district. The present inhabitants draw their drinking water from a well situated *ca.* 150 paces inland from the northeast corner of the bay.

Ancient habitation along the coast and along the foot of the nearby hills is sufficiently proved by the abundant potsherds. Ancient foundations, moreover, are visible in various parts. The most conspicuous belong to a building at the very southeastern corner of the harbor which was partially excavated by Professor Oikonomos in 1924 (*B.C.H.*, 47, 1923, p. 510; *J.H.S.*, 44, 1924, p. 274; *Arch. Anz.*, 1925, col. 314). The structure consisted of a square enclosure, *ca.* 32 metres to the side, colonnaded internally on all four sides, with four columns to the side. Cross walls forming series of rooms along three, possibly all four sides would seem to have been inserted subsequently. Near the

middle of the court is a large rectangular foundation for the support of a monument or altar. The original construction gives the impression of good Hellenistic work. Its plan would be suitable as that of a small market-place or Agora into which shops or storerooms were later incorporated. The sea has now encroached on the northwest corner of the structure. As designed, the building obviously adjoined a dock: a situation admirably suitable for the market-place of Sounion, which must have looked both to the hinterland and to the sea.

It is, perhaps, tempting to identify this building with the Agora of *I.G.*, II², 1180 (referred to above, p. 55). That stone, however, was to have been set up in the Agora to which its text refers, and it is confidently supposed by its original editor to have stood in the region in which it was found, i.e., by the modern village of Agreleza, a half hour north of Sounion (A. Kordellas in *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, pp. 241 ff.). It is equally tempting to see in the building by the water the Agora in Koile of the present inscriptions. In both texts (**1**, ll. 16 ff.; **2**, ll. 34 ff.) the Agora is listed along with the various other properties, all of which seem certainly to have been situated close to one another and in the region of Sounion. And the district in which the ruinous building lies might aptly be described as a *koile*, either by reason of the deep indentation in the coastline or because of its amphitheatre-like shape given by the hills that rise to east, south and north. Yet, without more evidence, it would probably be rash to dissociate the Koile of the inscriptions from the familiar urban deme.

Other ancient foundations are distinguishable to the north of the square building and to the east of the salt marsh. They include a terrace wall that runs in a northeast-southwest direction a distance of some 150 paces, and, between the terrace wall and the salt marsh, the remains of a long narrow building. The precise character of these remains and the possibility of associating them with the other pieces of property mentioned in the inscriptions could be established only by further excavation.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

4. Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on February 6, 1937, in a late fill near the Valerian wall in Section OA.



Height, 0.078 m.; width, 0.064 m.;
thickness, 0.043 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 4481.

HH
Π
ΓΗΗΗ
ΓΗΗΗ[Ι]

No. 4

This stone belongs to the so-called "first" stele of the tribute-quota lists. The general disposition of the numerals and the shape of the symbol for 50 drachmai indicate its probable association with *S.E.G.*, V, 3, 4, 6, or 8, though no join has been found as yet with the other preserved pieces.

5. Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on February 23, 1937, in Section OA.

Height, 0.218 m.; width, 0.078 m.; thickness, 0.069 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 4538.

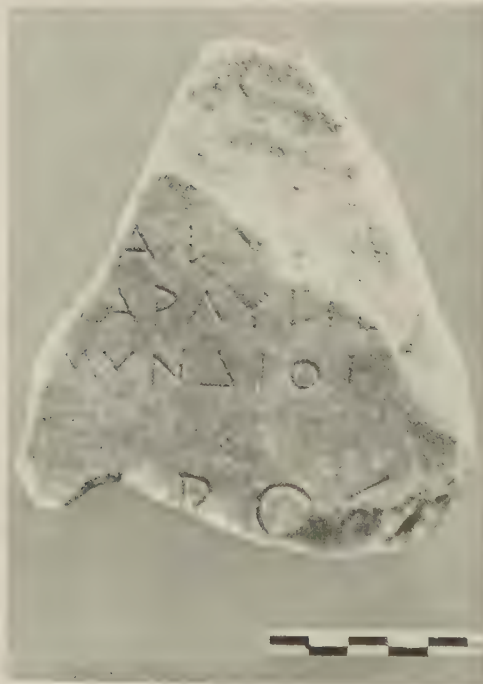


No. 5

- - - - [Τ]ε[ρμ]ερεῖς
 - - - - Ἰδιμεῖς
 ΗΡ Μαρ[ον]ίται
 Ρ Θερ[υα]ῖοι
 Η Ολ[υαῖ]οι

This fragment belongs to the tribute-quota lists, and joins the preserved fragments of *S.E.G.*, V, 8 to give the text of lines 26–30 in Col. I as indicated above. The spelling Ἰδιμεῖς instead of Ἰδυμεῖς is noteworthy, as is also the confirmation given that in the second assessment period the quota of Ολυαῖοι was 100 Dr. See Meritt and West, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, LVI (1925), p. 253.

6. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on March 1, 1937, in a loose fill in Section OA.



No. 6

Height, 0.142 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m. and 0.014 m.
Inv. No. I 4570.

Η Σα[γγε]λῆς
 ΗΡ Καλῶ[δνιοι]
 ΔΡΗΗΗ Βαργυλιῆ[ται] 90
 ΡΗΗΗΗ Μόνδιοι
 vacat
 Νεσ[ιου]κός [Φ]όρος

This fragment is from the tribute-quota lists and fits into place in *S.E.G.*, V, 14 to give the text of Col. II, lines 88–93 as shown in the above transcript. The discovery that the name Μόνδιοι appeared in line 91 now gives a complete list of the Karie cities that paid tribute in 441/0.

7. Two fragments of Pentelic marble, which have no point of contact, but which seem to belong to the same inscription.

Fragment X was found on December 23, 1933, in the wall of a modern house in Section K. It is broken on all sides except the left, which is rough-picked. Along the left edge of the fragment the face has been broken away so that the first preserved numerals are 0.045 m. from the original edge of the stone.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 1137.

Four lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.087 m.

Fragment Y was found on May 17, 1935, in a foundation wall in Section II. It is broken on all sides.

Height, *ca.* 0.07 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

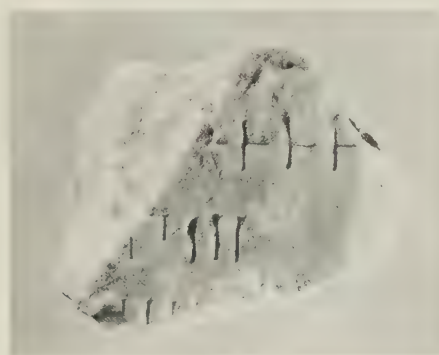
Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 2894.

Each line occupies *ca.* 0.022 m. on the stone.



No. 7, Fragment X



No. 7, Fragment Y

X [. . .] X^μHH - - - -
 [. . .] XX^μHH - - - -
 [. . .] μΔΔΔΔΓΓΓ - - - -
 [. . .] μΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ *vacat*
 5 [. . .] μHHHHΔΔΔΔ - - - -
 [. . .] ⁵ *vacat*
 - - - - -

Y *lacuna*
 [- - -] ΓΓΓΓ - - - -
 [- -] ΓΓΓ *vacat*
 10 [- -] HH - - - -

The spacing of the lines agrees with that of E.M. 6744 of the Propylaea building inscriptions (*I.G.*, I², 365, fragment G),¹ and to this group of documents the two new fragments should be assigned. They have no point of contact with the other known pieces. The texture of the surface of X resembles somewhat that of the lower part of fragment B, and possibly it should be assigned to the record of the fourth year (*I.G.*, I², 366); inasmuch as the left edge is rough-picked, the left lateral surface probably belongs in the same part of the stone as the right edge of E.M. 6711 *b* (*I.G.*, I², 365, frag. J), which is also rough-picked. Fragment J is from the obverse and fragment X is from the reverse. The surface of Y is perfectly smooth, and indicates that it may preferably be associated with one of the years represented on the obverse of the stele (*I.G.*, I², 363–365). For the general disposition, see Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XVII (1913), p. 380.

8. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on January 23, 1934, in Section K.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 1218.



No. 8

The writing is stoichedon. Five lines occupy a vertical span of 0.097 m., and the columns (measured on centres) each occupy 0.015 m. Because of the characteristic hand, and the spacing, the fragment may be assigned definitely to the treaty between Athens and Bottike which was ratified in 422 B.C. (*I.G.*, I², 90; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 16). The stone gives, in fact, part of the text of lines 18–24, although there is no direct join. Another small fragment in the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 5392) has been found by Schweigert to belong also to this inscription. It contains eleven letters, and forms part of lines 12–16. I have no photograph at present available, but give the new readings for lines 12–24:

422 B.C.

CTOIX. 42

----- *λο δὲ λόγκ*
ος ἔστο Ἀθην[αί]ταις ἡόδε· ἀμυνῶ τοῖς] Βοττι[αίοις τοῖς]
χσεντιθεμέ[ροις] [τὴν χσενμαχίαν, καὶ τὴν χσ[ενμαχία]
ν πιστῶς καὶ [ἀδ]όλο[ς] φυλάχσο Βοττι[αίοις] προ[θυμόμε]

¹ Line 6 of fragment G was uninscribed. The line now numbered 6 should be numbered 7. Line 8 was also uninscribed, and the line now numbered 7 should be numbered 9.

- 15 [ν]ος κατὰ τὰ χ[συ]νκε[ίμενα· καὶ οὐ μνε]σικακέσο τῶ[ν παρ]
οιχομένων ἐ[νε]κα· [Βοιτιαῖοι δὲ ὁμν]ύοντον κατὰ [τάδε·]
φίλοι ἐσόμε[θα Ἀθηναίοις καὶ χσύμ]μαχοι πιστῶ[ς] κα[ὶ]
ἀδόλος καὶ τ[ὸς αὐ]τῶ[ς φίλος καὶ ἐχθ]ρὸς νομιῶμε[ν] ἡός
περ ἔν Ἀθ[ε]να[ίοι] καὶ ο[ὐκ ὀφελέ]σο τῶ[ς ἐχθρ]ὸς τὸς Ἀθεν
20 αῖον οὔτε χρ[έμα]σιν ἡ[απλῶς οὔτε θυ]νάμει οὐδεμιᾷ, ο
ὕδὲ μνεσικ[ακέσο] τῶν [παροικομένων] ἔνεκα· τὰς δὲ χσυ
νθέκας τὰ[σδε καὶ] τὸν [ἡόρκον κατα]θῆναι Ἀθηναῖος μὲ
ν ἐμ πόλ[ε]ι ἀναγρᾶ[ψα]ντας ἐστέλει λιθίνει καὶ τὰ ὄν
[ό]ματα τῶν [πόλεον] τῶ[ν Βοιτιαίων] τῶν χσυντιθεμένων
25 τὲν φιλ[ί]α[ν καὶ τὲν χσυμμαχίαν· ----- etc.

(For the rest of the text, see *I.G.*, I², 90.)

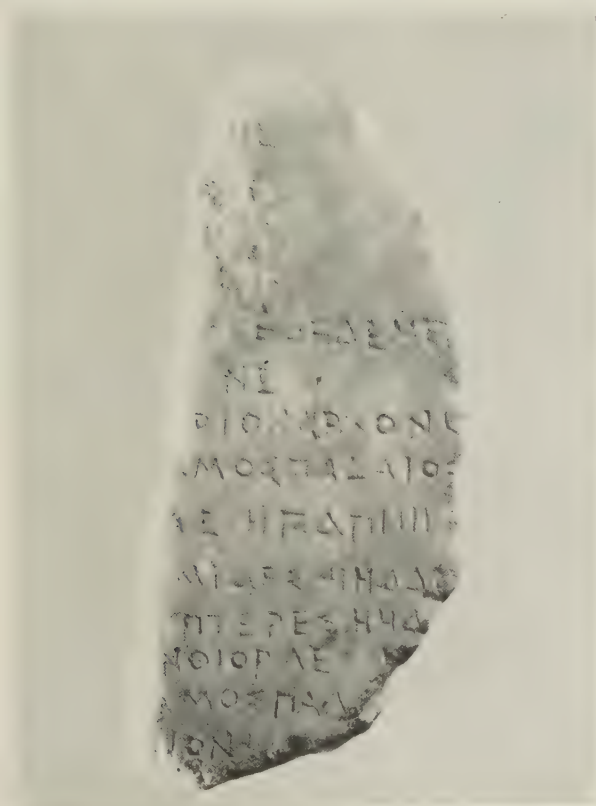
9. Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, found on May 20, 1933, in a modern house in Section I.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.074 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

Height of letters, 0.004–0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 845.

The inscription is not stoichedon. Nine lines of text occupy a vertical space of *ca.* 0.095 m., but there is more crowding near the bottom of the fragment than near the top.



No. 9

- [- - ^{ca. 8} - -] χ - - - -
[πιθάκ]χε
[πιθάκν]ε
- - - -
5 [πιθάκν]ε
[πιθάκ]χε δεδεμέγ[ε]
[πιθά]κνε
[ἀργύ]ριον ἀργὸν κ[- -]
[κέ]αμος παλαιός
10 [ξέ]υ[γε] ΗΠΔΓΙΙΙ
[κερ]αμίδες ΗΗΔΔ - -
[καλ]υπτῆρες ΗΗΔ - -
[Κορι]νθιοργῆς - -
[κέ]αμος παλαιός
15 [. . .]ιον!!

In lines 2-7 the restoration $\pi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon$ seems assured. The word occurs in Pollux (X, 131) who may have culled it from the published records of sale of confiscated property. The present document appears to be such a record, and it is to be assumed that the prices and the sales tax were listed in columns to the left of the inventory where the stone is now broken away. The inscription belongs in the late fifth century, near in date at least to the record of sale of Alcibiades' property, though the small letters and close spacing of the present document do not permit its association with the poletai-records now published in *Hesperia*, III, 35 and V, 6. An isolated Ionicism appears in the lambda of line 14.

The spacing of lines and letters and the character of the lettering are exactly suitable, however, for association with *I.G.*, I², 331, and I believe that the two stones were part of one original inscription. If the new stone is to be placed below *I.G.*, I², 331, the materials recorded in the fragment from the Agora belonged to Axiochos of Skambonidai (*P.A.*, 1330), the uncle of Alcibiades. If the new stone should be placed above *I.G.*, I², 331, these materials belonged to one of his fellow-conspirators.

In line 8 the restoration is conjectural. The adjective $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{o}\nu$, meaning "unwrought," occurs in connection with silver in Paus. III, 12, 3. The old tiles were sold in pairs (line 10). I am indebted to Woodward for the restoration $[\xi\epsilon\upsilon]\gamma\epsilon$. Cf. also *I.G.*, I², 313, line 23, and Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 245 G, Col. I, line 36. The cover tiles of Corinthian manufacture (line 13) bear testimony to the expensive construction of the house of Axiochos (?).

10. Three blocks of Pentelic marble are here published for the first time, in connection with other pieces from the same original inscription already known and published as *I.G.*, I², 954, 957, and 964. The various fragments may be listed as follows:

A = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 964 A (E.M. 10257)	E = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 964 C (E.M. 10259)
B = Agora Inv. No. I 1008 <i>b</i>	F = Agora Inv. No. I 1539
C = Agora Inv. No. I 1008 <i>a</i>	G = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 964 B (E.M. 10256) ¹
D = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 957 (E.M. 10266)	H = <i>I.G.</i> , I ² , 954

The lower surface of the new fragment B is broken in such a way that it seems to belong immediately above fragment C. There is no join between the two stones, but the upper piece fits behind the lower piece with a similar split surface in the marble. Fragment C in turn makes a direct join with fragment D, as shown in the photograph on page 84.² When the three fragments are placed as indicated, the next to last column of names is given the same width throughout (0.175 m.), though B and C cannot be moved closer together than indicated by the lacunae in the text on pages 86-87 and 88.

These stones all have the thickness of 0.155 m. Fragment B was found on April 27, 1936, in Section HH, is broken on all sides, and measures 0.37 m. in height by 0.25 m. in width. Fragment C was discovered on June 23, 1933, in a modern foundation wall

¹ The number recorded as E.M. 10261 *b* in the *Corpus* is erroneous.

² The left edge of D is not preserved. Cf. lemma in the *Corpus* on *I.G.*, I², 957.

in Section H. Its right side is preserved, with anathyrosis. The smooth bands extend along the front and back edges of the stone, each measuring 0.035 m. in width, and the intervening surface is chiseled away.

Fragment A belongs to the first column of the entire monument, for its left edge is preserved perfectly smooth and without anathyrosis. It measures 0.44 m. in height by 0.28 m. in width, and is also 0.155 m. thick. It is uncertain how this block should be



No. 10, Fragment A

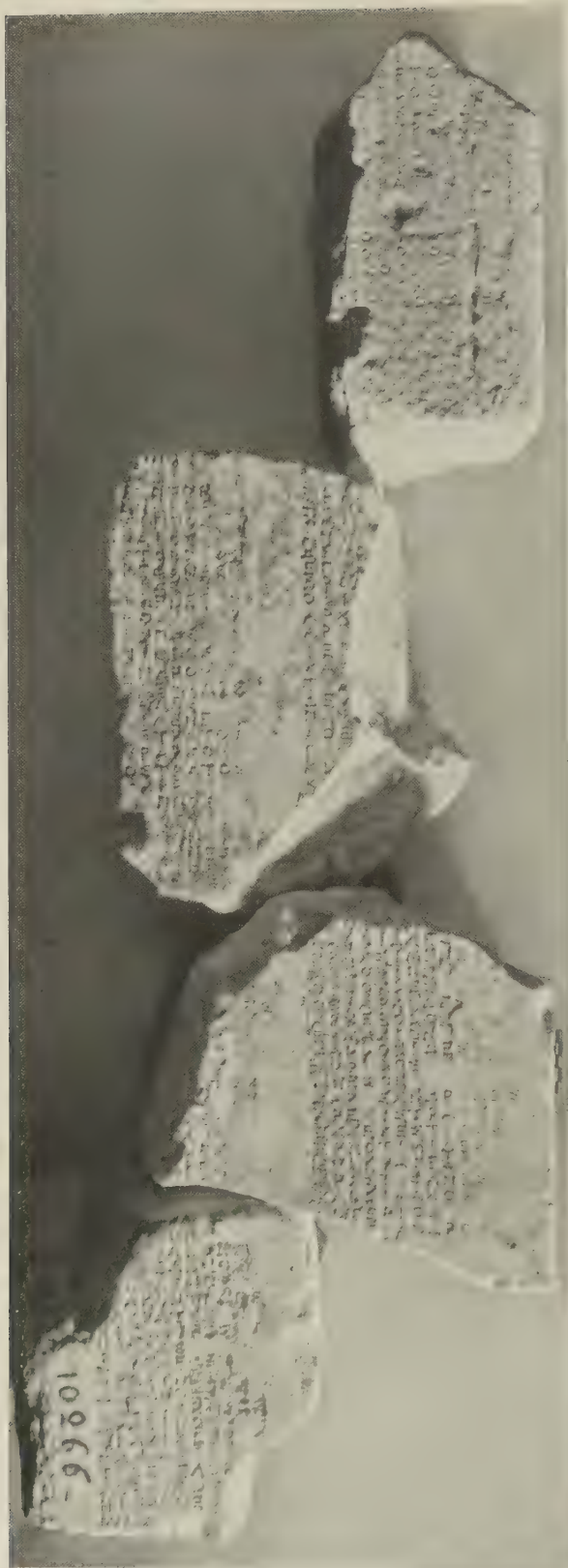
combined with the other fragments of the inscription. Each slab of the original monument contained three columns of names (at least), and so the names of fragment A, Col. II, may fall below those of fragments B and C + D, Col. I. They have been so represented in the transcription on p. 87, though it is not certain whether one should assume more than three columns in each stele, or even whether fragment A belongs to the same section of the monument with fragments B and C + D. Fragment A did, however, come from the very bottom of Col. I of the entire monument, for part of the tenon is still preserved on this stone. This is barely visible in the photograph, the edge of the tenon being 0.095 m. from the edge of the stone, almost beneath the iota of the final --- *ιος*¹ in the last name of Col. I.²

Fragment E has its left margin preserved, but the only smooth portion of it is a band 0.035 m. in width next to the obverse face of the stone. This is

exactly analogous to the anathyrosis on the right margins of fragments C and G. The smooth band of anathyrosis next to the reverse face has been chiseled away on fragment E, but the stone itself should be assigned to some stele of the original monument other than the first. Its first column has also a width of 16 letter spaces, which makes it incompatible with the first column of fragment A, which has 15 letter spaces. The two stones A and E cannot be assigned to the same stele as is now done in the publication of *I.G.*, I², 964. In the text given below, fragment E

¹ Read in *I.G.*, I², 964, line 61 as ...?... *πος*.

² The tenon is shown in the drawing by Lattemann in *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 214.



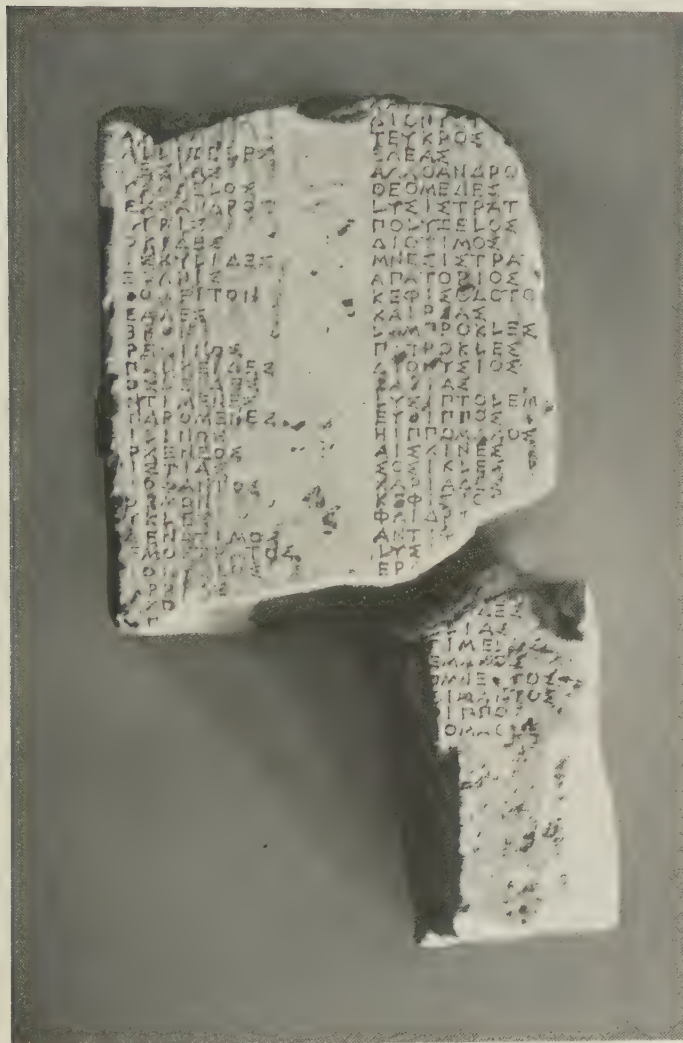
No. 10, Fragments G, B, and C + D (reading from top to bottom). Fragment G is here incorrectly placed. See the text on p. 89.

has been placed tentatively along the left margin of the second stele.

Fragment F has an uninscribed surface below the names and so may be assigned to the lower part of the monument. It is one of the new pieces, found on March 6, 1934, in the wall of a modern house in Section A. The stone is of the same thickness as the other fragments (0.155 m.) and has a height of 0.287 m. and a width of 0.165 m. There is no assurance that it belongs below fragment E, as shown in the photograph on p. 85, but the text is included in the transcript at this point for the sake of convenience.

Fragment G preserves along its right edge an anathyrosis similar to that in fragment C, and so far as physical appearances of the stone are concerned might be placed above or below it in the same stele. However, the width of the last column of names as determined by the necessary restorations on G is less by one letter space than the last column on C (0.171 m. as against 0.185 m.). So unless there was some reason which we do not now understand for a change in the width of this column of names between fragments C and G, they must be assigned to different stelai of the original monument. Since at least two of the stelai are thus shown to have had anathyrosis along the right margins, it is evident that there were at least three original stelai, presumably of the same size, each containing at least three columns of names. The lettering of fragment G is perfectly stoichedon, and the

restorations given in the transcript, which differ in some respects from those in the *Corpus*, have been made accordingly. The disposition of the letters may be seen in the photograph on p. 84. The lower portion of the stone is badly weathered, but may once have been inscribed.



No. 10, Fragments E and F. The disposition is not correctly shown

I have been unable to study fragment H. The photograph published by E. Pridik in the *Jahrbuch des d. arch. Instituts* (XXII, 1907, p. 249) enables one with the aid of the measurements given (0.275 m. in height by 0.325 m. in width) to determine that the lettering is the same in spacing and arrangement as that of the other pieces we have been considering. Though there is some variation, in general it may be said that ten lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.122 m. and that ten letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.12 m. It would be desirable to know the thickness of this piece, which is now in Russia, and also the character of the reverse face. Where the reverse face is preserved on the other fragments it is rough-picked, and was never prepared to receive an inscription.

The appearance of four names from the tribe Antiochis on fragment H indicates that this stone belonged in the last column of the original monument. Inasmuch

as the skeleton arrangement here suggested is based upon an assumption of three stelai (minimum) placed side by side, each containing three columns of names (minimum), the two columns of fragment H become columns VIII and IX in the complete inscription.

FIRST STELE
COL. I
(width of 15 letter spaces,
cf. fragment A)

lacuna

A - - - - -
 - - - - -
 . . .⁶ . . . ὀδες
 [.] α - - - *vacat*
5 Ἀμφιδεμίδες
 Σοτέλες
 [h] ιεροκλείδες
 Πειθίαις
 Φιλ[ο]τάδες
10 Βλ[ε]πυρος
 Ἀρ[ι]στόδεμος
 Δεμοχάρες
 Ανσίφειμος
 Τελέσιππος
15 Τίμων
 Ναυσικράτες
 Σογένης
 Εὐδεμος
 [K] αλλιμέδον
20 [.] ἰον
 [E] πιχάρες
 [E] ργοχά[ρ]ες
 [.] λον
 [M] ε[ν] εκλείδες
25 [H] εἰσι[π]πος
 Εὐθία[ς]
 [Aρ]χιζλ[ι]ς
 [A] προφάσιστος
 [.] εἰ[ς]
30 [.] . . .⁷ . . . ιος

 End of Col. I

COL. II
(width of 14 letter spaces,
cf. fragments C + D.
Fragments B, C + D, and A)

lacuna

B [.] . . ι]ππος
 [.] . . .] *vacat*
 [.] . . ι]σοφῶν
 [.] . .]ανδρος
35 [.] εἰσιππος
 [.] φραῖος
 [Aρ]ιστόβολος
 [Χαι]ρεφάνες
 [.] ιφίαις
40 [.] χιμένες
 [.] . .]ρος
 [.] . .]ιππος
 [.] . .]νιππος
 [.] . .]ανδρος
45 [.] . .]εδεμίδες
 [.] . . ι]άδες
 [.] . .]σιγ'έτες
 [.] . .]έστρατος
 [Φρο]ύραρχος
50 [.] . .]όστρατος
 [.] . .]χάρες
 [.] . . .]ιππος
 [.] . . .]ιος
 [.] . . .]ρον
55 [.] . . .]φάνες
 [.] . . .]ιος
 [.] . . .]ος
 - - - - -
 - - - - -
60 - - - - -

 C [.¹⁰] S
 65 [.⁹] δε S
 [.⁸] ο S
 [.⁸] S
 [.⁸] *vacat*
 [.⁷] ε S
 70 [.⁷] α ι ο S
 [.⁷] S
 [.⁷] λ ε S
 [.⁶] α ρ ο S
 [.⁶] ο κ ο S
 75 -----

D [.⁵] ο ν
 [.⁵] σ ι γ έ ν ε S
 [Λ α] ι ρ έ δ ε μ ο S
 80 [Τ ι] μ ό δ ε μ ο S
 [Δ] ρ α κ ο ν τ ί δ ε S
 [Σ] ο κ ρ ά τ ε S
 Κ λ ε ό δ ο ρ ο S
 Ν ι κ ί α S
 85 Α ύ τ ο μ έ δ ε S
 Θ ρ α σ υ κ λ έ S
 Δ ε μ ά ν θ ε S
 Κ α λ λ ι κ ρ ά τ ε S
 Έ ρ α σ ί τ ρ ο S
 90 Φ ρ α σ ι κ λ έ S
 Φ α ν ί α S
 Τ ε λ ε σ έ γ ο ρ [ο S]
 Γ ο ρ γ ί λ ο S
 λ ι ε ρ ό θ ε ο S
 95 Μ η ρ σ ί μ [α] χ ο S

lacuna

Λ -----
 Κ α λ [- - -]
 Ε ύ θ ι [- - -]
 100 Α ν σ α γ [- - -]
 Ι λ α ν ζ [- - -]
 Μ ε ρ ο [- - -]
 Κ λ ε τ ο [- - -]
 Μ ε σ ο [- - -]
 105 Ε ύ δ ι ο [ε S]
 Τ ι μ ο χ [- - -]
vacat
End of Col. II

COL. III

(width of 15 letter spaces,
 cf. fragment C.
 Fragments B and C)

lacuna

B -----
 Ε -----
 Β ι ο ρ -----
 110 Δ ε ι ν -----
 Χ α ι ρ -----
 Ά ν τ ι -----
 Δ ε μ ο -----
 Έ π ι λ -----
 115 Δ ρ ο μ -----
 Ό λ υ -----
 Ά ρ χ -----
 Ά ρ ε -----
 ΄ Ι ε ρ -----
 120 Χ α ρ -----
 Τ ι μ -----
 Δ ε μ -----
 Η α ν -----

	Ἀθέρ - - -		SECOND STELE
125	Παν - - -		COL. IV
	Κλ - - - - -		(width of 16 letter spaces, cf. fragment E)
	Κε - -		
	Κζ - - - - -		
	- - - - -		
130	- - - - -	E	- - - - -
	- - - - -	160	[. . . ᾿. . .]ος
	- - - - -		Θαο[ο]ίας
	- - -		Καλλιτέλες
	- - - - -		Ἐγεσίας
135	- - - - -		Εὐάγγελος
U	[.]λοσθ[- - -]	165	[Δ]έχσανδρος
	Καλλιάδες		[X]αῖρις
	Πραχσιμένες		Φοκίδες
	Μελόβιος		Ἀισχυλίδες
140	Πυθοκλῆς		Θέογνις
	Θειαρχίδες	170	Διογείτον
	Ἀρχέβουλος		[Θ]εάγες
	Εὐμαχίον		Ἀβρον
	Καλλονίδες		Ἀρεσῖνος
145	Σόφιλος		Ἐπαλκείδης
	Μέσον	175	[Θ]οκλείδης
	Χαρισανδρίδης		[Ἀ]ντιμένες
	Ἀρεσίστρατος		Ἀνδρομένες
	Ἐσσεκεστίδης		Φιλῖνος
150	Ἐργοτιμίδης		Ἀρχέγεος
	Ἐπιζράτης	180	Πιστίας
	Ἀριστοφάνης		Διόφαντος
	Καλλίμαχος		[N]οέμων
	Σοτέριος		[E]ὐκλῆς
155	[Tε]λέσανδρος		[X]σενότιμος
	[. . ᾿. .] vacat	185	[Δ]εμόστρατος
	[. . ᾿. .]ον		[Δ]ιονύσιος
			[Θ]αργίας
	lacuna		[M]αχον[- -]

[. .]π[- -]
190 - - - -

lacuna

COL. V

(width uncertain)

Fragments E and F(?)

lacuna

E - - -

Χαίρει [- -]

Διονύσι[ος]

Τεῦκρος

195 Ἐγέας

Ἀγάθανδρος .

Θεομέδεις

Ἀνσίστρατο[ς]

Πολύζελος

200 Διότιμος

Μνείστρατ[ος]

Ἀπατόριος

Κεφισόδοτο[ς]

Χαιρέας

205 Ἀμπεροζλῆς

Πατροζλῆς

Διονύσιος

Χαρίας

Ἀνσιπτόλεμο[ς]

210 Εὐήπιος

Ἱππόμαχος

Ἀισχίνης

Σοσιγλῆς

Χαριάδης

215 Κεφίστιος

Φαιδοί[ας]

Ἀνσιμ[- -]

Ἐργ - - -

lacuna

F 220 - - - -

[. . .]ἰδεις

[Κα]λλίως

[Ἀν]τιμένης

[Ἐγ]έμαχος

225 [Θε]όμνεστος

[Ἀδ]εΐμαντος

[Νό]θιππος

[. . .]εμάθεις

vacat

End of Col. V

COL. VI

(width of 14 letter spaces,

cf. fragment G)

lacuna

G - - - -

230 [. . .⁶ . . .]α[- -]

[. . .]ας

[Κλεά]ρετος

[Ἐπι]ζέλος

[Θρα]συχλείδης

235 [Ἀνσ]ίστρατος

[. . ο]ν

[. . .]τέλης

[. . .]χράτης

[Να]χσίας

240 [Φι]λιν[ος]

[Ἐβ]δομίας

[Ἀδ]τόβολος

[. .]ικος

[*Πο*]λέμον
 245 [*Λιο*]γυσόδορος
 [. . .]ινίας
 [. . .]αδίον
 [. . .]φάνες
 [. . .⁸. . .]ν
 250 -----
lacuna

THIRD STELE

COL. VII

(no fragments assigned)

COL. VIII

(width of 15 letter spaces,
cf. fragment H)*lacuna*

H

 [*Καλλισι*τ]αίδες
 [*Εχ*σ]έκεστος
 [*Στ*]ράτον
 255 *Λισχίνες*
Λεόστρατος
Ἀθηνόδορος
Θρασύδεμος
Πάσων
 260 *Λυκίσκος*
Χσενόδικος

Κυδίας
Θρασυμέ[ν]ες
Φιλόνεος
 265 *Ἀρχίνες*
Πολύορος
Χσενόφιλος
Μνέσαρχος
 [. .]γον
 270 [. . .]αχος
 [. . .⁵. .]λες
 [. . .⁶. .]ρος

lacuna

COL. IX

(width uncertain,
cf. fragment H)*lacuna*

H

 275 *Δ* -----
Θρασυ -----
Ἀντιοχί[δος]
Λιφιλίδ[ες]
Φιλέας
 280 *Κύνιππος*
Λιόδοιος
vacat
End of Col. IX

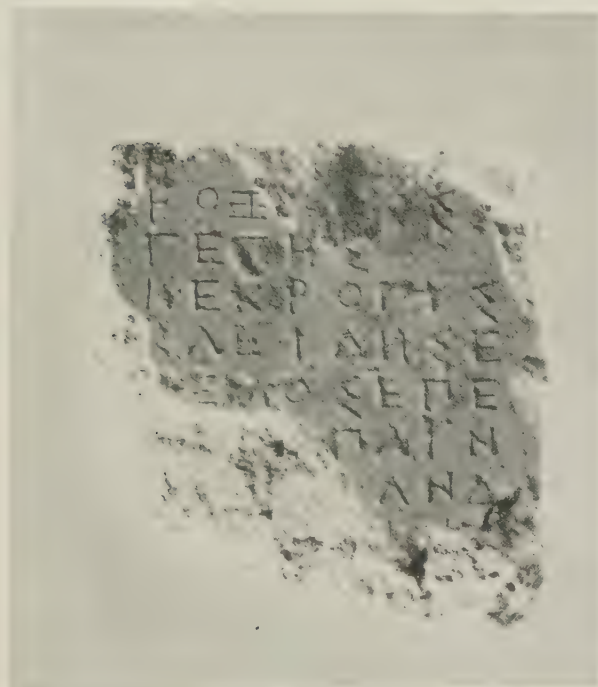
In disposition upon the stone, Col. I, line 5, falls opposite Col. II, line 102; Col. II, line 33, falls opposite Col. III, line 109; Col. IV, line 161, falls opposite Col. V, line 194; and Col. VIII, line 255 falls opposite Col. IX, line 278. These dispositions are made clear in the photographs (for Cols. VIII and IX see *Jahrbuch des d. arch. Instituts*, XXII, 1907, p. 249).

In its arrangement of names this list resembles the record, now published as *I.G.*, I², 950, of those who lost their lives in a naval battle in the latter part of the fifth century. The Ionic lambda in [*Ἀ*ύ]τόβολος (line 242) and the frequent omission of rough breathing

(lines 119, 163, 172, 195, 224, and 241), argue a date for this inscription also in the late fifth century.¹

Identification of the names, without demotics and in most cases without knowledge of the tribes, is hazardous. In line 243 one might restore [*Ἀδ*]ίκογ, or perhaps [*Κά*]ίκογ (cf. Pape, *Gr. Eigennamen*, s. vv.).

11. Fragment from a stele of Pentelic marble, with part of the smooth right side and rough-picked back preserved, but otherwise broken, found on May 11, 1933, in a modern wall in Section Z. The top seems to have been squared purposely in a re-working of the stone.



No. 11

Height, 0.144 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.079 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 788.

The inscription is stoichedon. Six lines occupy a vertical space of 0.075 m., and six rows (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.078 m.

ca. 398–390 B.C.

CTOIX. 23

[.....¹⁴..... π]ρόξ[εν]ος ^v
 [Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἰς] ῥέτης ^{vv}
 [ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ] Κεκροπίς
 [ἐπρυτάνεν· ...⁵...] κλείδης ^ε
 5 [γραμμάτεν· ...⁶...] εἰμος ἐπε
 [στάτε· ...⁹...] εἰπε·] ἔπαιν
 [ἔσαι μὲν ...⁷...] ὡς ὄντ]ι ἀνδ
 [ρὶ ἀγαθῶι περὶ τε τὴν πόλ]ιν τ
 [τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ - - - - -]

The Ionic lettering and the formula of sanction which mentions the Council only and not the Demos show that the inscription is to be dated in the early years of the fourth century B.C. The name of the man honored as proxenos and benefactor has not been preserved, but it contained apparently seven letters in the dative case (line 7), and together with its ethnic occupied fourteen letter spaces in the nominative (line 1).

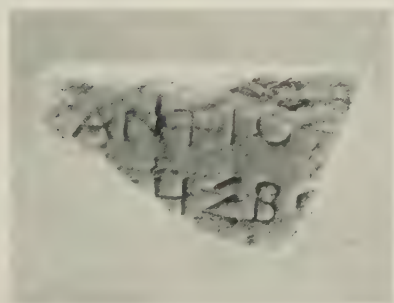
The length of line is determined by the restoration in line 2, for which reference may be made (e.g.) to *I.G.*, II², 49, line 2, or to *I.G.*, II², 79, lines 7–8. The spelling *βουλῇ*

¹ For the diphthong in [*Φρο*]ύρερχος (line 49), cf. *I.G.*, I², 929, line 49.

The date of the document is determined by the characteristic lettering of the fourth century, and by the name of the dedicator. Timotheos probably had his *floruit* ca. 348 B.C. He was the brother of that Timarchos mentioned by Aeschines (I, 157), and son of Teisias the Rhamnousian (*P.A.*, 13481; the *stemma* is given under the name Ἰφικράτης, *P.A.*, 7737). For the form of dedication without demotic, see (for example) *I.G.*, II², 4592. The restoration Ἡρ[ακλει] in line 3 is derived from the reading in line 4.

Most of the preserved surface below the moulding is very badly worn, and letters are difficult to distinguish. Mention of the Praxiergidai, however, seems certain. The restoration indicates that they had made a propitiatory offering, the sacrifice consisting of two black ewes. Presumably these were ἀρεστῆρες (cf. *I.G.*, II², 4971). For such a restoration, cf. *I.G.*, II², 4970-4971. Lines 7-11 record the names of the Praxiergidai who offered the sacrifice. Where demotics are preserved, the men were from different tribes, though their names were not listed in any official tribal order. Herakles was probably only one of many deities to whom the Praxiergidai made sacrifice; the sacred calendar of the Salaminioi, published above on pp. 4-5, gives new light on the manifold religious associations of the organized *genos*.

13. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the smooth top surface preserved but otherwise broken, found on January 2, 1934, in Section H'.



Height, 0.048 m.; width, 0.082 m.; thickness, 0.027 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 1084.

One line of text occupies about 0.018 m. in height upon the stone; the inscription is not stoichedon. For the type of dedication, see *I.G.*, II², 2833 *a* (*Hesperia*, III, 60).

No. 13

Fourth Century B.C.

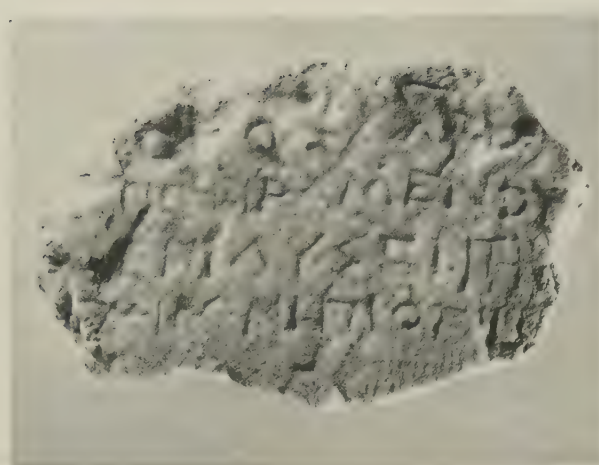
[οἱ προτάνας τῆς] Ἀντιοχ[ίδος φυλῆς]

[στεφανωθέντες ὑπὸ] τῆς βο[υλῆς καὶ τοῦ]

[δῆμον ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ - - - ^{ca. 9} - - - ἄρχοντος]

[ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης].

14. Rough fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on January 4, 1934, in the wall of a modern house in Section B.



No. 14

Height, 0.133 m.; width, 0.209 m.;
thickness, 0.031 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 1117.

δρος χωρίο[v]
πεπραμένον
ἐπὶ λύσει : ΠΗ
Κίρωνι Πιθέϊ

The letters rho and omega in the last line were run together. Possibly the name should be read as *Κίρωνι*, but the traces favor equally well the name *Κίρωνι*, which is made more probable by the demotic. A *Κίρων Πιθέυς* is known from the fourth century (*P.A.*, 8444).

15. Pedimental stele of Pentelic marble found on February 27, 1936, in a well in Section IIΘ. The present stele is reconstructed from seven fragments, but only a few very small pieces are still missing. The setting for the socket is clearly visible at the bottom. The back is rough.

Height, 1.065 m.; width (at top), 0.316 m., (at bottom), 0.365 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.008–0.009 m.

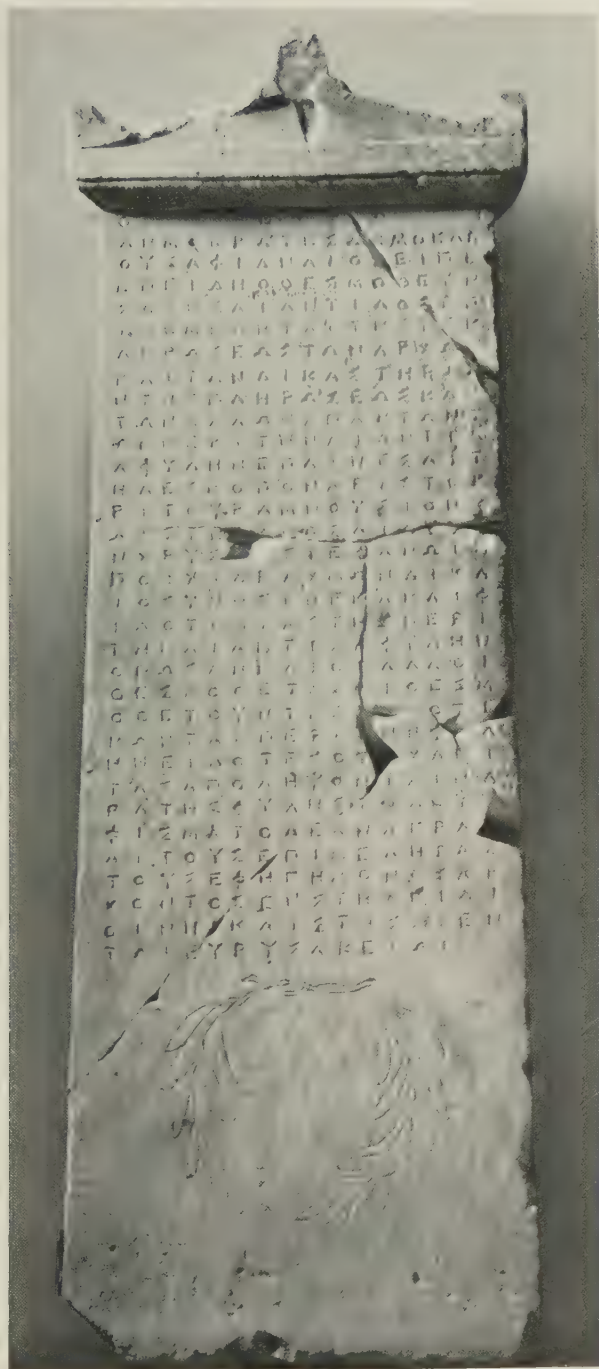
Inv. No. I 3625.

The writing is stoichedon except for an irregularity in line 2.

Lines 2–3: Demokrates, son of Demokles, of Aphidnai was a contemporary of Demosthenes (*P.A.*, 3521; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. no. 4). The present text gives the name of his father, hitherto unknown. Stobaeus (*Floril.*, XXII, 43) named him as an old man (γέρον) at the time of the battle of Chaironeia. We now learn that he was still active in the affairs of his tribe, at least, in 327/6. Demokles may be the father of that Demokles who was trierarch *ca.* 323 (*P.A.*, 3495) and identical with, or father of, the Demokles of *Hesperia*, V, no. 10, line 167.

Lines 4–9: The responsibility for the selection of the magistracies which were chosen by lot in the Theseion lay with the thesmothetai.¹ See Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staats-*

¹ So Aeschines (κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος, § 13), who contrasts these with the elected magistracies chosen by show of hands by the Demos. Aeschines obviously had in mind the college of archons and their secretary.



No. 15

327/6 B.C. CTOIX. 16

θ ε ο ί

- Δημοκράτης Δημοκλέ
 ους Ἀφιδναῖος εἶπε·
 ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεσμοθέτης
 5 ς ὁ τῆς Αἰαντίδος ἐπ
 ιμεμέλῃται τῆς τε κ
 ληρώσεως τῶν ἀρχῶν
 καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίῳ
 ν τῆς πληρώσεως καὶ
 10 τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τ
 ῶν περὶ τὴν Αἰαντίδ
 α φυλὴν, ἐπαινέσαι Τ
 ηλέσκοπον Ἀριστοκ
 ρίτου Ῥαμνούσιον κ
 15 αὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτ[ὸ]
 ν χρυσ[ῶ]ι στεφάνῳι ἃ
 πὸ : Χ : δραχμῶν δικα
 ιοσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ φ
 ιλοτιμίας τῆς περὶ
 20 τὴν Αἰαντίδα φυλὴν
 ὅπως ἂν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
 θεσμοθέται οἱ θεσμ
 οθετοῦντες [φι]λοτι
 μῶνται περὶ [τ]ὴν φυλ
 25 ῆν εἰδότες δι[τ]ὴν χάρι
 τας ἀπολήψονται πα
 ρὰ τῆς φυλῆς· τὸ δὲ ψή
 φισμα τόδε ἀναγράψ
 αι τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς
 30 τοὺς ἐφ' Ἡγήμονος ἄρ
 χοντος ἐν στήλῃ λι
 θίνῃ καὶ στῆαι ἐν
 τῷ Εὐρυσακείῳ ^{vv}

wreath

kunde, p. 1071. It is also known that the thesmothetai were responsible for making up the full complement of dikastai in the courts (see Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, p. 159; Sandys, *Aristotle, Constitution of Athens*, note on § 63, 2). In both cases the thesmothetes acted for his own phyle.¹

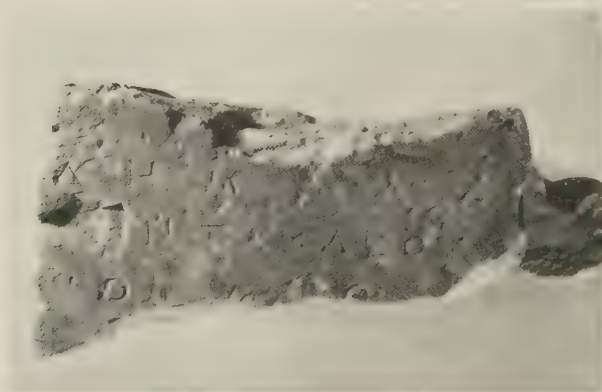
Lines 12–14: Teleskopos, son of Aristokritos, of Rhamnous was grandfather of the ephebos of the same name of the archonship of Menekles (269/8).²

Line 30: The date of the inscription is given by the name of the archon Hegemon (327/6). Presumably Teleskopos had been thesmothetes in the previous year (328/7).

Line 29: Those who were to erect the stele were the epimeletai of the tribe Aiantis. These epimeletai were annual officers, three in number, chosen one from each trittys of the tribe. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1151, 1152; *Hesperia*, V, no. 10, lines 167–170; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 974.

Line 33: The inscription helps in determining the location of the Eurysakeion, which was probably near the place of its discovery. See the commentary on pp. 1 ff., above.

16. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken away at the right and below, found on June 19, 1933, in a modern foundation in Section H'. In the middle of the top is a dowel cutting (l. 0.042 m.; w. 0.022 m.; d. 0.02 m.).



No. 16

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness (not original), 0.165 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 1010.

Δημέας
[Π]ατρακλέους
Θράσιος

It is an open question whether this Demeas, or the one listed as *P.A.*, 3317, was the father of *Ἀντονόη* (*P.A.*, 2754). The date seems to be in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

¹ Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, pp. 56–57.

² *P.A.*, 13567; *I.G.*, II², 665, line 55; cf. below, p. 134.

17. Fragment of Pentelie marble, broken away at the back but with part of the left side and of the pediment preserved, found on October 27, 1936, in Section X.



No. 17

Height, 0.281 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.088 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4317.

The inscription is stichedon 27. Two lines occupy a vertical space of 0.025 m. and two rows of letters (measured on centres) a horizontal space of 0.025 m.

293/2 B.C.

CTOIX. 27

[ἐπὶ] Ὀλυμπιοδ[ώρου] ἄρχοντος, ἀναγ[
ρα]φῆως δὲ Ἐπι[κούρου] τοῦ Ἐπιτέλο[
υς] Ῥαμνουσί[ου] ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδ[
ος] ἐνδεκάτ[ης] πρυτανείας, Μουνιχ[
5] [ιῶν] ος ἔνε[ι] καὶ νέαι πρώτη τῆς πε[
ντα]νείας· [ἐκκλησία] κυρία ἐν τῷ θ[
εάτρῳ· τ]ῷ [ν] προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν[
[Νικόβουλος Νικίου] Φρεάριος . .]

This decree was passed on the same day with *I.G.*, II², 389 and 649. For the restorations see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 7–8 and 21. The present text is most welcome, as confirming the restorations which Dinsmoor has proposed for *I.G.*, II², 389, the only difference being that the archonship of Olympiodoros is not specified in the present document as being of his second year. The full designation of date appears in *I.G.*, II², 389 alone of the preserved inscriptions:

[ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπ]ιοδώρου ἄρχοντος δεύτε[ρον] ἔτ[
ος ἀναγρα]φῆως δὲ Ἐπικούρου τοῦ Ἐπιτέλο[
υς Ῥαμνου]σίον - - - - -

Exception has been taken to the restoration δεύτε[ρον] ἔτος[ς] by Kolbe, who proposes instead δευτέ[ρον], ἐπὶ ἀναγρα]φῆως δὲ -- etc.¹ This restoration is, however, too short by one letter space to fill the lacuna at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2. But as further evidence that Olympiodoros was archon for only one year, Kolbe seeks to show

¹ *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1933, pp. 508–509.

that his name is known in association with only one ἀναγραφεύς. This he does by transferring the document *I.G.*, II², 378 from the year of Olympiodoros, to which Dinsmoor had assigned it, to the year of Philippos. The ἀναγραφεύς whose name appears in the inscription was Thras(ykles, son of Nausikrates, of Thri)a, according to the now accepted restoration. It has been assumed that he was the same man as the orator of *I.G.*, II², 450 of the year 314/3.



I.G., II², 378, fragment a

A new fragment, published recently by Broneer (*Hesperia*, IV, pp. 173–174, no. 38), belongs with *I.G.*, II², 378,¹ so that now a considerable portion of the text can be recovered. The writing is not stoichedon throughout, but in the upper part of the document the lines contained regularly 33 letters each. This will be evident from a study of the disposition of the letters on the upper fragment, shown here in the photograph on this page, and from a study of Broneer's photograph (*op. cit.*, p. 174).² In fact, neither the restoration of Dinsmoor to which Kolbe objected, nor Kolbe's substitute restoration (giving respectively 37 and 36 letters to line 1) can be made compatible with line 5 which had only 33 letters. The name of Philippos as archon can be restored in line 1 only by assuming the same asyndeton [Ἐπὶ Φιλίππου ἄρχοντος] ἀναγραφέως Θρασ — — — etc., which Kolbe rightly criticized in Dinsmoor's earlier restoration. But the name of Olympiodoros can be restored,

with the formula ἄρχων Ὀλυμπιόδωρος. This finds its parallel in the way the ἀναγραφεύς was mentioned in the year 320/19 (*I.G.*, II², 380–384), and is justified—even for the archon—by the introductory words ἄρχων Οὐρίας in a decree of the year 283/2 published in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), no. 40. But line 2 of *I.G.*, II², 378 could be restored with the name of Thrasykles only by omitting the word τοῦ which should precede the patronymic. This name cannot in any case be restored here, for the demotic in line 2 must be read

¹ Knowledge of this association I owe to Schweigert.

² With the photographs now available, previous discussions of spacing, etc. may be disregarded. Cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 25.

as $[\Phi\nu]\lambda\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$,¹ and the proposed identification of this registrar with the known Thrasykles of Thria must be abandoned.

I have made several changes in the restorations and divisions of lines (which did not necessarily end syllabically) from those proposed by Broneer, and suggest that the combined text should be read as follows:

I.G., II², 378

294/3 B.C.

NON-CTOIX, ca. 33

[ἄρχων Ὀλυμπιόδωρος· ἐπ'] ἀναγραφῆως Θρασ
[.....¹⁹..... $\Phi\nu$]λᾱσῑόν· ἐπὶ τῆς
[.....⁸..... ἰδὸς ἔκτῃς πρυταν]είας· Ποσιδε
[ῶνος ἐβδόμῃ μετ' εἰκάδας τε]τάρτει καὶ ε
5 [ἰκοσιεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλ]ησίᾱ κυρία·
[τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν· Ἰστοφά]ρχ[ης]
[-----· συμπρόεδροι ----- Πα]λιανεύ[ς· . .]
[-----·] ΛΙΙΙΥ[. . . .]

lacuna

10 [----- καὶ σ]τεφανῶσα[ι χρυσῶ]
[ι στεφάνῳ εὐνοίας ἔνεκ]α τῆς εἰς τὸν [δῆμ]
[ον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· εἶναι δ'] αὐτὸν Ἀθη[ν]α[ῖ]ον
[αὶ ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ· γράψ]ασθαι δ' αὐτὸν φυ[λ]
[ῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρί]ας ἧς ἔν βούλητα[ι]
15 [κατὰ τὸν νόμον· τοὺς δὲ] πρυτάνεις εἰς τὴν
[πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν δοῦναι] ἵπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν [ψ]
[ῆφον ----- ca. 18 ----- ἐ]κκλησίαν· ἀν[αγ]
[ράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στ]ήλῃ λιθίνῃ κα
[ὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀ]ναγραφὴν τ
20 [ῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικῇ]σ[ει τὸ]
[γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα].

Traces of letters occur in line 8. As Broneer noted, there are irregularities in lines 15–18, and the restoration above cannot be considered certain. For the formula *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*, however, in line 15, see (for example) *I.G.*, II², 507, 508, 570, 576, 577. Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens*, p. 26) has shown good reason to believe that the date of the document is later than 307/6; the calendar equation (lines 3–5) shows an ordinary year in the period of the twelve tribes, in which the twenty-fourth day of the sixth prytany was equated with the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month (Posideon full, and ἐβδόμῃ μετ' εἰκάδας

¹ A reading of the stone by Schweigert in Athens gives the lambda. Schweigert reports "The sloping stroke of the lambda in line 2 lies along the fracture, but enough remains to justify the reading."
7*

with backward count). The restoration *πέμπτης* might be made in line 3 with a date *τετράδι ἰσταμένου* in line 6 for an intercalary year (cf. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 26), but the latter restoration would be short by one letter and possibly less satisfactory. I prefer to consider the year of Nikostratos (295/4) as intercalary (as also Kirchner in *I.G.*, II², 646), and the first year of Olympiodoros, now represented by this inscription, as ordinary. The sequence as shown in Ferguson's table in *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 22, indicates the correct sequence.

Dinsmoor's restoration of *I.G.*, II², 389 with the introductory lines,

[Ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπ]ιοδώρου ἄρχοντος δεύτε[ρον ἔτ]
[ος, ἀναρχα]φείως δὲ Ἐπικούρου τοῦ Ἐ[πιτέλο]
[υς Ῥαμνο]σίον - - - - etc. - - - - -

gains support from the discovery that the registrar of *I.G.*, II², 378 cannot belong in the archonship of Philippos.

18. A complete stele of Hymettian marble found in the north room of the Metroön on July 4, 1936. The stone had been used as a cover slab over a late Roman drain. Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 197 and note.

Height, 1.31 m.; width of inscribed face, at top, 0.418 m., at bottom, 0.517 m.; thickness of edge, at top, 0.08 m., at bottom, 0.13 m. The length of the tenon is 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.07 m.

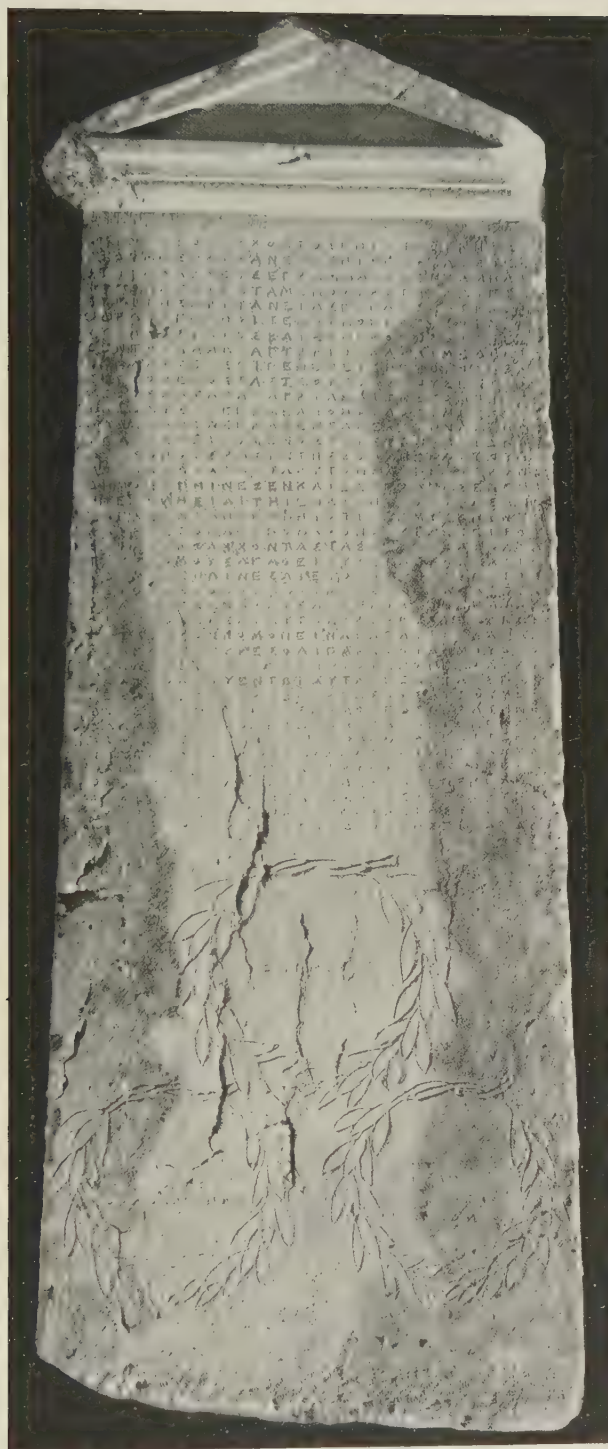
Inv. No. I 4266.

The inscription is stoichedon 31 except for line 35, which contains 32 letters. The final iota of *καὶ* and the initial sigma tau of *στεφανῶσαι* have been crowded into two letter spaces. The cross-bar of alpha was occasionally omitted, as were also the inner strokes of mu in line 35. In line 45 the word *Σαλαμινίων* was first cut as *Σαλαμίνιοι* and then corrected.

284/3 B.C.

CTOIX. 31

θ ε ο ι
Ἐπὶ Νικίου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνηίδος
ἐβδόμης πρυτανείας ἦν Θεόφιλος Θεοδ
ότου Ἀχαρνέες ἐγραμμάτευν, Γαμηλιῶ
5 ρος ἐνάτῃ ἰσταμένου, τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκο
στεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προ
έδρων ἐλεψήφιζεν Οἰνοκράτης Οἰνοζί
ου Ἐλε[v]σίσιος καὶ συνπρόεδροι. *v ἔδο
ξεν τῷ δήμῳ· Ἀγύρριος Καλλιμέδοντο
10 ς Κολλυτεὺς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Εὐθιος ἄρχω
ν γενόμενος τάς τε θυσίας ἔθυσεν τοῖς
θεοῖς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τῆς πομπῆς τῷ



No. 18

ι Λιονύσωι ἐπεμελήθη φιλοτιμίως καὶ τ
 ἄλλα πάντα ἔπραξεν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν δ
 15 ικαίως πειθόμενος τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ
 τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δή
 μου καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτὸν καὶ πρότερον ὁ
 δῆμος ἐπῆνευσεν καὶ ἐστεφάνωσεν ἐν τ
 ῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐν Λιονύσου, ὅπως ἂν ο
 20 ὦν πᾶσιν φανερὸν ᾗ ὅτι ὁ δῆμος καὶ νῦν
 καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τιμήσει τοὺς
 δικαίως ἀρχοντας τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ κατὰ
 τοὺς νόμους· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τῷ
 ι δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι Εὐθιον Ἀντιφῶντος
 25 Τειθράσιον φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκα καὶ εὖν
 οίας ἦν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ
 αὐτὸν στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ
 κατὰ {τὰ} τὸν νόμον· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλ
 λο ἀγαθὸν εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ὅτο
 30 υ ἂν δοκεῖ ἄξιός εἶναι διὰ τὸν Πειραιεὺς
 καὶ τὸ ἔστυ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γένηται· ἐπαι
 [ν]έσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρέδρους αὐτοῦ Μει
 δογένην Μείδωνος Ἀθμονέα Σωκράτην Σ
 ωδάμου Παιανία δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ
 35 αὐτὸν φιλοτιμίας καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἑκάτερον
 αὐτῶν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον·
 ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γρα
 μματέα τὸν κατὰ προτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ
 λιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἔμπροσθε τοῦ συνε
 40 δρίου· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης
 μερίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει " Δ " δο
 αχμάς. vacat

ὁ δῆμος

15 (ὁ δῆμος
 ὁ Σαλαμινίων)
 (οἱ φυλέται)

The inscription here presented gives the name of an archon hitherto unknown from the early third century B.C., and preserves in full the name of the secretary for the year, until now also unknown. The new archon, Nikias, follows immediately after Euthios (285/4) and so may be dated definitely in 284/3. This date is confirmed by the demotic of the secretary (*Ἀχαρνὲς* VIII) which falls into place in this same year in the regular sequence of tribes in the secretary cycle. Inasmuch as both the years of Euthios and of Ourias (who now follows Nikias) were ordinary in the Attic calendar (*I.G.*, II², 657–659; *I.G.*, II², 660; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 40) it has been assumed for some time that 284/3 must have been intercalary (e.g. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 23; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 584). This assumption is now proved correct by the calendar equation Gamelion 9 = Prytany VII, 23 of the present document, which is possible only in an intercalary year. If the prytanies contained regularly 32 days each, and if the year began with full Hekatombaion with the alternation of full and hollow months not reversed until Gamelion or later, then Gamelion 9 and Prytany VII, 23 both fall on the 215th day of the year.

Lines 9–10: The orator Agyrrhios son of Kallimedon of Kollyte is the same man (*P.A.*, 180) who proposed a decree (*I.G.*, II², 653) honoring King Spartokos in the archonship of Diotimos (287/6).

Lines 12–13: It was regularly the duty of the eponymous archon to arrange the festival procession in honor of Dionysos at the Great Dionysia. See Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 56, 4; also Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 138–142. He was assisted by his two paredroi (here praised in lines 31–37) and by a special board of epimeletai (see Aristotle, *loc. cit.*, cf. also *I.G.*, II², 668) who are not mentioned in this decree.

Lines 30–31: There is here formal proof that in 284/3 (mid-winter) the Peiraeus had not been recovered (from Macedon) by the Athenian Nationalists. The now generally accepted date of the recovery (281/0) is thus made still more secure (Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 72, and *A.J.P.*, LV, 1934, p. 321, note 15; Tarn, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 33 ff.; Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 576–578).

Lines 39–40: The stele was to be set up in front of the *συνέδριον*. Of the lexicographers Photius (s.v.) defines *συνέδριον* as follows: *καὶ τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς θώκους ἐν οἷς συνεδρεύουσιν Ἀττικοὶ καλοῦσιν*. Since the present stele was found unbroken in the north room of the Metroön it is reasonable to assume that the *συνέδριον* here mentioned was near to and perhaps enclosed the *βουλευτήριον* or meeting place of the Council. The word *συνέδριον* may also be restored in a similar inscription found in Section K (see No. 19 below). In Lysias' oration *ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατιώτου* (IX, 6 and 9) reference is made to a law which prescribes punishment for those who use abusive language *ἐν (τῷ) συνεδρίῳ*. The defendant, Polyainos, claims that he was unjustly fined, for (as he said) he had not even gone into the *ἀρχεῖον*. This is another connecting link between the *συνέδριον* and the civic centre about the *βουλευτήριον*, for the public buildings in this neighborhood were also called *τὰ ἀρχεῖα* (cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 1931, p. 346).

The dating of the new archon Nikias in 284/3 displaces Telokles, who has recently been assigned to that year by Meritt (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 566–570 and p. 584). It also

opens up another possibility, and at present apparently the only one, for the restoration of the names of the archons in line 1 and in lines 5–6 of *I.G.*, II², 1290. The restoration in line 1 should be [Ἐπὶ Νικίου ἄρχον]τος, for the year was intercalary, and in lines 5–6 [Ἐπὶ Ἐθίου ἄρχοντο]ς. The argument in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 575 that *I.G.*, II², 1290 mentioned two archons both with six letters in the genitive of their names still holds, though it is no longer necessary to restore the name Lykeas in *I.G.*, II², 670 A. The only available year earlier than Ourias for Telokles is 289/8, to which Kimon has been tentatively assigned. It now seems necessary to date Kimon again in 282/1, as was done by Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens*, p. 30) in order to make place in the archon-list for Telokles, and in so doing any attempt to restore the name of Lykeas in *I.G.*, II², 1290 as the successor of Ourias must be abandoned.

Gorgias remains fixed in 281/0, but the archon Polystratos, who should be dated not long before or after Lykeas on prosopographical grounds,¹ is now no longer bound by an accepted early date for Lykeas. The reconciliation between the city and the Peiraeus which is implied by *I.G.*, II², 1283 may be that which followed the Chremonidean war, as well as that which followed Olympiodoros' capture of the Peiraeus in 281/0 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 578), and consequently both Polystratos and Lykeas may belong after 263/2 B.C. If this is true, the archon Sosistratos becomes a probable candidate for the restoration of line 1 in *I.G.*, II², 672,² especially since his connection with *I.G.*, II², 670 B is broken by the necessity of restoring [Ἐπὶ Κίμωνος ἄρχον]τος in *I.G.*, II², 670 A (cf. p. 106, below). The year satisfies the prosopographical evidence which favors an early date for Sosistratos. Euboulos, who is mentioned in the letters of Epicurus, may be assigned either to 273/2 or 272/1 B.C.

In the year of Telokles one member of the Boule who took a prominent part in shaping the policy of the government was Φίλιππος Ἀστυγένοῦ Θυμαϊάδης, who appears also as orator of the decree (II², 672) now assigned (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 578–579) to the year 280/79 in which we have just restored the archon's name as Sosistratos. Another active member of the Boule of Telokles' year was Νικοκράτης Ἀρχεμάχου Φηγαιεύς, who appears also as orator of a decree (II², 656) of the archonship of Isaïos in 286/5. Both these men were honored by the Demos for having given wisest counsel (ἄριστα βεβουλευμέναι: II², 2797). The dedicatory inscription which records their names mentions also another councillor of the year of Telokles, Ἰμεραῖος Βόωνος Εἰταῖος, and the general Ἀριστείδης Ἀμπετρύς, who is to be identified with the Athenian envoy Ἀριστείδης Μιησιθέου Ἀμπετρύς who was honored in a proxeny decree of Arcadian Orchomenos (*B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 451). The decree from Orchomenos names three ambassadors from Athens, the other two being the ardent Nationalists Κάλλιππος Μοιροκλέους Ἐλευσίνιος and Γλαύκων Ἐτεοκλέους Αἰθαλίδης. Kallippos was the Athenian general at Thermopylae in 279/8 (Paus. X, 20, 5) and one of the signers of the alliance of Chremonides (II², 686, line 23), while Glaukon

¹ The same orator appears in decrees dated by both archons (*I.G.*, II², 1283, 1284 B).

² As proposed by Johnson, *Class. Phil.*, IX, 1914, pp. 258, 430.

was the brother of Chremonides. The Nationalistic character of the government under Telokles is therefore apparent (cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 79) and the influential Councillors of his year were among those active after the revolt from Macedon in 288 B.C.

The argument presented in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 566–567, that Telokles must have preceded Ourias still seems to me sound. We learn from the new document here published that he was not the immediate predecessor of Ourias, as my earlier interpretation supposed, but that from Euthios back through Diokles there is an unbroken sequence of archons which cannot be disturbed. The latest possible year for Telokles is thereby determined as 289/8 B.C. This is also the earliest date possible for the praise of the Nationalistic partisans of Telokles' year, and so may be assigned definitely to his archonship. The revolt from Macedon was accomplished in Telokles' year, and the year of Diokles belonged entirely to the Nationalistic régime. Furthermore, we are now able to interpret the honorary inscription *I.G.*, II², 2797, as praise for the men, already named above as strong Nationalists, who planned and carried out the revolt. The fact that the general Aristeides of Lamptrai was named in the dedication along with the Councillors shows that the legislative and military branches of the government coöperated, as indeed we know must have been the case, to free Athens from Macedonian control. This date agrees well with the fact that two of the Councillors of *I.G.*, II², 2797 appear again as Councillors who proposed decrees in 286/5 and 280/79 and that the general Aristeides was ambassador to Orchomenos shortly before the Chremonidean war. The late date for this embassy does not argue a late date for Telokles (Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 79); rather, it is appropriate that the active generalship of Aristeides should fall in 289/8 and his embassy belong to the more sedate years of his life about twenty years later.

The archon Kimon must now be dated in 282/1, but the question whether he should be separated from Nikias (296/5) by an interval of at least seven years (Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 71) or by an interval of possibly six years (Ferguson, *Ath. Trib. Cycles*, pp. 69–71) no longer plays a part in the argument. His earliest possible date is 282/1. The "difficult times" of the year of Kimon (*I.G.*, II², 682, line 33) may be taken to represent the increased pressure brought to bear on Athens by Antigonos after the death of his father. Apparently Athens and Macedon were fairly well at peace in 283/2, for the Athenians sent a deputation of taxiarchs to the celebration of the Basileia in Boeotia in the autumn of 283 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 40), and Boeotia was still loyal to Antigonos.¹ But in 281/0 there was open strife, and Olympiodoros captured the Peiraeus. The services rendered by Phaidros in the intervening year (282/1) imply that relations had already become strained, and that an open break was then avoided only by expert diplomacy. Phaidros maintained peace during troubled times, preserved the freedom and democracy of the city, and in particular made possible the gathering of the grain and the crops from the countryside.

¹ This was before the general revolt of the Greek states (Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 132). Memnon, XIII, 3 (*F. H. G.*, III, p. 534, ed. Müller) shows that Antigonos could take refuge in Boeotia after his defeat by Ptolemy.

I follow Dinsmoor in assigning the earlier embassy of Phaidros to Ptolemy for grain supplies (*I.G.*, II², 682, lines 28–30) to the period just after the revolt of 289/8 (Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 71). Indeed, after the revolt from Macedonia the problem of the grain supply seems to have been ever present. It is mentioned in two decrees of 288/7 (*I.G.*, II², 650, 651), in three decrees of 287/6 (*I.G.*, II², 653, 654, 655), and again in a decree of the year 282/1 (*I.G.*, II², 670 A) which the secretary cycle shows to belong to the year now given to Kimon. Dinsmoor's attribution of this last inscription (*op. cit.*, pp. 67–68), and also of *I.G.*, II², 670 B to the year of Anaxikrates, is thus further supported; for the archon's name in 670 B must have had five more letters in the genitive than the name in 670 A (cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 575–576). If *I.G.*, II², 670 A is restored [ἐπὶ Κίμωνος ἄρχοντος] then *I.G.*, II², 670 B must almost surely be restored [ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους] ἄρχοντος. The text is as follows:

I.G., II², 670 A

CTOIX. 50

282/1 B.C.

[Ἐπὶ Κίμωνος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰα[ντίδος δωδεκάτης πρυτανεί]
 [ας ἦι . . . ⁷ . . . Εὐφο[ρίωνος Ἐλευσίνιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· Σκιροφο]
 [ρίωνος ἐνδεκάτη] τρ[ίτ]ει καὶ δεκά[τει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησ]
 [ία κυρία τῶν προσέ]δρων ἐπεψήφισε[ν . . . ²² . . .]
 5 [. . . ⁷ . . . καὶ συμπ]ρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν [τῷ δήμῳ· . . . ¹⁵ . . .]
 [. . . ⁶ . . . εἶπεν· ἐπε]ιδὴ Θίβρων φίλο[. . . ²³ . . .]
 . . . ¹⁵ . . . κατοικοῦσιν Ἀ[θηναίων . . . ¹⁶ . . .]
 . . . ¹⁵ . . . ενος καὶ τῶν Εὐ[. . . ²³ . . .]
 [. . . ¹⁴ . . . ἐ]π[ι]μ[ε]λείαν ἐπο[ι]ήσατο . . . ¹⁷ . . .]
 10 [. . . ¹⁴ . . . κοί]νωσ[ι] καὶ καθ' ἑ[κάστ] . . . ¹⁹ . . .]
 [. . . ἐκ τῶν ιδίων χρη]μάτων εἰς σι[τωνίαν] προσεδαπάνησε καὶ τ[ὴν]
 [ἄλλα διατελεῖ προ]δ[ι]κ[τὸν] δῆμον εὐν[ους] ὡν καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος· ὅ[τι]
 [πως] ἂν οἷν ἐφάμιλλ[ον] ἦι [χρ]είας πα[ρά]χ[ε]σθαι τῷ δήμῳ πᾶσιν εἰ[ς]
 [δόσιν] ὅτι χάριτας ἀπολήψονται τ[ῶν] ἐργετημάτων· ἀγαθεῖ τῷ
 15 [χει] δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινέσα[ι] Θίβωνα . . . ¹⁵ . . .]
 [. . . καὶ σιφραῖν] αὐτὸν χρ[ε]στῷ [σιφραῖν] καὶ τὸν νόμον ἀρετ[ῇ]
 [ῆς] ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοί[ας] τῆς εἰς τὸν [δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· εἶναι δὲ α]
 [ὕτῳ] καὶ ἕλλο ἀγαθὸν εὐρέσθαι π[αρά] τοῦ δήμου - - - -]

Blank space of one line

I.G., II², 670 B

CTOIX. 51

279/8 B.C.

[Ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους] ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ [τῆς . . . ²² . . .]
 20 [. . . ¹⁴ . . .]ιδ[ι]κ[τὸν] Ν[ί]κωνος Εἰ[ς] τ[ῆς] ἐγραμμάτευεν . . . ¹⁶ . . .]
 [. . . ⁷ . . . ἐνάττει με]τ' εἰ[ς] [α]δ[ας] δυν[ά]μει καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυταν[είας]
 [ἐκκλησία] κυρία τ[ῶν] προ[έ]δρων ἐπεψήφισεν - - - -]
 Ι
 Σ

These readings depend upon a new determination in line 4, and embody a correction in the division of lines which must be introduced in line 12. The proper disposition of the letters is clear on a squeeze. The readings given in lines 19–22 are based upon the letters recorded in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 579. But the text as a whole replaces not only that given in the *Corpus* but also that published in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 576 and p. 581. Since the year of Anaxikrates was probably ordinary, the calendar equation of line 21 has been made to equate the 22nd day of the month with the 22nd day of the prytany. Backward count with any month that has thirteen letters in the genitive will satisfy the epigraphical requirements.

The date of Telokles in 289/8 changes somewhat the aspect of the restorations offered for the document which mentions his name in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 568. If the restoration there given is retained, then the payment of the *ἐγγύη* by Chairontides was delayed seven years after he was adjudged liable by the court. Of course, it may be supposed that he merely continued the payments on the house which had been begun by the original purchaser Diokles, buying in the house for himself after Diokles defaulted (cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 393). One thing seems clear, and that is that the case history of the house in Agryle mentioned in *Hesperia*, IV, no. 41 began with its sale in the archonship of Philippos (292/1) and continued until the archonship of Ourias (283/2) when a *καταβολή* was made against the purchase price of it. This is a span of ten years (inclusive reckoning) and if payments were made every year, that of Ourias' archonship was the tenth. Although Aristotle says that the price of a house sold by the poletai at public auction had to be paid in five years, it may be that the permitted time had been extended to ten years, as in the case of purchase of land, in the early third century, or that the house sold included also a plot of ground not separately specified. This is made to seem more probable by the record of the second house (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 41, lines 18–20), where the sale apparently occurred in 289/8 and a payment was still being made in 283/2. It was the seventh instalment on the house sold when Telokles was archon that should have been due in the year of Ourias. At any rate, the span of years is again greater than the five specified by Aristotle. The exact restoration of *Hesperia*, IV, no. 41 is uncertain, but the following tentative arrangement may be suggested:

Hesperia, IV, no. 41 ca. 36

----- N -----

vacat

vacat

vacat

5 [τᾶ]δε καταβεβ[λημένα ἦν πρὸς πωλητὰς τοὺς]
 [ἐπ]ὶ Οὐρίου ἀρχο[ντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δημητριάδος ἐν]
 [δε]κάτης πρυτανείας ^{vvvvv} δεκάτη καταβολή]

[οἰ]κίας Ἀγροκλῆσ[ιν Χαιροντίδου τοῦ Ἐρ . . .⁶ . . .]
 [Σο]υσι: τῆς πραθε[ίσης ἐπὶ τῶν πωλητῶν ἐπὶ Φι]
 10 [λί]ππον ἄρχοντο[ς δημοσίας γενομένης· ἐγγυητῆς ἐ]
 [γῆ]νετο Διοκλῆ[ς - - - - - καὶ τὴν τιμὴν]
 [τα]ύτης τῆς οἰκί[ας ἀπέδωκεν τῷ δημοσίῳ]
 [Χα]ιροντίδης Ἐρ[. . .⁶ . . . Σουσι: κατεψηφίσθη]
 [ἐπ]ὶ τῶν δικαστῶ[ν τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀπολωλέ]
 15 [να]ι ἐπὶ Τηλοκλέ[ους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς . . .⁸ . . .]
 [δε]κάτης πρυταν[είας *vacat*]
 [HH]HH^ΠΔΔΔΤΤ^ν [*vacat*]
 [ἐπ]ὶ Τηλοκλέους [ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωνί]
 [δο]ς ὀγδόης πρυτ[ανείας ἐπρίετο - - - - -]
 20 [.]κλου Εὐπυ: ο[ἰκίαν - - - - -]
 [- - - - - ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἐβδόμη καταβολή]
 [*summa pecuniae* *vacat* - - -]

It should also be noted that the archonship of Nikias in 284/3 is available, instead of the year 296/5, for the agonothesia of Phaidros (*I.G.*, II², 682, line 53). His second agonothesia, in the name of his son Thymochares and in the archonship of Euboulos, I now date in 259/8. See below, p. 135. Furthermore, the archon Nikias named in *I.G.*, II², 1273 should be identified with the archon of 284/3. Obviously it is desirable that the date of the decree should fall in the year following, so that the praise for service well rendered, with which the decree is concerned, may not be too long delayed after the term of service was past. Consequently, I restore line 1 of *I.G.*, II², 1273 as follows:

[Ἐπὶ Οὐρί]ον ἄρχοντος [ν]ὸς Ἀθηστυριῶν[ος]

The generally accepted reading [Ἐπ' Ἀριστωνύμ]ον is too long for the space available on the stone. Kirchner, in his notes, has discussed the problem of restoration in detail; but instead of determining the extent of the restoration by balancing the number of letters on each side of the median line of the stone, it seems to me preferable to consider both ends of the line separately. This is desirable, because the letters of line 1 are not evenly spaced, and possible, because enough of the moulding is preserved to show what the limits of restoration are.

At the end of line 1 the final nu on the stone falls just slightly to the right of the final sigma in line 2. One may say that line 1 (ending in ---νος) extended 2½ letter spaces farther to the right than did line 2 below the moulding. At the beginning of line 1, the final ----ον of the archon's name falls just above the final ----ων of the name of the orator in line 2. Since this name was [Κερ]αλίων, and contained eight letters, one might recede 2½ spaces to the left of its initial kappa and begin the reading of line 1 at the edge of the band above the moulding: [Ἐπὶ]ον. I do not see how a longer

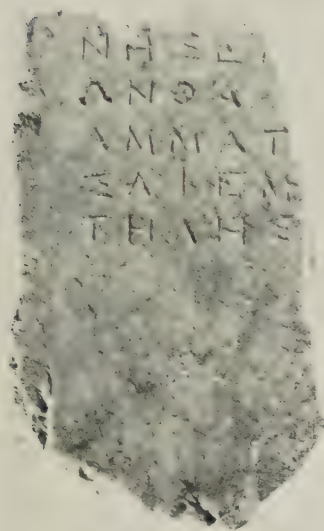
name can be supplied, certainly not one so long as [Ἐπ' Ἀριστωνύμ]ον, which exceeds by two full letters the maximum here determined. On the other hand, there is no reason why the inscription above the moulding must begin at the farthest possible left edge of the stone. If it began approximately over the beginning of the text in line 2 below, the restoration [Ἐπὶ Οὐρί]ον ἔρχοντος suits the available space perfectly. It is not possible to restore [Ἐπὶ Νικοστράτ]ον, to follow Nikias of 296/5, or [Ἐπὶ Πειθιδήμ]ον, to follow Nikias of 268/7.

19. Fragment of Hymettian marble with the left edge preserved, but otherwise broken, found on April 17, 1934, in a late Roman wall in Section K.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 1832.



No. 19

The inscription is stoichedon 45. Five lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.06 m.; four columns (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.051 m. It is a distance of 0.02 m. from the left edge of the stone to the margin of letters.

Before 263/2 B.C.

CTOIX. 45

[. . .] Ο [----- δικαιοσύ-
νης ἔν[εκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἑκάτερον αὐτ]-
ῶν θαλ[λοῦ στεφάνωι· ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γρ]-
αμματ[έα τὸν κατὰ πρωτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στή]-
5 σαι ἔμ[προσθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς σ]-
τήλης [μερίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει - - δραχμάς].

vacat

The character of the lettering indicates a date in the first half of the third century B.C. Comparison with No. 18 published above suggests also the possibility that the text here given was in praise of an archon and his two paredroi. The restoration of line 2 has been made on this assumption, but it should be noted that each of the paredroi in No. 18 (line 36) received "a golden crown according to the law" while here an olive crown only was granted. The stele containing No. 18 was to be set up in front of the *συνέδριον*; in the present text the same word can be restored in line 5. The inscription ends with provision for the expense of cutting the stele, which I restore in conformity with the formulae of the period from 288/7 to 263/2.

20. Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on October 25, 1934, in the wall of a modern house in Section O. The stone is broken away above, below, and at the left, but has part of the right side preserved, dressed smooth with a fine-toothed chisel. The back is rough, with long drilled grooves.

Height, 0.385 m.; width, 0.325 m.; thickness, 0.165 m.

Height of letters (in line 1), 0.009 m.; (in other lines), 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 2054.

The inscription is written in a modified stoichedon style; and ten lines of text occupy a vertical span of 0.139 m. The character of the lettering, type of marble, thickness of the stone, estimated original width, and spacing of lines and letters all combine to show that this fragment belongs to the document already published as *I.G.*, II², 700. The text of the complete inscription is printed here, with some renumbering of lines and re-arrangement of the earlier fragments.

I.G., II², 700

252/1 B.C.

CTOIX. 50

- [E]πὶ Θυμοχάρου ἔρχοντο[ς ἐπὶ τῆς { Ἀντιγονίδος } τρίτης πρυτανε] a
 [Ι]ας ἦι Σώστρατο[ς] Ἀ[ρι]στ[ο]κ[ρά]τους¹⁶..... ἐγραμμάτιεν, Βοη[
 [δ]ρομῶνος ἐρεῖ καὶ [ν]εῖαι, πέμπτη καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας
 [ς]· ἐκκλησία νεῖαι· τῶν [π]ροέ[δρων] ἐπεψήφισεν.....¹⁵.....
 5 [.]που Θριάσιος καὶ συμπρ[όεδροι] - Demetriadis aut Antigonidis, - - -]
 [.]ς Λαμπρεὺς ὡς Ἀγέιδης - Aegeidis, - - - - Pandionidis, - - -]
 [.] Λεονορὺς ὡς Ἀτταβος Θ[ο]ρίσιος, ὡς - - - - Cecropidis, - - - -]
 [.]ος Ἀεαντίδης ὡς Τεισίδης - Aeantidis, - - - - Antiochidis -]
 [.] Ἀλεξίων Ἀμφιχάρους Ἀζ[η]νὸς εἶπεν· ὡς ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι οἱ ἐ]
 10 [γγραφέν]τες καὶ ἐφηβεύσαν[τες] ἐπὶ Ἀντιφώντος ἄρχοντος διέμεν
 [των] πενθάρ[χο]ντες τοῖς [τε] νόμοις καὶ¹⁷.....
 [.....¹⁷.....]ντ - - - - -
 lacuna
 [- - - - -]ων ἐπιμεληταὶ ἐφ[
 [- - - - -] τοῖς δρόμοις τοὺς γιγνο
 15 [μένους]²⁷.....]ωσάντων ἀντοὺς τῶν γ[
 [.....²⁷.....] ἀποδεδεικνύμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν σ[
 [πουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· ὡς ἐποίησαντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῇ
 [βουλῇ περὶ τῆς ἐφηβείας· ὡς ὅταν οὖν ἐφά]μιλλον ἦι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐ
 [φήβοις τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τοῦ δήμου πενθαρχ]εῖν εἰδόσιν ὅτι χάρ
 20 [ιτας] ἀποχομοῦνται καταξίας παρὰ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς τύχη ἀγαθῇ δ

[εδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς προέδρους οἳ ἂν] λάχωσιν προεδρεύει
 [ν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν προ]σαγαγεῖν πρὸς τὸν
 [δῆμον τὸν κοσμητὴν καὶ χρηματίσαι περὶ τ]ούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμ
 [βάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον οἷ δο]κεῖ τεῖ βουλευεῖ ὅ ἐπα
 25 [ιένεσαι τοὺς ἐφῆβους καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλ]οῦ στεφάνῳ σωφροσ
 [ύνης ἔνεκα ἣν ἔχοντες διατελοῦσι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον]ν ὅ ἀναγρ[άψαι]
 [δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλ]
 [ῃ λιθίνῃ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ὅ ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ]
 [ι διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα - - - - -]

lacuna

30 [...¹⁰...]ν[...]εσ[...¹⁵...]ἔπαινεσαι δὲ καὶ στεφανῶ
 [σαι θαλλο]ῦ στεφάν[ῳ] εὐταξί[ας] ἔνεκα τὸν κοσμητὴν τῶν ἐφῆβων
 [...¹³...] καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην
 Ἑρμῶδωρον Ἑορτίου Ἀχ[αρνέα] ὅ ἐς καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν Ἀυσικλῆν
 Ἀντιπάτρου Συναλήτι[ον] ὅ καὶ τὸν ὀπλομάχην [...¹¹...] Νι
 35 κάνδρου Ἀγκυλῆθεν ὅ κα[ὶ] τὸν τοξότην [...²⁰...]
 α καὶ τὸν γραμματέα [- - - - -]

[ῆ] βουλή

lacuna

[Οἱ ἐφηβέες ἀντεστέοντες ἐπὶ] Ἀντιφῶντος ἄρχοντος

[Ἀντιγονίδος]

Οὐνίδος

d

40 [- - - - -]ς
 [- - - - -] Γαργή[τιος]
 [- - - - -] ὑλ[ῆ]θεν
 [- - - - -] ὑλ[ῆ]θεν

[Ἀμνητριάδος]

45 [- - - - -] ἐκ Κοί[λης]
 [- - - - -] εὐς

50 Πειθικλῆς Μενάνδρου Περιθοίδης
 Θεαίτητος Κηφισοφῶντος Ἐπικ[ῆ]φίς[ι](ος)

Κερκοπίδος

Θεογένης Ἡγήμονος Ἀθμονεύ[ς]

Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλέους Ἀλαιοῦς

Σμικρίας Ἀριστοδήμου Ἀλαιοῦ[ς]

Ἰπποθωντίδος

Φιλόστρατος Λιοφάντου Ἐλευ[σί]νιος

Σπεύσιππος Ἀλεξίωνος Ἀξί[ν]ι[ος]

Εὐθέριος Θεαινέτου Ἀχερδ[ού]σιος

Ἀντιόδικος Ἀρχεστράτου ἐξ Ο[ἰ]οῦ

60 [Ἀ]ριστείδης Καλλιφάνου Κόπ[ρ]ειος

Αἰαντίδος

[...⁵...]ράτης Ἰφικράτου[ς] Ραμνούσιος

[- - - - -] νιοχο[- - - - -]

The text of fragment *a* is repeated substantially as given in the *Corpus*, except for a slight correction in line 6, where the final sigma of the name of the proedros from Erechtheis appears on the stone before the demotic *Λαμπιρῆς*, and in line 10 where the name of the archon of the preceding year may now be supplied from line 38. It should be noted that the letters in the preserved portion of line 10 are crowded slightly, so that this line contains in all 51 letters. The year has been interpreted as intercalary, and the restorations of date in line 3 are those proposed by Johnson (*Class. Phil.*, IX, 1914, p. 259) and adopted by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 700, addenda) and Dinsmoor (*Archons*, p. 395).

Fragment *b* must be shifted from the left to the right margin of the reconstructed text, for its right margin (not its left) is preserved. The lines have regularly 50 letter spaces, except in line 18 where 51 have been restored; the crowding of letters is evident in the preserved portion of the line. In lines 19 and 20 the restorations are so made as to yield the desired 50 letters: for *ἀποκομινοῦνται* instead of *ἀπολήφονται* cf. *I.G.*, II², 798, line 24 (*Hesperia*, IV, p. 583: *κομιοῦ[νται]*). Line 26 is here read for the first time. There is no doubt about the letters, and the new paragraph should be restored with the formula for publication. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 766, lines 12–15. The letters at the beginning of line 30 are difficult to decipher today and must depend principally on Koehler's readings. If they are incorrectly given, there is at least a chance that lines 29 and 30 should be combined, thus eliminating the *lacuna* in the text between fragments *b* and *c*.

The left edge of fragment *c* is preserved, but a margin sufficient for one letter space must be assumed before the recorded letters. The width of margin should not be determined by comparison with fragment *a* from the top of the stele, but from fragment *b*, the right margin of which after the last letter in each line was sufficient for an uninscribed letter space. Margins, both on the left and right, evidently became wider toward the bottom of the stone to compensate for a greater width of the stone itself. In line 36 the final alpha of a demotic is visible as the first letter preserved.

The new fragment here published shows that the names of the epheboi were arranged in two columns. In line 41 the restoration [*Γαργή*] *τιτος* shows that the first names belonged to the tribe Antigonis, so the demotics in lines 42 and 43 should be restored either as [*Ἀργυλ*] *ῆθεν* or [*Ἀρτυλ*] *ῆθεν*. The archon Antiphon, named in line 38, is probably to be identified with that Antiphon of Erchia who headed the list of those who contributed amounts from 50 to 200 drachmai in 241/0 for the safety of the city and the defense of the country (*I.G.*, II², 791, line 33). He must have been a man of considerable prestige; and his grandfather (*P.A.*, 1296) had been *ταμίας τριηροποϊκῶν* in 330/29 and 325/4.

The orator, whose name appears in line 9 as [*Ἀ*] *λεξιῶν Ἀμφιχάρους Ἀζ[ηριεύς]*, was evidently father of the ephebos *Σπεύσιππος Ἀλεξιῶνος Ἀζην[ιεύς]* of line 57. A grandson of this Speusippos appears, presumably as a young man, in the archonship of Hermogenes (183/2 B.C.; cf. *P.A.*, 12846; *I.G.*, II², 2332, lines 11–15). If one reckons back two

generations from 183/2 (at about 33 years each, as in Kirchner's *P.A.*) it appears that the date of this inscription should be about the middle of the third century. Other prosopographical indications point to the same conclusion. In line 50 Theaitetos appears as an ephebos; his grandfather (*P.A.*, 6630) is dated *ca.* 300 B.C. Similarly, Theogenes, who appears as ephebos in line 52, had a grandfather of about the same date. His great-grandfather, at any rate, was active between 340 and 326 B.C. (cf. *P.A.*, 6294, *s.v.* 'Ηγήμων). Euthykritos (line 58) had a great-great-grandson who was ephebos (*P.A.*, 5618) in the year 123 B.C. If one reckons back four generations of 33 years each, the date of the Euthykritos here mentioned was about 255 B.C. In line 59 Autodikos was the descendant of that Autodikos who was diaitetes in 325/4 B.C. (*P.A.*, 2708). This man must have been the great-great-grandfather of the present ephebos. As diaitetes he was 60 years old in 325/4 (*Λη. Πολ.*, 53, 4), his son was presumably about 27, and the grandson (grandfather of the later ephebos) was born possibly about 319/8. His ephebate then would have fallen *ca.* 300 B.C. and the ephebate of Autodikos mentioned here in line 26 should be dated about 66 years later, i.e., about 234 B.C.

These generations cannot, of course, all be reckoned accurately at 33 years, but the prosopographical evidence indicates that Thymochares belongs in the archon table near the middle of the century,—perhaps a little later, probably not much earlier. The name of Antiphon, to be restored in *S.E.G.*, III, 122 shows the date to be earlier than 240 B.C. (cf. p. 126), and the latest available date for a free intercalary year is 252/1. This is the year, therefore, to which Thymochares is assigned.¹

In line 62 the spacing militates against the restoration of the name [Ἰφικ]ράτης Ἰφικράτου[ς 'Ραμνούσιος], but the ephebos was undoubtedly descended from the fourth century Athenian of that name (cf. *P.A.*, 7736, 7737).

One further prosopographical note should be added. In line 32 the name of the *kosmetes*, as I believe, is recorded as [.]ῥωνίδην Ἀνδροκλ[έους - - -]. He is possibly a relative of [.]δης Ἀνδροκ[- - - -], listed in *Hesperia*, III, no. 49, line 6. The same restoration should be made in both inscriptions.

21. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, but with part of the moulding across the top preserved, found in a modern fill in Section HH on February 7, 1936.

Height, 0.148 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.044 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3319.

The inscription is stoichedon. Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.071 m.; and five letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.05 m.

¹ Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 102–107, shows that Thymochares must precede Philoneos, now dated in 250/49.

247/6 B.C.(?)

CTOIX. 50(?)

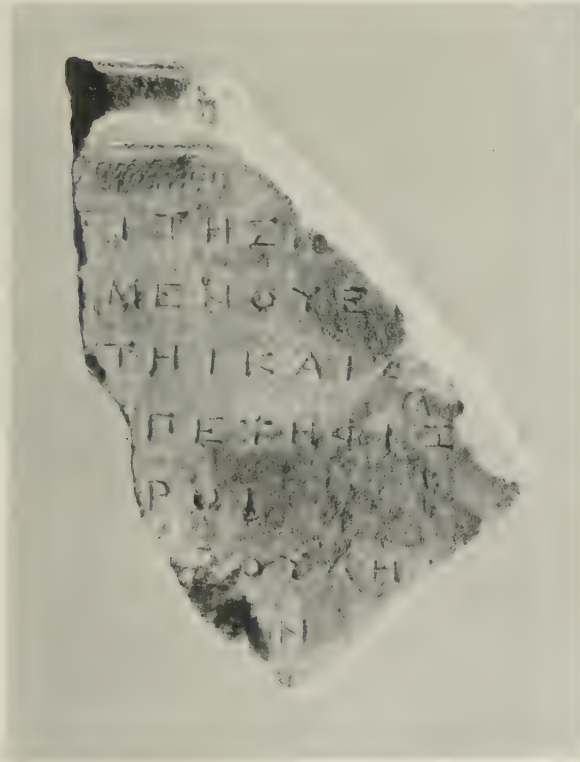
[Ἐπὶ Λυκίου(?) ἀρχοντος ἐ]πὶ τῆς [.....] τρίτης πρυτανείας]
 [ἦν¹⁷.....] μένον Ἐ[ωνυμεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν· Βοηδρ]
 [ομιῶνος δωδεκάτιμι, τρί]τῃ καὶ δεκάτιμι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλη]
 [σία γυρία· τῶν προσέδρων ἐ]πεψήφισεν[ν²¹.....]
 5 [.....⁹..... καὶ συμπρόεδ]ροι *vacat*
 [*vacat* ἔδοξεν τῇ] βουλῇ [καὶ τῷ δήμῳ *vacat*]
 [.....¹⁹..... εἰπε]ν ὁ Ἰ[- - - - -]

The name of the tribe in prytany was either Antigonis or Demetrias, and was erased when the Macedonian tribes were abolished at the end of the century. The beginning of the erasure is on the stone in line 1. Line 2 preserves in part the name of a secretary hitherto unknown, whom I assign tentatively to the year 247/6 in conformity with the secretary cycle. The inscription as a whole exhibits the so-called "perfect" design, described by Dow in *A.J.A.*, XL (1936), p. 65; the earliest example now preserved of the completed pattern (*ibid.*, p. 66) appears not before 250 B.C., since the dating of Polyeuktos

and *I.G.*, II², 679 in 243/2 instead of 255/4. The demotic of the secretary should be restored either as *Εἰ[ωνυμεύς]* or *Εἰ[πρωτίδης]*, but the latter is practically excluded by other known secretaries in the available period from the tribe Leontis.

The name of the archon to be supplied in line 1 is uncertain, and even the number of letters in the name depends on the symmetrical arrangement of the *ἔδοξεν*-clause in line 6. It has been assumed that there was the same un-inscribed space both before and after it on the stone, and if this is true then the name of the archon contained about six letters. The name Lykeas is possible, and this archon may be suggested tentatively in the restoration.

The substance of the decree is lost. In line 7 the last letter preserved may be restored as part either of the word *ἐπειδὴ* or *περὶ* from the beginning of the probouleumatic motion.



No. 21

22. Two fragments of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides and at the back. The larger piece (A) was found on June 8, 1935, in Section H; the smaller piece (B) was found on June 14, 1933, in Section Θ.

A. Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

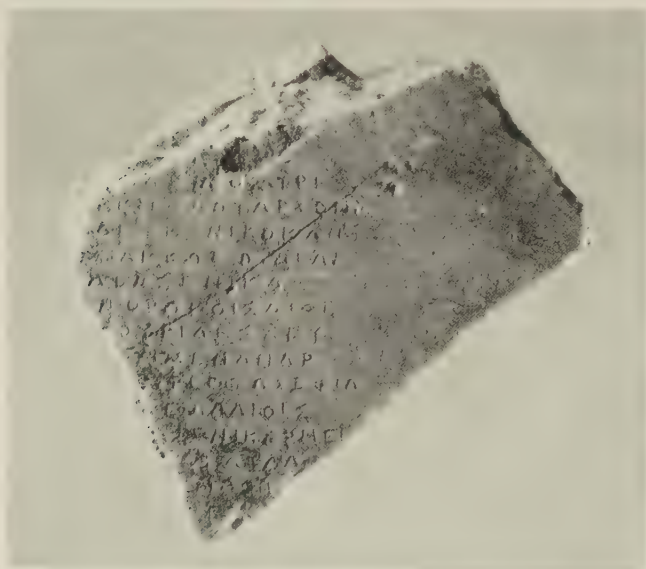
Inv. No. I 2972.

B. Height, 0.094 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.037 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 982.

The inscription is not stoichedon. Ten lines of text occupy a vertical space of 0.102 m. on the stone, and ten letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.83 m.



No. 22, Fragment A



No. 22, Fragment B

A [.....^{ca. 14}.....]ς
 [.....^{ca. 8}.....] θ[ε]ύ[ε]ς
 [.....⁵.....]όδημος τρι
 [ἐπὶ Ἀλ]κιβιάδου ἔρχον *vacat*
 5 [ἀγων]οθέτης Νικοκλῆς
 [παλ]αιᾷ κομμοιδίᾳ
 [Καλ]λίας ἐνίκα

- [Μισα]νθρώποις Διφι
 [Διοσκ]ονορίδης δεύ
 10 [Φάσμη]τι Μενάνδρ
 [. . .⁵. . .]ς τρι Πτωχῶ Φιλ
 [σαινύροι]ς παλαιοῖς
 [. . .⁶. . .]ος ἐνίκ Ερμεῖ [Ἀστυ
 [. . .⁷. . .] δέυ Ἀτλαν[τ - - - - -
 15 [. . .⁶. . . τρι] Μαθητ[αῖς(?) - - -
 [παλαιῶν τρα]γωιδίαι
 lacuna
 B [. . .^{ca. 9}. . . τρι] Φελ[- -
 [. . .^{ca. 8}. . . Μεν]εαρ
 [παλαιῶν τρα]γωιδίαι
 20 [. . .^{ca. 7}. . . ἐ]νίκα
 [. . .^{ca. 5}. . . Σ]οφο
 [. . .^{ca. 9}. . . δ]έυ Ἰξί[ονι - - -
 [. . .^{ca. 6}. . . τρι] Οἰ[δίπ[οδ]ι - - -

The inscription here recorded lists the actors who received first, second, and third awards in the production of Old Comedy, Old Satyr-plays, and Old Tragedy. Lines 4–16 are dated definitely in the archonship of Alkibiades, who has been assigned to the year 251/0 in the table given below on p. 135. Lines 1–3 are from the end of the record of the year immediately preceding. Lines 17–23 do not belong to the archonship of Alkibiades, for the entry of line 19 specifying the Old Tragedy cannot be identified with the record of line 16. Whether these lines come from a year somewhat earlier or somewhat later depends on whether fragment B should be placed above or below fragment A. There is no evidence at present to make a decision possible.

In the late fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 2323 *a*) and again in the late third century (*I.G.*, II², 2323) there was only one Old Comedy produced each year at the City Dionysia. Our present text from the middle of the third century lists three Old Comedies, as well as Satyr-plays and Old Tragedies. From this difference in the number of Old Comedies it is apparent that the new inscription does not belong to the City Dionysia; it must be associated rather with the Lenaean festival, and it gives evidence for the great interest there in the Old Plays.

Line 7: The name of the actor [Καλ]λίας has been restored from *I.G.*, II², 2325, line 221. He was thrice victor in the Lenaean contest, his first success being datable about 265 B.C. The victory here recorded with the *Μισάνθρωποι* of Diphilos may have been his second or third victory. In either case a date near the middle of the century is appropriate for the archon Alkibiades, when this second or third victory was won.

Line 8: The restoration was made by Edward Capps. The play is not otherwise attested, but the reading seems certain.

Line 9: There was an actor *Διοσκουρίδης Μενάνδρου Συναλήτιος* in the latter part of the second century (Sundwall, *N.P.A.*, p. 64), father of the Menander listed by Kirchner as *P.A.*, 9886. See O'Connor, *History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece* (Diss., Princeton, 1908), p. 93, no. 158. His grandfather was probably the *Διοσκο[υρίδης]* named in *I.G.*, II², 2325, line 178, as having gained a victory in comedy at the Lenaean festival about 190 B.C. If one were to recede another two generations, the Dioskourides mentioned in the present text would find his *floruit* about 255 B.C., which is near the date given to the document by the archonship of Alkibiades.

Line 10: The spacing is correct for the restoration [*Φάσμι*] *ατι*. On the play, see Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, III, pp. 143–144; also Allinson, *Menander* (Loeb Classical Library), pp. 448–455.

Line 11: For the *Πτωγή* of Philemon, see Kock, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 495–496.

Line 12: The restoration [*σαύρου*]*ς* exactly fills the space available, and is confirmed by the fact that the only play known named Hermes (line 13) was a Satyr-play. The plays were produced independently, and formed a separate category just as did the Old Comedy and Tragedy. First, second, and third ratings were also given the actors of the Satyr-plays.

Line 13: For the *Ἐκυῆς* of Astydamos, see Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*,² pp. 778–779.

Lines 14–15: The names of two Satyr-plays hitherto unknown appear here, probably the *Ἀτλας* and the *Μαθηταί*. The names of the authors are not preserved.

Line 16: The heading for the Old Tragedy came immediately after the third citation of the Satyr-plays. This arrangement shows that the items in lines 17–18 which precede immediately the heading for the Old Tragedy, should also be interpreted as belonging to Old Satyr-plays. The restoration is doubtful, but the name of the author Menekrates probably appears in line 18. He is known to have written tragedy, and his authorship of Satyr-plays may be safely inferred. The title of his play mentioned in line 17 seems to have been *Φυλ* - - - -, otherwise unknown.

Line 21: The victory was won with a play of Sophocles.

Lines 22–23: For plays named *Ἰξίων* and *Οιδίππους* see the index of Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*,² pp. 965 and 967.

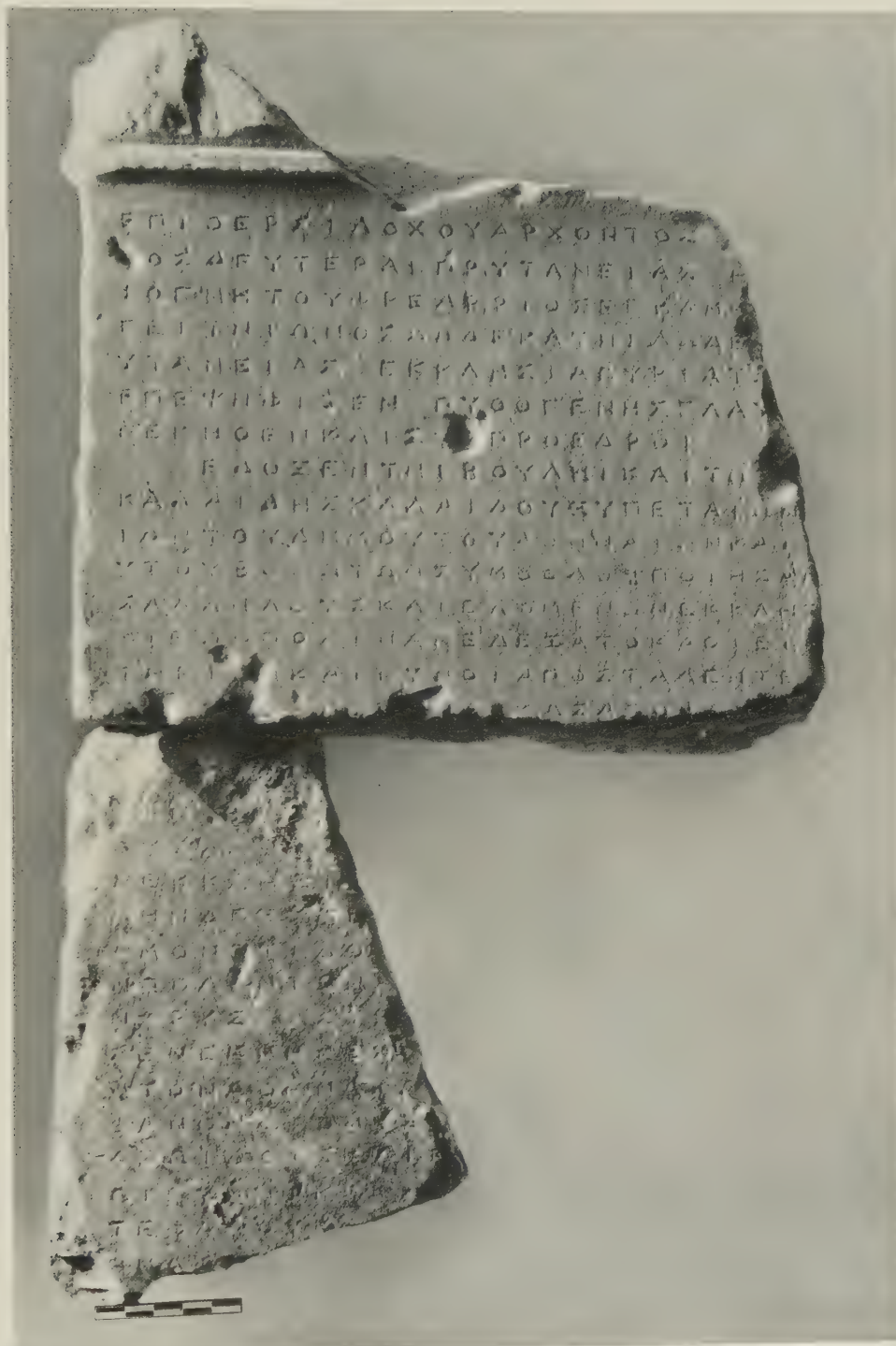
Lines 1–3 present a special problem, for the type of record does not correspond to anything preserved in the rest of the inscription or indeed to anything in the other documents *I.G.*, II², 2318–2325 which are concerned with contests and victories at the City Dionysia and the Lenaean festival. Their meaning and interpretation remain at present obscure.

23. A new fragment of *I.G.*, II², 778 was found on March 10, 1937, in Section X. It has the left margin preserved and joins the stone already known. Both fragments are of Pentellic, not Hymettian, marble.

Height (combined), 0.445 m.; width, 0.146 m.; thickness, 0.093 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4622 (for the new fragment).



No. 23. *IG*, II², 778

I. G., II², 778

244/3 B.C.

CΤΟΙΧ, 33

Ἐπὶ Θερσιλόχου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς . . . ντ[
 [δ]ος δευτέρας προτανείας ὅ[ι] Διόδοτος Δ[
 ιογνήτου Φρεάριοις ἐγγραμμ[άτευεν· Μετα]
 γεινιῶνος δωδεκάτη, δωδε[κάτη τῆς προ]
 5 υτανείας ὅ[ι] ἐκκλησίᾳ κυρία· τ[ῶν προέδρων]
 ἐπεψήφισεν ὅ[ι] Πυθογένης Ἰλίου[κίππον Ἰλίου]
 πεκῆθεν καὶ συμπρόεδροι· vacat
 ὅ[ι] ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶ[ι δήμῳ]
 Καλαϊδὶς Καλαϊδὸν Ξυπεταιῶν [εἶπεν· ἐπε]
 10 ιδῇ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ [τοῦ κοινῶ]
 ὅ[ι] τοῦ Βοιωτῶν σύμβολον ποιησαμ[ένων προ]
 ὅ[ι] ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐλομένων ἐκκλητ[ον τὴν Ἀ]
 μιών πόλιν, ἀνεδέξατο καθιεῖν [τὸ δικασ]
 τήριον καὶ νῦν οἱ ἀποσταλέντες [ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀ]
 15 [αμίων] ἐπὶ [τῶν] δ[ι]κῶν ἀποφα[ίνουσιν . . .]
 [. . .] Ε[. . .]
 [. . .] ΚΝ[.]¹² δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλευτ[ῶ]
 οὓς λαχ[όντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσα]
 20 ν ἐκκλησίαν χρηματίζειν περὶ τούτων, γνῶ[
 μην δὲ ξυμβ[άλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δ]
 ἥμον ὅ[ι] δο[κέῃ τῇ βουλῇ ὅ[ι] ἐπαινέσαι τῇ]
 ν πόλιν τῶν Ἀ[αμίων καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτῇ]
 ν χρυσῶι στε[φάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐνοία]
 25 ὅ[ι] ἔνεκα ἣν ἔχ[ουσα διατελεῖ περὶ τὸν δῆμον]
 ν τὸν Ἀθηναίων ν καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέ[
 φανον Διονυσίου τῶν μεγάλων καινοῖς προ]
 αγωδοῖς καὶ [Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων τ]
 ῶι γυμνασῶν ἀ[γῶνι ὅ[ι] τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ σ]
 30 τεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
 ἦναι [τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει - - - - -]

The new fragment adds little of historic interest to the text, though the initial lambda of Ἀ[αμίων] is preserved in line 23 and so confirms the accepted restoration [Ἀ]αμίων of lines 12–13 and 14–15. The golden crown voted for the city of Lamia was to be proclaimed at the Great Dionysia and again at the Great Panathenaea. Since the decree was passed in Metageitnion of 244/3, it is evident that this second proclamation was planned for the Panathenaea of 242/1, almost two years in the future. One cannot justifiably argue, then, that mention in any decree of such proclamation at

the Great Panathenaea necessitates a date for the decree in the immediately preceding year. In particular, there is no reason to suppose (cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 80 and 168) that the decree for Phaidros (*I.G.*, II², 682) was passed in the year preceding a Great Panathenaic festival. Tentatively, I had assigned this decree to the year 259/8, and the archon Euboulos of the previous year—though even this is doubtful (cf. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*)—to 260/59.¹ Ferguson has shown good reason for dating the archon Phanomachos, whose name has recently been recovered on one of the documents from the Agora, in 260/59, shortly after the Peace which ended the Chremonidean War. There is nothing known about the date of Euboulos which makes this impossible, and he may with equal propriety be assigned to the year 259/8.² These dates have been adopted in the archon table presented below on pp. 131–139.

24. Two contiguous fragments of Pentelic marble, found on December 1, 1936, and February 2, 1937, in Section X. The back and right side of the original stele are preserved, and part of the simple triangular pediment remains.

Height, 0.310 m.; width, 0.557 m.; thickness, 0.131 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4323.

The inscription is stoichedon. Ten letters (measured on centres) have a horizontal space of 0.098 m.; five lines vertically measure 0.07 m.

243/2 B.C.

CTOIX. 57

	[θ]	ε	ο	ι
	[ἐπὶ Πολυνεύ]κτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδι[ονί]δος τρίτης πρωτανείας ἢ ἤμ			
	[Χαιρεφῶν Ἀρχ]εστράτου Κεφαλήθεν ἐργ[αμμά]τενεν, Βοηδρομιῶνος ὀγδόε			
	[ι ἐπὶ δέκα·ὀγδόε καὶ] δεκάτη τῆς πρ[ωτανεί]ας ἢ ἐκκλησία κυρία τῶν προ			
5	[έδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ἢ Δι]ονύσιος Δ[..... ¹³]σιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι			
	[έδοξε]ν τῇ[ι βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ] <i>vacat</i>			
	[..... ²⁸ εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἔφι]βοι οἱ ἐπὶ Θεσσ[ι]			
	[λόχου ἄρχοντος ἐγγραφέντες τὰς τε φυλακὰς λειτουργοῦν]τες τὸν ἐρ[ια]			
	[ιτὸν διετέλεσαν καὶ - - - - -]			

The preamble can be restored with the aid of the other known decrees of the year of Polyeuktos (*I.G.*, II², 679³ and 680). In form it represents the “developed” type described by Dow in *A.J.A.*, XL (1936), p. 65. It may be noted also that the scribal idiosyncrasy of leaving an uninscribed space before the word ἤμ (line 2 of the present

¹ *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 582 and 584.

² Cf. p. 74, above.

³ Cf. *S. E. G.*, III, 92 for the text.



text) appears in the other two decrees of Polyeuktos' year. For the restoration of lines 8–9, see *I.G.*, II², 665, lines 10–11.

This decree settles one of the most vexed problems of the chronology of Athenian archons in the third century B.C., for Polyeuktos is now shown to be the immediate successor of Thersilochos. So much has been written about the date of Polyeuktos that it would be tedious to enumerate the arguments again; the present text makes it clear that Ferguson's scheme B¹ is essentially correct and that one may now reckon with Polyeuktos in 243/2 as a fixed date. Certain new evidence of purely epigraphic nature, presented recently by Dow,² has pointed to this same conclusion; and Robert³ has insisted that, whatever the specific year, the archonship of Polyeuktos must have come (from its association with the founding of the new Delphic Soteria) later than the accession of Seleukos II in 247/6. There can now be no doubt that his insistence was justified.⁴

Inasmuch as the archons Hieron and Diomedon followed immediately after Polyeuktos (cf. *S.E.G.*, II, 9), their years are now fixed as 242/1 and 241/0. The later group comprising Theophemos, Kydenor, and Eurykleides (see Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 90) can be placed only after the sequence which extends from Athenodoros in 240/39 to Lysanias in 235/4, now fixed at beginning and end by the known secretaries and the secretary cycle. These archons (Theophemos, Kydenor, and Eurykleides) must be dated at least as late as 234/3, 233/2, and 232/1. This is the position to which they have been assigned in the table presented below on pp. 131–139. The general disposition of the names on the stele published as *S.E.G.*, II, 9 is given by Dow (*op. cit.*, Plate IV) according to Ferguson's scheme B. The only change that should be made is that the archon Lysias must be assigned to the year 239/8 instead of 238/7. The definitive evidence for this determination lies in the inscription published below as No. 25. Cf. also *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 556 and 585.

It should be observed that there is no longer any ground for the hypothesis that the Diomedon of *S.E.G.*, II, 9 was different from the Diomedon of *I.G.*, II², 791. The dating of Diomedon in 241/0 raises again the question of interpreting the third-century inventories of Asklepios, but the problem has too many complications to be discussed in this report. A reconstruction of the stele itself in Athens (*I.G.*, II², 1534) is much to be desired.

25. Part of a stele of bluish-white Pentelic marble, found on May 8, 1936, in Section T. The upper left corner is preserved with part of the moulding above the inscription and part of the pedimental top. The back was roughly dressed.

¹ *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 25–26.

² *A.J.A.*, XL (1936), pp. 57–70.

³ *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, XXXVIII (1936), pp. 1–23.

⁴ Flacelière, *Les Aitolien*, p. 177, has recently argued for 243/2.



No. 25

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4138.

The letters are arranged stoichedon with 34 letters in a line. Five lines vertically occupy a space of 0.075 m. and five rows occupy a horizontal space of 0.05 m. An extra letter was probably crowded in at the end of line 17, giving a total of 35 letters to this line.

239/8 B.C.

CTOIX. 34

Ἐπὶ Λυσίου ἄρχ[οντος ἐπὶ τῆς ...⁷... ἰδ[ος]
 [ἐν] τῆς πρυταν[είας] ἡ¹⁶
 [Ἀφιδ]ναῖος ἐργ[αμμάτενεν· Ἐλαφρηβολιδ[ωνος]
 [ἐνάτη]ι μετ' εἰκ[άδας] δευτέραι καὶ τριακοσ[
 5 [τῇ τῆς] πρυταν[είας· ἐκκλησί]α τῶν προσέδρω[
 [ν ἐπεψή]φιζεν Σ[.....²².....]
 [καὶ συμπ]ρόεδρο[ι vacat
 [.....] ἔδο[ξεν] τῇ[ι] βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι
 [...⁸...] Πρωτογ[.....¹¹..... εἶπεν· ἔπει[
 10 [δὴ ἡ ἰέρεια] τῆς Βασίλ[ης¹⁵.....]
 [καὶ οἱ ἱεροπ]οιοὶ οἱ χειρο[τονηθέντες ἐπὶ]
 [Ἀθηνόδωρον] ἐπ[αινοῦσιν] τὸν ἀ[ρχιτέκτονα]
 [καὶ κελεύουσιν] π[έμψαι] εἰς τῇ[ν] πομπήν τῶν
 [Παναθηναίων] τῇ[ν] αὐτοῦ θυγατέ[ρα] οὗτι τῆς ἐ[
 15 [πιμελείας] τοῦ ραοῦ καλῶς καὶ φ[ιλοτίμως] ἐ[
 [πιμελή]θη· δεδόχθαι τ[ῇ] βου[λῇ] λεί[πει] [τοῖς] λαχόν[·]
 [τας] προσέδρους εἰς τῇ[ν] ἐπιούσαν [ἐκκλησίαν]
 [χρηματίσαι] περὶ τούτῳ ν[ομῶ]ν δὲ ξυμβά[λ]
 [λίσθαι] τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον οὗτι δοκεῖ]
 20 - - - - -

The decree here published is from the archonship of Lysias in whose year the Demetrian war broke out (*I.G.*, II², 1299, line 57), and the date 239/8 suggested in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pp. 556 and 585, is now confirmed by the demotic of the secretary, who came from Aphidnai. This is the probable restoration for line 3; the other possible reading [Οἱ]ναῖος would refer either to the same tribe Aiantis (XI) and so still belong in 239/8 or to the tribe Hippothontis (X) which furnished the secretary in 240/39. But the year 240/39 belongs to Athenodoros, and his name is probably to be restored also as of the previous year in line 12 of the present text.

The stoichedon arrangement necessitates the restoration [δευτέραι καὶ τριακοστῇ] for the date within the prytany in lines 4–5, thus showing that the year of Lysias was intercalary. The consequences of this are far-reaching, for the decree *I.G.*, II², 702, which

also belongs to an intercalary year, can now no longer be assigned to 238/7, and—with its secretary from Alopeke—must be dated in 250/49. This year is available, for it has now been shown that the inscriptions previously assigned to 250/49 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 553–556) belong in reality in 305/4 (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 203); and indeed no other year within the span where the document belongs is free for the secretary here named from the twelfth tribe.¹

This argument for dating *I.G.*, II², 702 in 250/49 had already made it evident, even before the discovery of the new decree from the year of Polyeuktos, that Kydenor could no longer be given a date in the late 'fifties. As we now know, his name must be transferred to 233/2 (see above, p. 123).

It should be noted here that Wilhelm's reading [$\epsilon\pi\iota$ *Kυδῆνορ*]ος for *S.E.G.*, III, 122 would be incompatible with a date for the inscription after the death of Antigonos, and that if the restoration were unique Kydenor could not be dated in 233/2.² But a new archon's name with genitive in - - - -ος has now been found for this period in an inscription from the Agora (No. 20, above) which names the archon Antiphon. A possible reading for *S.E.G.*, III, 122 is, therefore, [$\epsilon\pi\iota$ 'Αντιφῶν]ος, and the date for the inscription may still be earlier than 240, even with Kydenor in 233/2.

Lines 2–5: Since the year of Lysias was intercalary the equation of date may be restored as Elaphebolion 22 = Prytany IX, 32. This was the 288th day of the year; each prytany had 32 days, and the civil calendar began with full Hekatombaion—reversing the order of full and hollow months at midyear (or before). The restoration [$\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$]ι μετ' $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ [ἀδας -] with backward count indicates the 22nd day of the month. The assumption is that Elaphebolion was full.

Lines 8–9: The disposition of these lines on the stone shows what Dow calls the "perfect design," which was developed about the middle of the third century (*A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 64).

Lines 10–11: The restoration is uncertain. Apparently the priestess of Basile (?) and the hieropoioi had recommended the honors awarded in the decree.

Lines 12 and 15: The verb [$\epsilon\pi$]αινοῦσιν is followed by the conjunction [$\delta\tau\iota$] which gives the reason for the praise. The word $\delta\tau\iota$ is restored, but cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*,³ p. 252.

26. Small fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on June 5, 1933, in a late fill in Section Z.

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.092 m.; thickness, 0.033 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 933.

¹ Dow (*A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 66) gives other reasons derived from a study of form for dating *I.G.*, II², 702, ca. 250 B.C. But see also his note on *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 21, suggesting now a later date.

² See Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 178.



No. 26

Five lines occupy on the stone
a vertical span of 0.051 m.

ca. 189/8 NON-CTOIX.

- - - ι τοῖς - -

- - ιος Φίλωνος πο - - -

[- - Κεφ] ἀλῆθεν χωρίον - - -

vacat

5 [ἐπὶ - - -] τοὺς ἔρχοντ[ος - - -]

[- - -] πρυτανεί[ας - - -]

[- - - δευτέ]ραι ἱσταμ[ένου -]

The inscription is a record of
sale of confiscated properties.
The character of the lettering,
especially the shapes of the alpha,

indicate a date in the early second century. Furthermore, the marble has the same general color and texture as that of *Hesperia*, V, no. 15, which must be dated in 196/5 B.C. It is possible that the archon named in line 5 is the same as the archon of *I. G.*, II², 934/5 (189/8 B.C.). For the second day of the month as the day of confiscations, cf. *Hesperia*, V, no. 10, lines 11-12 and 115-116.

27. Fragment of bluish-white marble, broken on all sides, found on January 29, 1934, in a late wall in Section B.

Height, 0.192 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. (probably not original).

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 1250.

The writing is not stoichedon, and the letters have pronounced finials. Ten lines have a vertical span of 0.086 m.

Late Second Century B.C.

NON-CTOIX. ca. 60 73

[- - - - - καθισταμ]ε[ροις δημοσίοις μετ'
ἀναγραφῆς πάντα τὰ μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ ἐάν]

[δέ τι μὴ παραδῶσιν εἰσπ]ραττέσθωσα[ν ὑπὸ
τῶν τεταγμένων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἐάν]

[τινα ἀπολέσωσιν κατασκ]εναῤέσθωσαν ἀ[ντὶ τῶν
ἀπολομένων ἕτερα τοιαῦτα καταβαλλέ]



No. 27

[σθωσαν δὲ καὶ χειρόγραφον ἐν [τῷ] Μητρούϊω [ὄν
 ἂν παραλάβωσι καὶ παραδῶσιν· ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ]
 5 [το μὴ καταβάλλων]ται μὴ ἐ[ξέσ]τω αὐτοῖς ἐλ[ευθέραν
 λειτουργίαν θηγωνεῖν. ἀνα]
 [τιθέσθω δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀ]κ[ρ]ό[π]ολ[ιν ση]κώματα τοῦ
 [τε ἐμπορικοῦ ταλάντου καὶ δεκάμνου καὶ πεν]
 [τάμνου καὶ δέμνου καὶ μνᾶ[ς] καὶ ἡ[μι]μναίου καὶ
 ταρ[τημόρου καὶ χοδς καὶ χοί]
 [νικος. ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀλλ]σκη[ται κ]ακο[τρο]γῶν περὶ τὰ
 μέτ[ρα καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ τὰ κείμενα ἐν τε]
 [τῇ Σκιάδι καὶ ἐν Ἐλ]ευσίῃ κ[α]ὶ ἐμ [Πε]ραιεῖ καὶ
 ἐν Ἀκ[ρ]ο[πόλει, ἐὰν τε ὕρχων ἐὰν τε ἰδιώ

- 10 [της ἐάν τε δημόσιο]ς, ἔνοχος ἔστω τῷ νόμῳ τῷ
 κειμ[ένῳ περὶ τῆς τῶν κακούρ]
 [γῶν ζημίας· ἐπιμε]λείσ[θω δὲ κ]αὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ
 Ἀρχο[ν πάγον καὶ τὸν κακουργοῦντά τι]
 [περὶ ταῦτα κολαῖ]τω κατὰ τοὺς περὶ τῶν
 κακού[ργων κειμένους νόμους· ^{εἴρη}]
 [ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ] ψήφισμα εἰς στήλας
 λιθ[ίνας τὸν καθεσταιμένον ἄνδρα]
 [ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τ]ῶν μέτρων καὶ σταθμ[ῶν
 καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἐν οἷς]
 15 [καὶ τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ σταθμ]ὰ κεῖται. *vacat*
vacat

Copies of this decree were to be set up in the Skias (or Tholos), in Eleusis, in the Peiraeus, and on the Akropolis (lines 9 and 14–15). A large part of the text inscribed on the Akropolis was copied by Fourmont, and his notes are the basis for the publication in *I.G.*, II², 1013. This stone is now lost.¹ The present fragment is not part of the Akropolis stele, for the division of lines is different from that given in Fourmont's copy; it belongs rather to the stone set up in the Tholos. The preserved portion corresponds to lines 49–62 of *I.G.*, II², 1013, and each fragment may be used in making the necessary restorations in the other. The corresponding lines of *I.G.*, II², 1013 may now be read as follows:

I.G., II², 1013

(in part)

- - - - - μετὰ [π]αρ[αδ]ιδότω[σαν] δ[ὲ] ο[ἱ] δη[μό]σοι
 ἀεὶ τοῖς [με]θ' [ἐ]α[ν] τοὺς καθ[ι]σταμέ
 50 ναις δημοσίοις μετ' ἀναγραφῆς πᾶν[τα] τὰ [μέτρα
 καὶ σταθμά]· ἐὰν δέ τι μὴ πα[ραδῶσι]ν, ε[ἰσπραττέ]
 [σ]θωσαν ὑπὸ τῶν τεταγμένων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ
 ψήφισμα, καὶ [ἐάν τινα ἀπολέσωσιν, κατασκευα]
 [νέ]σθω[σαν] ἐντὶ τῶν ἀπολομένων [ἐ]τι[ερ]α [τοιὰῦτα·
 καταβα]λλέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ χειρόγραφον [ἐν] τῷ [Μη]
 [τρῶ]ι ὃν ἔν παρὰ λαβῶσι καὶ πα[ρ]α[δῶσιν]· ἐὰν δὲ
 τοῦτο μὴ κ[αταβάλλωνται] μὴ ἐξέ[στ]ω ἀδ[ι]ο[ῖς] ἔ
 [λευθ]έραν λειτουργίαν θητῶν[εῖν]· ἀνατιθέσθω δὲ καὶ
 εἰς ἀ[κρόπολιν] σηκώματα τοῦ τ[ε] ξυμπο[κ]οῦ [ταλάν]
 55 [το]ν καὶ δεκάμνου καὶ πεντάμνου καὶ δίδυμου [καὶ μνα]
 καὶ ἡμιμναίου καὶ τα[ρ]τημόρου καὶ χοῶς [καὶ χοίνικος].

¹ I wish to express thanks to Professor D. Kampouroglou and to Sterling Dow for assistance in a recent though fruitless search.

[ἐ]ὰν δέ τις ἀλίσκηται κακουργῶν περὶ τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ
 σταθμὰ τὰ κε[ι]με[να] ἐν τε τῇ Σκι
 [ἀδ]ι καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ καὶ ἐμ Π[ειραιε]ῖ καὶ ἐν ἀκροπόλει,
 ἐάν τε ἄρχων ἐάν τε [ιδιώτης ἐ]
 ἄν τε δημόσιος, [ἐ]νο[χ]ος ἔστω τῷ νόμῳ τῷ
 κε[ι]μένῳ περὶ τῆς τ[ῶ]ν κακούργων [ζημίας].
 ἐπιμελείσθω δὲ καὶ [ἡ β]ου[λή] ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ τὸν
 κακουργοῦντά τι πε[ρὶ] ταῦτα κο
 60 λαῖέτω κατὰ τοὺς περὶ τῶ[ν] κακούργων κειμένους
 νόμους. ἀναγράφαι δὲ τό[δε] τὸ [ψή]
 [φισμ]α [εἰ]ς στήλας λιθ[ίν]α[ς] τὸν καθεσταμένον ἄνδρα
 εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν [μέ]
 [τρων καὶ στ]αθμῶν καὶ στήσαι ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἐν
 οἷς καὶ τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ κεῖται.

(For the rest of the text, see *I.G.*, II², 1013.)

Divisions at ends of lines in both copies should probably be according to complete words or syllables. So, in *I.G.*, II², 1013, read:

[μεί|ζω] (lines 11–12). Cf. also the majuscule copy in *I.G.*, II, 476.
 Ἐκα|[τομ]βαιῶνι (lines 16–17).
 πολοῦ|[ν,τ]ας (lines 21–22).
 χ[εἰ|λ]ους (lines 22–23).
 Στε|[φαναφό|ρου] (lines 29–30).
 ἐμπορ[ι|κάς] (lines 34–35).
 [τῶ]ν (line 43).
 κολ[ά|ζοντ]ες (lines 46–47).
 [ἐνιαντόν] (line 48).
 [κατασκευα|ζέσ]θω<σαν> (lines 51–52).
 [Μη|τρώ]ιω (lines 52–53).
 [ταλάν|το]ν (lines 54–55).
 [τοὺ]ς (line 64).
 μολν|[β|δίν]ωι (lines 64–65).
 [τ]άς (line 66).

Changes in reading from the previously published text are:

ε[ἰσπρατιέ|σ]θωσαν (lines 50–51; see the present text, line 2).
 [ἐάν τινα ἀπολέσωσιν, κατασκευα|ζέσ]θω<σαν> (lines 51–52). The main verb is plural, and conditions also the number of the dependent ἀπολέσωσιν. Fourmont's copy omits the final -σαν of κατασκευαζέσθωσαν. See the present text, line 3. The word τοιαῦτα is substituted here for διδόναι in both inscriptions for the sake of the context.

[ἐν] τῷ[ι Μη|τρῶ]ιφι (lines 52–53; the reading is clear in the present text, line 4).

[ἐ|λευθ]έραν (lines 53–54; the initial letters ΕΛ are clear in the new fragment, line 5).

Fourmont's copy omits πεντάμνον καὶ because of haplography. Böckh (*C.I.G.*, I, 123) noted this curious omission: "pentamnum deesse mirum est." That the five minai standard was specified in the original is shown by the text of the new piece, which gives μνᾶς and ἡμιμναίου without the definite article. They should be so restored also in *I.G.*, II², 1013, and the restoration <πεντάμνον καὶ> is necessary to fill out the spacing of the line.

κατὰ τοὺς περὶ should be read in line 60. See line 12 of the new fragment. The reading μετὰ is an error in *I.G.*, II², 1013. The majuscule text of *I.G.*, II, 476 gives κατὰ.

[μέ|τρων καὶ στ]αθμῶν (lines 61–62). The definite article before [στ]αθμῶν should be omitted; see the new fragment, line 14.

The determination of dates for Telokles, Antiphon, Thymachares, Polyeuktos, and Lysias has now brought a greater degree of certainty into the framework of the archon tables of the third century, so that it seems advisable to present the list as now established with reference to the foregoing discussion and with some comment on other inscriptions which are important for the dates suggested. In connection with the table general reference should be made to the evidence collected in Dinsmoor's indispensable volume, *The Archons of Athens*, and in Ferguson's *Athenian Tribal Cycles*. Reference should also be made to De Sanctis' recent discussion in the *Rivista di Filologia*, 1936, pp. 253–273, especially pp. 260 ff. A named secretary for any one of the dated archons Anaxikrates (279/8), Demokles (278/7), or Pytharatos (271/0), possibly also for Peithidemos, Diognetos, or Antipatros, would establish definitely the chronology of the archons of the early third century. Until such a discovery, absolute certainty is impossible.

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
307/6	I	Anaxikrates	Αυσίας Νοθίππον Διομενής <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 455–465; <i>S.E.G.</i> , III, 86 (cf. also 87–88); <i>Hesperia</i> , II, p. 398, IV, pp. 536–544, V, pp. 201–205; <i>Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps</i> , pp. 356–363; <i>A.J.P.</i> , LVIII, pp. 220–222. Note that <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 726 is the same as <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 461.	II
306/5	0*	Koroibos	Πάμφιλος Θεογείτονος Ῥαμνούσιος <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 467–476, 472 add., 675 + 525; <i>A.J.A.</i> , XXXVII, pp. 412–416; <i>A.J.P.</i> , LVIII, pp. 329–333.	XI
305/4	0*	Euxenippos	Ἀντόλυκος Ἀύκων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 703, 796, 797; <i>Hesperia</i> , V, pp. 201–203.	XII

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
304/3	0*	Pherekles	³ Ἐπιχαρῖνος Δημοχάρους Γαργήτιος <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 481-486, 563, 621; <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, pp. 544-545 and VI, pp. 323-327.	I
303/2	I*	Leostratos	Λόφαντος Λιονυσόδωρου Φηγούσιος <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 489-498.	III
302/1	0*	Nikokles	Νίκων Θεοδώρου Πλωθεύς <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 499-505; <i>Hesperia</i> , I, p. 45; III, 7; IV, 6; cf. pp. 545-547; V, 12.	IV
301/0	I*	Klearchos	Μνήσαρχ[ος Τιμοστράτ]ου Προβαλίστιος <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 640; <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, p. 547.	V
300/299	0	Hegemachos		6
299/8	0*	Euktemon	Θεόφιλος Ξενοφώντος Κεφαλῆθεν <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 641-642; <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, p. 548.	VII
298/7	0*	Mnesidemos	[. ¹⁶]ρους Φ[υλάσιος] (unpublished inscription from the Agora, plus <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 643).	VIII
297/6	I	Antiphates		9
296/5	0	Nikias	² Α[ν]τι[κρ]άτης Κρατίν[ου ² Αζήν]ι[εύς] <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 644-645.	X
295/4	I*	Nikostratos	Δωρόθεος ² Αρ[ιστομάχ]ου Φαληρεύς <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 646-647; cf. commentary on p. 100, above.	XI
294/3	0	Olympiodoros	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 378 (see above, pp. 98-100).	
293/2	0*	Olympiodoros	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 389, 649 (cf. Dinsmoor, <i>Archons</i> , pp. 7-9); No. 17, above.	
292/1	I	Philippos	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 702, cited here by Ferguson, <i>Tribal Cycles</i> , p. 29, belongs in 250/49.	12
291/0	0*	Aristonymos	[. ¹⁶]ς Αἰθαλίδης <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 669, 671.	I
290/89	0	Charinos	[. ¹⁸]ς Θορα[ιεύς] <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 697; cf. Dinsmoor, <i>Archons</i> , p. 68.	II

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
289/8	I	Telokles		3
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2797; <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, 41; see above, pp. 107–108.	
288/7	0*	Diokles	Ξενοφῶ[ν Ν]ικέου Ἀλαιοῦς	IV
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 650, 651, 662–663 (but on the date, see also De Sanctis, <i>Riv. di Fil.</i> , 1936, pp. 261 ff.).	
287/6	0*	Diotimos	Ἀνσίστρατος [Ἀ]ριστο[μ]άχου Παιανιεύς	V
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 653–655; also 2 unpublished Agora pieces.	
286/5	I	Isaios		6
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 656 (cf. Dow, <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 2).	
285/4	0*	Euthios	Ναυσικμένης Ναυσικύδου Χολαργεύς	VII
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 657–659, 1290; see above, p. 103. The full name of Euthiós was Εὐθίος Ἀντιφῶντος Τειθράσιος.	
284/3	I*	Nikias	Θεόφιλος Θεοδότου Ἀχαρνεύς	VIII
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1290; see above, No. 18; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1273 (see above, p. 108).	
283/2	0*	Ourias	Εὐξενος Καλλίου Αἰξωνεύς	IX
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 660; <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, 40–41; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, p. 548; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1273 (see above, p. 108).	
282/1	I*	Kimon	[...? ... Εὐφο]ρίωνος Ἐλευσίν[ιος]	X
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 670 A; see above, p. 106.	
281/0	0	Gorgias		11
			[Plutarch], <i>Vit. X Orat.</i> 847 D; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, pp. 571–572.	
280/79	0*	Sosistratos	[..... ²¹]	12
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 672, 3081; see above, p. 104. (If the name Polystratos should be restored here, then Sosistratos belongs in 261/0 and Lykeas in 273/2 or 272/1.)	
279/8	0	Anaxikrates	--- ιδη[ς] Ν[ίκων]ος Εἰ[τεαῖος]	I
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 670 B; Paus. X, 23, 14; cf. above, p. 106.	
278/7	I	Demokles	[- - - ^{23 to 29 letters} - - -]	2
			Paus. X, 23, 14; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 673.	
277/6	0*	Olbios	Κνδίας Τιμωνίδου Εὐωνυμεύς	III
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 792; <i>Hesperia</i> , II, 5.	
276/5	0	Xenophon	Κλειγ[ένης] - - - - - Ἀλαιοῦς	[IV]
			<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 682, 1534 A (but see p. 123).	

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
275/4	I*	Glaukippos	<i>Εὐθον[ος κ]ρίτου Μυρρινοῦσιος</i> <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 674, 676.	V
274/3	0	(. . . . ⁸)ou	[. ¹⁶]ou Σουνιε[ύς] <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 704; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, p. 549.	VI
273/2	I			7
272/1	0	Euboulos	See above, p. 104.	8
271/0	I	Pytharatos	Diogenes Laertius, X, 15.	9
270/69	0*	Diogeiton	<i>Θεόδοτος Θεοφίλου Κειριάδης</i> <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 772. Note that <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 771 is the same as <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 122.	X
269/8	I	Menekles	<i>Θεόδωρος Ανσιθέου Τ[ρ]ι[κ]ο[ρ]ύσιος</i> <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 661, 664, 1272.	XI
268/7	0*	Nikias Otryneus	<i>Ἰσοκράτης Ἰσοκράτου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν</i> <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 665, 666.	XII
267/6	0*	Peithidemos	(uninscribed) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 687; <i>Hesperia</i> , V, 14.	1
266/5	I*	Philokrates	<i>Ἡγήσιππος Ἀριστομάχου Μελιτιεύς</i> <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 684, 685; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, pp. 549-550.	II
265/4	0*	(Philipp)ides (?)	[. ²⁵] <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 689.	3
264/3	0	Diognetos	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 688; Parian marble.	4
263/2	I	Antipatros	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1282.	5 (then 11)
262/1	0	Arrheneides	Diogenes Laertius, VII, 1, 9.	12
261/0	0	Polystratos	[. ⁹ Φ]ανοπόνπου Ποτά[μιος] <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 477 (<i>S.E.G.</i> , III, 89), 1283; cf. below, p. 141. (If the name Polystratos should be restored in 280/79, then Sosistratos probably belongs here, and Lykeas in 273/2 or 272/1.)	I

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
260/59	I	Phanomachos		2
		See above, pp. 74, 121.		
259/8	0	Euboulos		3
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 678, 682 (line 58); cf. above, p. 121; cf. Dow, <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 10.		
258/7	I(?)	Philostratos		4
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2854; see below, p. 142.		
257/6	0(?)	Antimachos	<i>Χαι[ε]γένης [Χαι]ριγένου Μυρρινοῦσιος</i>	V
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 768 + 802, 769 + 441, 798 (lines 10-11); 2854; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, p. 583; see below, p. 143.		
256/5	0*	Kleomachos	<i>Ἀ[φ]θόνητος Ἀρχίνου Κήντιος</i>	VI
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 770, 798 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, p. 583), 1286, 2856; cf. Dinsmoor, <i>Archons</i> , p. 174.		
255/4	I	Phanostratos		7
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2854; see below, p. 142.		
254/3	0	Pheidostratos		8
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 2854; see below, p. 142.		
253/2	0	Antiphon		9
		No. 20, above; <i>S.E.G.</i> , III, 122 (Dinsmoor, <i>Archons</i> , p. 178); see above, p. 126.		
252/1	I*	Thymochares	<i>Σώστρατο[ς] Ἀ[ρι]στ[ο]¹⁶</i>	10
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 700; No. 20, above.		
251/0	0	Alkibiades		11
		No. 22, above; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 776, line 16. Cf. Pollux, X, 126.		
250/49	I*	Philoneos	<i>[. . .]ων Μιλτιάδου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν</i>	XII
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 702, 765, 766. See below, p. 144. But see also <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 21 and notes, for a suggested later date for <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 702.		
249/8	0	(. . . ⁵ . . .)ou	----- ιεύς	1
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 774; see below, p. 144.		
248/7	I*	Lysiades	<i>Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστο[.^{ca. 16}]</i>	2
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 775; see below, p. 145.		

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
247/6	0	Lykeas	[. ^{ca. 17}] μένον Εὐ[ωνυμέυς]	III
		No. 21, above; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1284 B. (If Polystratos belongs in 280/79, then Lykeas should be assigned to 273/2 or 272/1.)		
246/5	I*	Kallimedes	[Καλ]λίας Καλλιάδου Πλωθέυς	IV
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 777, 780, 1286 (cf. Dinsmoor, <i>Archons</i> , p. 174), 2856.		
245/4	0	Lysitheides		5
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1317.		
244/3	0*	Thersilochos	Διόδοτος Διογνήτου Φρεάρριος	VI
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 778, 780–782, 2856; see above, p. 120.		
243/2	0*	Polyeuktos	Χαιρεφῶν Ἀρχεστράτου Κεφαλήθεν	VII
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 679+584 (<i>S.E.G.</i> , III, 92), 680, 681; <i>S.E.G.</i> , II, 9; No. 24, above; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, p. 553.		
242/1	I*	Hieron	Φαινύλος Πανφίλου Ὀῆθεν	VIII
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 683; <i>S.E.G.</i> , II, 9.		
241/0	0	Diomedon	Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένου Ἀ[αἰδαλίδης]	IX
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 791; <i>S.E.G.</i> , II, 9.		
240/39	0*	Athenodoros	Ἀρετος Ἀρχίου Ἀμαξαντεύς	X
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 784; cf. above, p. 125.		
239/8	I*	Lysias	[. ¹⁶] Ἀφιδ[ραῖος]	XI
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1299; No. 25, above.		
238/7	0			12
237/6	0	Kimon		1
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 787.		
236/5	I*	Ekphantos	[. . . ⁷ . . .] ος Δημητρίο[υ] Ἰπποτ[ο]μ[ά]δης	II
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 787; <i>B.C.H.</i> , LIV, pp. 269–270; <i>A.J.A.</i> , XXXVII, pp. 46–47.		
235/4	0*	Lysanias	Εὐμήλος Ἐμπεδίωνος Εὐωνυμέυς	III
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 788, 790 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 23).		
234/3	0*	Theophemos	Προκλῆς Ἀπ[. ¹⁵]	4
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 795, 799; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, p. 550; see above, p. 123. <i>S.E.G.</i> , II, 9.		

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
233/2	I	Kydenor		5
		<i>S.E.G.</i> , II, 9; see above, p. 123.		
232/1	0	Eurykleides		6
		<i>S.E.G.</i> , II, 9; see above, p. 123.		
231/0	I	Iason		7
		Philodemus, <i>Ind. Stoic.</i> , XXVIII; cf. Dinsmoor, <i>Archons</i> , p. 48.		
230/29	0			8
229/8	0*	Heliodoros	Χαρίτας Καλλίου Ἀθμονε[ύ]ς	IX
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 832-833, 844, 1706; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
228/7	I*	Leochares	Θεοκρίστου Πασίωνος ἐξ Οἴου	X
		<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 29; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1706; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
227/6	0*	Theophilos	Φίλιππος Κηφισοδώρου Ἀφ[ιδναῖος]	XI
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 837, 1706; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
226/5	I*	Ergochares	Ζωῖλος Διφίλου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν	XII
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 838, 1706; <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, no. 39; <i>Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps</i> , pp. 359-360; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
225/4	0	Niketes		1
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1706; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
224/3	0	Ἀντίφιλος		2
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1706, 1303 (<i>Hesperia</i> , II, p. 448); cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
223/2	I*	(- -ca. 10- -)	- - - - - ἐκ Κηδῶν	III
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 917; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , II, p. 437 and <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 30; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
222/1		Euthykritos		4
		<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 41.		
221/0		Thrasyphon	[. . . 10 . . .] του Παιανεύς	V
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 839; <i>Inscr. Magnesia</i> , no. 16; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
220/19		Menekrates		6
		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1303 (<i>Hesperia</i> , II, pp. 437, 448), 1706; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 3461 (see comment by Kolbe, <i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</i> , 1936, p. 2173, on the archons from 223/2 to 217/6).		
219/8	0*	Chairephon	Φ[..... ^{ca. 15} Κν]δαντίδης	VII
		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1304; <i>Hesperia</i> , II, 7; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , II, p. 437, III, p. 177.		
218/7		(K)all(i . ⁵ . ^{Gen.} .)	Ἀριστοτέλης Θεαινέτου Κε[φαλήθεν]	VIII
		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1303 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , II, pp. 437, 448), 843 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , II, p. 437, note 6); cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
217/6		Euandros	[Θ]έρσ[ιππος Θ]ρασ[ιππον Ἀχαρνεύς]	IX
		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 845; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , II, p. 437, III, p. 177; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 4441.		
216/5		Hagnias	Ποτάμων Δοκ[ίμου Ἀλιζωνεύς(?)]	[X]
		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 794, 1706 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , II, p. 437); cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
215/4	I*	Diokles	Ἀριστοφάνης Στρατοκλέους Κειριάδης	XI
		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 846, 847, 1706 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , II, p. 437); cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
214/3		Euphiletos		12
		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1314, 1706; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
313/2		Herakleitos		13
		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1314, 1706; cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , III, p. 177.		
212/1	I*	Archelaos	Μόσχος Μο[σχίωνος Ἀ]γκυλῆθεν	I
		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 844, 848 (cf. <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 36).		
211/0		Aischron		2
210/09	0*	Ankylos		3
		<i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 38.		
209/8		- - -	Ἀρχικλῆ[ς X]αριδήμου Ἐρχιεύς	IV
		<i>Inscr. Magnesia</i> , no. 37.		
208/7				5
207/6				6

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
206/5		Kallistratos	Ἀγνωίδης Ἀπατου[ρί]ου - - - -	7
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 849.		
205/4		Pantiades		8
204/3		Apollodoros		9
		<i>Hesperia</i> , V, no. 15.		
203/2	0*	Proxenides	Εὐβουλος Εὐβονλί[δ]ου Αἰξωνεύς	X
		<i>Hesperia</i> , V, no. 15; <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. I, no. 40 and <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 915.		
202/1				11
201/0				12 (then 5)
200/199				6
199/8				7
198/7				8
197/6				9
196/5	I*	Charikles	Αἰσχρίων Εὐαινέτου Παμνούσιος	X
		<i>Hesperia</i> , V (1936), no. 15; see also <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 785.		

NOTES

307/6. The chronological problems presented by the inscriptions of this year have not yet been solved, and it is unlikely that any satisfactory calendar scheme for the year will be found before new evidence is available. West's discussion of the phrase *δεντέραι ἐμβολίμωι* in dating within the month, and his demonstration that it has no connection with intercalated months, but signifies only an intercalated day, I accept as sound.¹ My own hypothesis (*Hesperia*, IV, pp. 536–544) that the year contained only 12 months was rendered very improbable by the discovery that 305/4 was an ordinary year. West has shown, I believe, that the preserved inscriptions can be fitted into the framework of an intercalary year of thirteen months, and the year is so indicated in the present table. West himself has pointed out the great uncertainty of detail. It is possible to make one correction, I believe, in the restoration of *I.G.*, II², 455 without destroying the validity of West's scheme. The seven uninscribed spaces at the right of the first line do not demand an equivalent seven at the left, and in any case the archon's

¹ *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, pp. 356–363.

name cannot be restored in the line above.¹ The first line below the moulding at the top of the inscribed surface still preserves the single final iota of [θεο]ι over the fifth letter from the right margin of the stone. Assuming, as does West, that the last prytany of the year contained 33 days, the document may be restored as follows:

		<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 455		CTOIX. 43
	307/6 B.C.			
		[θ ε ο] ι		
		[Ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδίου]ν	ν	ν ν ν ν ν ν ν
		[ίδος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας ἥι Ἀνσίας Νοβί]ππου Διομ		
		[εἰς ἐγραμμάτεν Σκιροφοριῶνος τετραδ]ι	ι	ἵσταμέν
5		[οὐ ἐβδόμει τῆς πρυτανείας ἐκκλησία τῶν προέδρων ἐπ		
		[εψήφισεν ²⁷]	ς	καὶ συν
		[πρόεδροι ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]		<i>vacat</i>
		[Στρατοκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου Διομενὺς εἶπεν ἐπε]ιδὴ ὁ δῆμος		
		[ς ³⁴]	ων	καὶ εὖν
10		[ους ³¹]	κατὰ	πόλεμ
		[οὐ ³³]	ἐπὶ	ταῖς[.]
		[. ³⁵]	ἂν	[.]

The name of Stratokles may be retained as the orator, and the inscription fits into the table prepared by West (*op. cit.*, p. 361) with the equation Skirophorion 4 = Prytany XII, 7 (Pandionis).

261/0. The text of *I. G.*, II², 477 must be taken from *S. E. G.*, III, 89, where Wilhelm has proposed new restorations and given a correct line by line division, each line ending in a complete word or syllable. The inscription is not stoichedon, but it may nevertheless be plotted on graph paper and the restorations may be made with some degree of probability by using Dow's principle of allowing a full space for each letter except iota and only half a normal letter space for iota. Lines 4, 6, and 10 are enough to indicate the original width of the stone, and their restoration follows Dow's scheme perfectly. The name of the archon should contain eleven letters, and the name of the secretary nine letters. Wilhelm's restoration [εἰς Νίχ]αιαν in line 11 may be correct, but is one letter short of the normal count. In line 9 the demotic of the orator's name should be read [Π]ιθεύς and not [Λευκο]νοεύς. My observation here agrees with that of Velsen, whose reading was noted by Koehler (*I. G.*, II, 238). The theta, which seems to me reasonably clear, was read also by Pittakys (*Ep. Arch.*, 1853, no. 1608). It will be observed that the shorter demotic leaves 14 spaces for the name and patronymic of the orator, whereas the restored [Λευκο]νοεύς left only ten spaces, a rather scant minimum.

¹ The disposition suggested by West may be seen in his publication, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

The document is a memorial of friendship between Athens and King Antigonos, and must be dated at some time between the end of the Chremonidean war and the death of the king. An earlier date is excluded, because Athens was at no time subject to Macedon between 288 and 263 B.C.,¹ and further, because there is no possible combination of a secretary whose demotic was *Ποτάμιος* (I or VI) with an archon whose name contained eleven letters, except in 261/0 or 249/8. I have previously assigned the inscription to the year of Eurykleides in 249/8 (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 585), but the new evidence for Eurykleides in 232/1 permits no longer an association with his archonship. The archon of 249/8 cannot be definitely determined, and this date remains a theoretical possibility for *I.G.*, II², 477; but, if Wilhelm's restoration citing the "renewal of friendship" with Antigonos is correct, the more appropriate date is 261/0 shortly after the fall of Athens at the end of the Chremonidean war. The archon Polystratos satisfies the epigraphical requirements for the restoration of line 1 in *I.G.*, II², 477, and another decree of his year (*I.G.*, II², 1283; see above, p. 104) seems well dated just after the Chremonidean war. To this year, and to this archon, therefore, the inscription is assigned.² Whether the calendar character of the year was ordinary or intercalary must remain, I believe, uncertain. If the restoration in line 5 is [δευτέραι ἱσταμένο]ν, an ordinary year is easily possible. This supplement is too long by half a letter space according to Dow's formula of spacing, but the irregularity is not great, and no restoration gives a perfect solution, even for an intercalary year. My own measurement of the lines differs slightly from that proposed by Wilhelm in *S.E.G.*, III, 89.

I.G., II², 477

261/0 B.C.

NON-CIOIX.

[Ἐπὶ Πολυστράτου] ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ
 [τῆς . . .^{ca. 7 1/2} . . . πέμ]πτης πρυτανεί
 [ας ἥ . . .⁹ . . . Φ]ανοπόνπου Ποτά
 [μιος ἐγραμμάτευ]εν· Π[ο]σ[ιδε]ῶρος
 5 [δευτέραι ἱσταμένο]ν· ἐκκλησίᾳ κν
 [ρίᾳ τῶν προέδρων ἐ]πεψ[ί]φισεν Ἄν
 [.^{ca. 1 1/2}]νον Ἀχαρνεὺς
 [καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἐ]δοξεν τῶι δήμῳ·
 [.^{ca. 1 1/4} Π]ιθεὺς εἶπεν· ὃ
 10 [πὲρ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ π]ρῆσβεις οἱ ἀπο
 [σταλέντες εἰς -^{3 1/2}-]αἰαν ὑπὲρ Θεοί
 [του -^{4 1/2}- καὶ ἀποφα]ίνουσιν αὐτὸ[ν]
 [εὕνουν εἶναι τῶι δή]μῳ καὶ λέγειν

¹ Cf. Ferguson, *A.J.P.*, LV (1934), p. 318; Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 65–66.

² So dated also by Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 24–25, though with a different archon.

[καὶ πράττειν ἀγαθὸν] ὅτι ἐν δύνηται
 15 [καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς ἐ]ν τεῖ ἀποστο
 [λεῖ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ] χρήσιμον γε
 [γονέναι πρὸς ἀνάνεω]σιν τῆς φιλί
 [ας τῆς πρὸς τὸν βασιλ]έα Ἀντίγο
 [ρον· ὅπως ἐν οὖν καὶ ὁ δ]ῆμος φαίνη
 20 [ται εὖνους ὧν τῷ βασ]ιλεῖ τα . . .

258/7. In recent editions of *I.G.*, II², 734 the name of the archon has been restored as Pheidostratos,¹ a determination which rests upon Johnson's observation that the right edge of the stone is preserved immediately after the word [K]εχροπίδος of line 3. Koehler (*I.G.*, II, 280) had described the stone as broken away at the right, and Kirchner (in the addendum of *I.G.*, II², 734, p. 666) noted that his squeeze seemed to confirm Koehler's opinion. The stone has again been examined by Schweigert in the museum at Athens (E.M. 7323), and his report to me notes "The right margin is gone entirely." Schweigert also reports that part of a foot which belonged to a figure facing left still exists above the moulding. In order to supply room for the figure the word πολίτε[ία] in line 1 must be restored in full, and at least three (probably more) letters must be restored after [K]εχροπίδος in line 3. In the fourth line Schweigert reports: "The K of Ἰαριεύς now depends on Johnson's reading; it has been broken away since then."

Since the right margin is not preserved, the number of letters in the archon's name must remain uncertain, or be determined (if possible) in some other way. It should be noted also that Koehler read no letter where Johnson read the K in the demotic of the secretary, and that Pittakys (*Ep. Arch.*, 1856, no. 2743) read the letter Φ. At the present writing one can perhaps only state that the demotic of the secretary is uncertain, the traditional readings yielding either Ἰα[ριεύς] or Ἰφ[ιστιάδης]. But, whatever the name of the archon may have been, the shift of the right margin still further to the right necessitates a corresponding curtailing of the restorations at the left of the preserved fragment and, depending largely on restorations of date, renders the very long names, like Pheidostratos, improbable.

In short, *I.G.*, II², 734 may not belong to the year 258/7 at all;² and if it does it militates against the same date for the archon Pheidostratos. The archons Philostratos, Antimachos, Phanostratos, and Pheidostratos, whose names appear on the dedicatory base, *I.G.*, II², 2854, must be dated with reference to Antimachos, whose year is fixed by the secretary cycle in 257/6 (*I.G.*, II², 768, 769). Kolbe has made the pertinent observation that the occasion for the dedication was the election of Kallisthenes to the

¹ A. C. Johnson, *A.J.P.*, XXXIV (1913), p. 404; *idem*, *Class. Phil.*, IX (1914), p. 433; Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 173; Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 24-25; Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 585.

² It resembles in some ways decrees of the late fourth century.

generalship (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1936, p. 2172), and that the order, not necessarily a closed sequence, must be as represented in our table presented above on p. 135.

257/6. The year of Antimachos has been considered as anomalous, in that it started as an ordinary year of twelve months and was then made intercalary after the fourth prytany. The evidence lies in the equations now published in *I.G.*, II², 768 and 769. (See Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 396; Meritt, *Hesperia*, IV, p. 553.) Such may indeed have been the case, but I wish to emphasize the tenuous nature of the evidence for assuming this irregularity.

The calendar equation derived from *I.G.*, II², 769 is:

Πυανοψιώνος [ἐκτ]ει μετ' εἰ[κάδας, πέμπ]τει καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτ[ανείας]. If the month Pyanopsion had 30 days, then (with backward count) the equation may be restated as Pyanopsion 25 = Prytany (IV), 25. Months and prytanies were in perfect accord, and it is evident that the year was ordinary.

There is more of restoration in the next calendar equation, derived from *I.G.*, II², 768; and for the sake of reference it will be well to quote here the opening lines of the text:

[θ]	ε	ο	[ι]
[Ἐπ' Ἀ]ντιμάχου [ἄρχ]ο[ν]τος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰππο[θωριίδος δ]			
[εκ]άτης πρυτ[ανεί]ας· ἦι Χα[ι]ρ[ι]γέν[ε]ως [Χαιριγένου]			
[ς Μυ]ρρινοῦσι[ος ὅς ὃ] ἐγ[ο]αμμ[ά]τενεν· [Μ]ο[νιχιώνος ἐ]			
5	[νδεκάτ]ει μ[ι]τ[ι] καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτ[ανείας]· ἐκ		

One may confirm from stone or squeeze the reading - - ἄτης in line 3, so that the reading [Μ]ο[νιχιώνος] instead of [Β]ο[ηδρομιώνος] in line 4 seems assured. The demotic of the secretary, [Μυ]ρρινοῦσι[ος], was so inscribed, however, that the letters violate the stoichedon order of the inscription. The initial Μ must be placed at the left margin of the stone, and the final sigma now restored in the patronymic should be omitted altogether. The name was spelled exactly as it was in *I.G.*, II², 769: Χαιριγένης Χαιριγένου Μυρρινοῦσιος. In *I.G.*, II², 768 this demotic ended beneath the epsilon of πρυτ[ανεί]ας of the line above, so that its 12 letters occupied 13 spaces upon the stone. After this word and before ἐγ[ο]αμμ[ά]τενεν it must be supposed that one space was left uninscribed. At the end of the line it may be that the 11 letters of [Μ]ο[νιχιώνος] occupied the available 12 spaces, or that an uninscribed space of one letter concluded the line. There is no serious consideration of stoichedon order to prevent, therefore, the restoration [εἰκοστ]εῖ at the beginning of line 5; a line which contained irregularities at its beginning may have contained them at its end. The objection to [εἰκοστ]εῖ is that Pittakys (*Ep. Arch.*, no. 219) and Rangabé (*Ant. Hell.*, II, no. 461) have read - - ΚΑ.ΕΙ at the beginning of line 5, and that Velsen read - - Κ..ΕΙ. It was Koehler's opinion that Rangabé's reading was based upon that of Pittakys; Velsen's must have been independently made. These readings are not on the stone today, for Schweigert informs me that the stone is worn very smooth and that he can see nothing of the letters ΚΑ. They are not visible

either upon a squeeze, and I still believe that the restoration [εἰκοστ]εῖ may be correct. If it is correct, then the initial lines of *I.G.*, II², 768 should be read as follows:

[θ]	ε	ο	[ι]	
[Ἐπ' Ἀ]ντιμάχου [ἄρχ]ο[ν]τος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος δ[ω]				
[εκα]άτης πρυταν[ει]ας, ἥμ[ι] Χαι[ρ]ιγένης [Χαιριγέ]νου				
[Μυ]ρρινούσι[ος] ἔγ[ο]ραμμ[ά]τευν· [Μ]ο[νιχιών]ος ὅ				
5	[εἰκοστ]εῖ μ[ι]α[ι] καὶ εἰκοσ[τ]εῖ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκ			

(For the rest of the text, cf. *I.G.*, II², 768 + 802 and addenda.)

The calendar equation represented above would permit the year of Antimachos to be reconstructed as an ordinary year throughout, with months and prytanies nearly coterminous.

251/0. For the approximate date of the archon Alkibiades, see Kirchner (note on *I.G.*, II², 776) and Dinsmoor (*Archons*, p. 76).

250/49. Philoneos must be dated not long after Thymochares. See Ferguson, *Ath. Trib. Cycles*, p. 106. See also above, p. 114.

249/8. Since publishing my notes on *I.G.*, II², 774 in *Hesperia*, IV, pp. 551–552, I have had the opportunity of examining the stone itself in Athens, and have become skeptical of its attribution to the year of Lysiades. There is now no trace of the lower stroke of delta of the archon's name, and measurements actually made on the stone show that considerations of space are best satisfied if the name of the archon be restored with only seven letters, even if one of them is an iota. I give, therefore, a tentative restoration of the opening lines:

I.G., II², 774

	[Ἐπὶ]ου ἀρχ[ον]τος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος δω
	[δεκάτη]ς πρυτανε[ίας] ἥμ[ι] ^{ca. 20}
	[. . . .]ιὺς ἐγ[ο]ραμμάτευν· Σκισσοφοριῶνος ἐνδε
	[κάτι] δω δεκάτι μ[ι]α πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία
5	[τῶν] προέδ[ρων] ἐπεψ[ή]φισεν ^{ca. 19}
	[. . . .]ος καὶ σ[υμπροέδ]ροι· ὅ ^{ca. 14}
	[. . . .] Ἀλκιδεὺς [εἶπεν]· - - - - -

(For the rest of the text, see *I.G.*, II², 774; *S.E.G.*, III, 98; and De Sanctis, *Riv. di Fil.*, 1936, pp. 141–144.)

The name of the archon must remain uncertain, and only the last four letters of the demotic of the secretary are preserved. The disposition of the letters is correctly indicated, however, in the restoration, and some new traces along the right edge of the stone have been added to the recorded readings. The letters in line 1 are more widely spaced

than in lines 2 and 3, the first **O** coming over the **P** of *πρυτανε[ίας]* and the **X** coming over the interspace between **N** and **E** of *πρυτανε[ίας]*. This consideration makes a word of eight letters for the archon's name doubtful, though one might still argue that [*Ἐπὶ Λυσιάδ*]οῦ is a possible restoration, with the two iotas requiring together only the space of one letter. I do not know, and assign the document tentatively to 249/8, near Lysiades, but not to his year.

During the examination in Athens I removed enough surface plaster from the reconstructed stele to find that fragments *a* and *b* have a large contact surface in common. Not only is the left margin of *a* thus made sure, but one may readily measure the lacuna between *a* and *b* as precisely 9 lines; that is, line 3 of fragment *b* in the text of *I.G.*, II², 774 is actually line 25 of the inscription (*a* + *b* + *c*).

248/7. The document *I.G.*, II², 775 is not written stoichedon, but throughout the text the principle of syllabic division of words at the ends of lines is observed. The opening lines, for example, should be read:

----- τῆς π[ρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία· τῶν προέ]
 [δρων ἐπεψ]ήφισεν -----
 [. 3½ . καὶ] συμπρόεδ[ροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή]
 [μωι]· Κραναῶς Κτησιφ[ώντος Βησαιεὺς εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν ἂ]
 5 [παγ]γέλλ[ε]ι ὁ ἱερεὺς τ[οῦ] Ἀσκληπιοῦ περὶ τῆς θυσίας]

The importance of this observation, however, becomes more apparent in the restoration of the second decree, lines 27–37, which is dated in the archonship of Lysiades. The certain restorations at the ends of lines 30–31 and 33–35 give the necessary evidence for determining the right margin of the stone, and careful plotting of the inscription on cross-section paper shows the limits of restoration. There is no possibility of obtaining a calendar equation with a day of the prytany that will yield an ordinary year. On the other hand, the restoration [ἐβδόμει καὶ εἰκο]στεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας satisfies exactly the requirements of space and yields an intercalary year: Mounichion was hollow, Thargelion full, Skirophorion hollow, and the last three prytanies contained 32 days each. The restorations are as follows:

Ἐπὶ Λυσιά[δο]υ ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐ[ρεχθείδος δεκάτης ^{rr}]
 πρυτανείας ἥμ[ι] Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστο[. ^{ca. 16} εἰ]
 γράμματένευ· Μουνιχιῶνος ἐνάτει ἐπ[ὶ] δέκα, ἐβδόμει καὶ εἰκο]
 στεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας· ----- etc.

The rest of the text should be read as in the *Corpus*, except that in lines 36–37 the word *χηματίσαι* must be divided [*χη|ματίσαι*], and that in line 36 the word *πρώτην* must be restored instead of *ἐπιούσαν*. With *πρώτην* the available space is completely taken, and *ἐπιούσαν* cannot be supplied. This inscription, now dated in 248/7, furnishes the last

known example in Athenian decrees of the formula *προεδρεύειν* - - - *εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλήσιαν*. Henceforth *ἐπινοῦσαν* is invariably used, so far as the evidence now indicates.¹

245/4. Lysitheides is probably to be dated near Thersilochos and Hieron. See Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 91.

¹ *I.G.*, II², 808 has been assigned to the period from 239 to 229 by Wilhelm, but the attribution depends so much on the interpretation of the badly mutilated opening lines as to be open to serious question. From the purely epigraphical point of view Koehler's date is preferable: the fact that ten drachmai were specified as the expense for the stele differentiates this inscription at once from other honorary decrees of the period of Demetrios II. Parallels are found in *I.G.*, II², 676 (275/4 B.C.), for example, and *Hesperia*, IV, 40 (283/2 B.C.). Kirchner noted with surprise the phrase *εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλήσιαν* at a date so late as that which Wilhelm assigned. Incidentally, one may note that the substitution of *κομιοῦνται* for *ἀπολήψονται* in line 23 would preserve the stoichedon order of 40 letters. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 798, line 24 (*Hesperia*, IV, p. 583).

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

Note: For the sake of complete final publication, students of the documents here printed are earnestly requested to send suggestions by letter or reprints of articles they may write concerning them to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.

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¹Ηγίας ¹Ηγησίου (Σουνιεύς), 363/2, 1 73.

Θαρ[ρ]ίας, 10 161.

[Θ]αρρίας, 10 187.

[Θ]εάγης, 10 171.

Θεαίνετος (Ἀχερδούσιος), ca. 260 B.C., father of
Εὐθύκριτος, 20 58.

Θεαίτητος Κηφισοφώντος ¹Επικ[η]φίσ[ι]ος),
ephebos in 253/2, 20 50.

Θειαρχίδης, 10 141.

Θεογένης ¹Ηγήμονος Ἀθμονεύ[ς], ephebos in
253/2, 20 52.

Θέογνης, 10 169.

Θεόδοτος (Ἀχαρνεύς), ca. 318 B.C., father of
Θεόφιλος, 18 3-4.

Θεομήδης, 10 197.

[Θε]όμνηστος, 10 225.

Θε(ο)φάνης Ζωφάνους (Σουνιεύς), 363/2, 1 72-73.

Θεόφιλος Θεοδότου Ἀχαρνεύς, secretary in 284/3,
18 3-4.

Θερσίλοχος, archon of 244/3, 23 1, [24 7-8].

[Θ]ονκλείδης, 10 175.

Θρασυ - - (Ἀλαντίδος), 10 276.

Θρασύδημος, 10 258.

[Θρα]σνκλείδης, 10 234.

Θρασνκλῆς, 10 86.

Θρασνκλῆς Θράσωνος Βοντά(δης), 363/2, 1 75-76
(same as following).

Θρασνκλῆς, herald of Σαλαμίνοι in 363/2, 1 64
(same as preceding).

Θρασυμέ[ν]ης, 10 263.

Θράσων (Βοντάδης), ca. 400 B.C., father of Θρα-
σνκλῆς, 1 75-76.

Θυμοχάρης, archon of 252/1, 20 1.

¹Ιερ - -, 10 119.

¹Ιερόθεος, 10 94.

¹Ιεροκλείδης, 10 7.

¹Ιππόμαχος, 10 211.

¹Ιφικράτης (Ραμνοῦσιος), ca. 260 B.C., father
of [. . .]ράτης, 20 62.

Καλ - -, 10 98.

Καλαίδης (Ξυπεταιών), ca. 277 B.C., father of
Καλαίδης, 23 9.

Καλαίδης Καλαίδου Ξυπεταιών, orator in 244/3,
23 9.

Καλλιάδης, 10 137.

[Κα]λλίας, 10 222.

Καλλίας, actor ca. 251/0, 22 7.

Καλλικράτης, 10 88.

Καλλιμαχος, 10 153.

[Κ]αλλιμέδων, 10 19.

Καλλιμέδων (Κολλυνεύς), *ca.* 317 B.C., father of
Ἀγύροριος, 18 9–10.

[Καλλιστῶ]ατίδης, 10 252.

Καλλιτέλης, 10 162.

Καλλιτέλης Σουριεύς, διαλυτής in 260/59, 2 7.

Καλλιφάνης (Κόπρειος), *ca.* 260 B.C., father of
[Α]ριστείδης, 20 60.

Καλλωνίδης, 10 144.

Κε – –, or Κη – –, 10 127.

Κηφίσιος, 10 215.

Κηφισόδοτος [ς], 10 203.

Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθαλίδης, διατητής in 363/2, 1 8.

Κηφισοφών (Ἐπικηφίσιος), *ca.* 260 B.C., father
of Θεαίτητος, 20 50.

Κίρων Πιθεύς (= P.A., 8444?), 14 4.

Κλ – –, 10 126.

Κλεαγόρας Ἀχαρνεύς, διατητής in 363/2, 1 6–7.

[Κλεά]ρετος, 10 232.

Κλειτο – –, 10 103.

Κλεόδωρος, 10 83.

Κυδίας, 10 262.

Κύνιππος (Ἀντιοχίδος), 10 280.

Λαμπροκλῆς, 10 205.

Λεώστρατος, 10 256.

Λυκίας, archon of 247/6(?), [21 1].

Λυκίσκος, 10 260.

Λυσαν – –, 10 100.

Λυσίας, archon of 239/8, 25 1.

[Λυσικλῆς] Ἀντιπάτρον Στραλήτι[ος], ἀκοιτιστής
in 253/2, 20 33–34.

Λυσίμ – –, 10 217.

Λυσιστόλεμος [ς], 10 209.

Λυσίστρατος [ς], 10 198.

[Λυσ]ίστρατος, 10 235.

Λυσίφημος, 10 13.

[Μ]αχον – –, 10 188.

Μειδογένης Μειδωνος Ἀθμονεύς, paredros of the
archon of 285/4, 18 32–33.

Μειδων (Ἀθμονεύς), *ca.* 317 B.C., father of Μειδο-
γένης, 18 33.

Μελίτιος Ἐξημεστίδου Βουτά(δης), 363/2, 1 76–77.

Μένανδρος(ος), dramatist, 22 10.

Μένανδρος (Περθηοίδης), *ca.* 260 B.C., father of
Πειθακλῆς, 20 49.

[Μ]ε[ν]εκλειδης, 10 24.

[Μεν]εκρ(άτης), dramatist, 22 18.

Μενολ – –, 10 102.

Μεσο – –, 10 104.

Μηλόβιος, 10 139.

Μνήσαρχος, 10 268.

Μνησίμ[α]χος, 10 95.

Μνησίστρατ[ος], 10 201.

Μνήσων, 10 146.

[Να]ξίας, 10 239.

Ναυσικράτης, 10 16.

[Νί]κανδρος (Ἀγκυλῆθεν), *ca.* 285 B.C., 20 35.

Νικίας, 10 84.

[Νικίας] (Φρεάριος), *ca.* 326 B.C., father of
Νικόβουλος, [17 8].

Νικίας, archon of 284/3, 18 2.

[Νικόβουλος Νικίου Φρεάριος], chairman of
proedroi in 293/2, [17 8].

Νικοκλῆς, ἀγωνοθέτης in 251/0(?), 22 5.

[Ν]οήμων, 10 182.

[Νό]θιππος, 10 227.

Ξενόδοκος, 10 261.

Ξενότιμος, 10 184.

Ξερόφιλος, 10 267.

Οἰνόβιος (Ἐλενσίμιος), *ca.* 317 B.C., father of
Οἰνοκράτης, 18 7–8.

Οἰνοκράτης Οἰνοβίου Ἐλε[ν]σίμιος, chairman of
proedroi in 284/3, 18 7–8.

Ὀλν – –, 10 116.

[Ὀλν]πιόδωρος [ς], *ca.* 350 B.C., 12 10.

Ὀλνπιόδωρος, archon of 293/2, 17 1.

Πανκλειδης (Ἐπικηφίσιος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father
of Χαιρέστρατος, 1 78.

Παντακλῆς (Θριάσιος), *ca.* 350 B.C., father of
Ιημέας, 16.

Πατροκλῆς, 10 206.

Παν – –, 10 123.

Παν – –, 10 125.

- Παύσων*, 10 259.
Πειθίας, 10 8.
Πειθικλῆς Μενάνδρου Περιθοΐδης, ephēbos in 253/2, 20 49.
[Π]είσι[π]πος, 10 25.
Πιστίας, 10 180.
[Πο]λέμων, 10 244.
[Πολύεν]κτος, archon of 243/2, 24 2.
Πολύζηλος, 10 199.
Πολύωρος, 10 266.
Πραξιμένης, 10 138.
Πρωτογ - -, *ca.* 272 B.C., father of [...⁸...], 25 9.
Πυθογένης Γλαν[κίππου Ἀλω]πεκῆθεν, chairman of proedroi in 244/3, 23 6-7.
Πυθοκλῆς, 10 140.
Σ[.....²².....], chairman of proedroi in 239/8, 25 6.
Σικκρίας Ἀριστοδήμου Ἀλαϊε[ύ]ς, ephēbos in 253/2, 20 54.
[Σ]οφο(κλῆς), dramatist, 22 21.
Σπένσιππος Ἀλεξίωνος Ἀσην[ιεύς], ephēbos in 253/2, 20 57.
Στέφανος Μυρρινούσιος, διατητής in 363/2, 1 6.
Στρατοφῶν Στράτωνος Ἀργυ(λῆθεν), 363/2, 1 76.
[Στ]ράτων, 10 254.
Στράτων (Ἀργυλῆθεν), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of *Στρατοφῶν*, 1 76.
Σωγένης, 10 17.
Σώδαμος (Παιανεύς), *ca.* 317 B.C., father of *Σωκράτης*, 18 33-34.
[Σ]ωκράτης, 10 82.
Σωκράτης Σωδάμου Παιανεύς, paredros of the archon of 285/4, 18 33-34.
Σωσικλῆς, 10 213.
Σώστρατος Ἀ[ρ]ιστ[.....¹⁶.....], secretary in 252/1, 20 2.
Σωτέλης, 10 6.
Σωτήριος, 10 154.
Σώφιλος, 10 145.
Τεισίας (Ῥαμνούσιος), *ca.* 390 B.C., father of *Τιμόθεος*, 12 2.
Τεισίας (Αἰαντίδος, probably Ῥαμνούσιος), proedros in 252/1, 20 8.
[Τε]λέσανδρος, 10 155.
Τελεσήγορ[ος], 10 92.
Τελέσιππος, 10 14.
Τεῦκρος, 10 194.
Τηλέσκοπος Ἀριστοκρίτου Ῥαμνούσιος, θεσμοθέτης in 328/7, 15 12-14.
Τιμ - -, 10 121.
[Τι]μόδημος, 10 80.
Τιμόθ[εος] Τεισί[ον] (Ῥαμνούσιος probably), *ca.* 350 B.C., 12 1-2.
Τιμοχ - -, 10 106.
Τίμων, 10 15.
Φαιδρί[ας], 10 216.
Φανίας, 10 91.
Φανόμαχος, archon of 260/59, 2 1.
Φασυρκίδης (Σουνιεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of *Λιοπεΐδης*, 1 71.
Φιλέας (Ἀντιοχίδος), 10 278.
Φιλ(ήμων), dramatist, 22 11.
Φίλιος, 10 178.
[Φι]λιν[ος], 10 240.
Φίλιος (Σουνιεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of *Ἀμεινίας*, 1 73.
Φιλόνεος, 10 264.
Φιλόνεος Ἀμεινονίκου (Σουνιεύς), 363/2, 1 71.
Φιλόστρατος Λιοφάντου Ἐλευ[σίσιος], ephēbos in 253/2, 20 56.
Φιλ[ο]τάδης, 10 9.
Φίλων (Πο - -), *ca.* 222 B.C., father of - - - *ιος*, 26 2.
Φρασικλῆς, 10 90.
[Φρσ]όραχος, 10 49.
[Φ]ύσκων Ἀλωπε[κῆθεν], *ca.* 350 B.C., 12 7.
Φωκίδης, 10 167.
Χαιρ - -, 10 111.
Χαιρέας, 10 204.
[Χα]ιρέδημος, 10 79.
Χαιρέστρατος Πανκλείδου Ἐπικηφί(σιος), 363/2, 1 78-79.
[Χαι]ρεφάνης, 10 38.

- [Χαιρεφῶν Ἀρχ]εστράτου Κεφαλήθεν, secretary
in 243/2, 24 3.
Χαιρι —, 10 192.
[Χ]αίρις, 10 166.
Χαλκιδεύς Ἀνδρομέου (Σουνιεύς), 363/2, 1 71—72.
Χαρ —, 10 120.
Χαριάδης, 10 214.
Χαριάδης Χαρκιέου (Σουνιεύς), 363/2, 1 72.
Χαρίας, 10 208.
Χαρκιεύς, archon of 363/2, 1 2, 56, 67.
Χαρκιῆς (Σουνιεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of
Χαριάδης, 1 72.
Χαρισανδριδης, 10 147.
- [.]α — —, 10 4.
[.]ίων, 10 20.
[.]λοσθ — —, 10 136.
[.]έσιππος, 10 35. Possibly [.]ήσιππος.
[.]ήσιππος, 10 35. Possibly [.]έσιππος.
[.]ικος, 10 243.
[.]ιρίας, 10 39.
[.]ιωνίδης Ἀνδροκλέους — —, κοσμητής of
epheboi in 253/2, 20 32.
[.]λων, 10 23.
[.]νων, 10 269.
[.]π — — —, 10 189.
[.]φραῖος, 10 36.
[.]χιμένης, 10 40.
[.]ω]ν, 10 236.
[.]ανδρος, 10 34.
[.]ανδρος, 10 44.
[.]εδημιδης, 10 45.
[.]έστρατος, 10 48.
[.]άδης, 10 46.
[.]ινίας, 10 246.
[.]ι]ππος, 10 31.
[.]ιππος, 10 42.
[.]ισοφῶν, 10 33.
[.]κράτης, 10 238.
[.]νιππος, 10 43.
[.]νος, 10 41.
[.]ομάδης, 10 228.
[.]όστρατος, 10 50.
[.]ογένης, 10 47.
- [.]ογένης, 10 78.
[.]τέλης, 10 237.
[.]χάρος, 10 51.
[.]άδης, 10 221.
[.]αδίων, 10 247.
[.]ας, 10 231.
[.]αχος, 10 270.
[.]ιππος, 10 52.
[.]μος, 10 53.
[.]ν Ἀγρυλῆ[θεν], *ca.* 350 B.C., 12 9.
[.]φάνης, 10 248.
[.]⁵ης, 10 29.
[.]⁵ης, secretary for Kekropis *ca.*
398—390, 11 4.
[.]⁵ης, 10 271.
[.]⁵ων, 10 54.
[.]⁵ος, actor *ca.* 252/1(?), 22 3.
[.]⁵ος Ἰφικράτου[ς Ῥαμνοῦσιος], ephebos
in 253/2, 20 62.
[.]⁵ος, actor *ca.* 251/0(?), 22 11.
[.]⁵ος φάνης, 10 55.
[.]⁵ων, 10 77.
[.]⁶α — —, 10 230.
[.]⁶δης, 10 3.
[.]⁶εμος, councillor (ἐπιστάτης) of Kekropis
ca. 398—390, 11 5.
[.]⁶ιος, 10 56.
[.]⁶οκος, 10 74.
[.]⁶ος, 10 57.
[.]⁶ος, actor *ca.* 251/0(?), 22 13.
[.]⁶ρος, 10 272.
[.]⁶ων, 10 157.
[.]⁷ατος, 10 70.
[.]⁷ης, 10 69.
[.]⁷ιος, 10 30.
[.]⁷ης, 10 72.
[.]⁷ος, 10 160.
[.]⁷ος, 10 71.
[.]⁸ων, 10 249.
[.]⁸ος, 10 66.
[.]⁸ος, 10 67.
[.]⁹δης, 10 65.
[.]¹⁰ος, 10 61.

- [.¹¹. Νε]κάνδρου Ἀγκυλῆθεν, ὀπλο-
μάχης in 253/2, 20 34—35.
[.¹⁶.]πον Θριάσιος, chairman
of proedroi in 252/1, 20 4—5.
[.^{17(v)}.]μένον Εὐ[ωνυμεύς],
secretary in 247/6, 21 2.

- [— — —]νωχο — —, *ca.* 260 B.C., 20 63.
[— — —]ιος Φίλωνος Πο — — —, *ca.* 189/8, 26 2.
[— — —]μένης (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca.* 280 B.C., 21 2.
[— — —]πος (Θριάσιος), *ca.* 285 B.C., 20 5.
[— — —]της, archon *ca.* 189/8, 26 5.

II

PROPER NAMES OF PLACES, ETHNICS, DEMOTICS, TRIBES, GENE

- [Ἀ . . . νλ]ῆθεν, 20 42, 43.
Ἀγκυλῆθεν, see Ἀγκυλῆθεν.
Ἀργυλῆθεν, 1 76, 79, 12 9.
Ἀζημιεύς, 20 [9], 57.
Ἀθηναῖος: Ἀθηναῖοι, 8 19; Ἀθηναίων, 8 19—20,
[11 2, 9], 23 10, 26; Ἀθηναίσις, 1 2, [8 12, 17];
Ἀθηναίους, 8 22.
Ἀθμονεύς, 20 52; Ἀθμονέα, 18 33.
Ἀιαντίς: Ἀιαντίδος, 15 5, 20 61; Ἀιαντίδα, 15 11—12, 20.
Αἰθαλίδης, 1 8.
Ἀλαιεύς, 20 53, 54.
Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, 12 7, 23 6—7.
Ἀνακαιεύς, 20 8.
Ἀγκυλῆθεν, 20 35.
Ἀντιγονίς: Ἀντιγονίδος, [20 1, 39].
Ἀντιοχίς: Ἀντιοχίδος, 10 277, 13 1.
Ἀντισάρα: Ἀντισάραι (in Attica), 1 86.
Ἄρηος πάγος, 27 11.
Ἀφιδναῖος, 15 3, 25 3.
Ἀχαρνεύς, 1 6—7, 77, 78, 18 4; Ἀχαρνέως, 1 74;
Ἀχαρνέα, [20 33].
Ἀχερδούσιος, 20 58.

- Βαργυλιῆται, 6.
Βοιωτός: Βοιωτῶν, 23 11.
Βοττιαῖος: Βοττιαῖοι, [8 16]; Βοττιαίων, [8 24];
Βοττιαίσις, 8 12, [14].
Βουτιάδης, 1 76, 77.

Γαργήτιος, [20 41].

Δημητριάς: Δημητριάδος, [20 1, 44].

- Ἐλευσίνιος, 18 8, 20 56.
Ἐλευσίς: Ἐλευσῖνι, 27 9.
Ἐπικηφίσιος, 1 78—79, 20 50.
Ἐπταφυλαί: Ἐπταφυλῶν, 1 4, 57, 75, 2 5, 23—24, 26,
42—43.
Εὐρυσάκειον: Εὐρυσακείω, 1 36, 85, 15 33.
Εὐωνυμεύς, [21 2].
Ἡράκλειον: Ἡρακλείω, 1 84; (ἐπὶ Πορθμῶϊ) 1 16;
(ἐπὶ Σουνίου) 1 94.

- Θερμαῖοι, 5 4.
Θορόμιος, [20 7].
Θριάσιος, 16, 20 5.

- Ἰδυμῆς, usually spelled Ἰδυμῖς, 5 2.
Ἰπποθωντίς: Ἰπποθωντίδος, 20 55.

- Καλύδνιοι, 6.
Κεκροπίς, 11 3; Κεχροπίδος, 20 51.
Κεφαλῆθεν, 24 3, 26 3.
Κοίλη: [ἐκ Κοί]λης, 20 45; Κοίλει, 2 37; Κοίληι, 1 17.
Κολλυτεύς, 18 10.
Κόπρειος, 20 60.

- Λαμιεύς: Λαμιέων, 23 13, [14—15, 23].
Λαμπρεύς, 1 8, 20 6.
Λευκοροεύς, 20 7.

- Μαρωνῖται, 5 3.
Μελιτεύς, [12 11].
Μητροῶιον: Μητροῶιωι, 27 4.
Μόνδιοι, 6.
Μυρρινοῦσιος, 1 6, 7.

Οἰναῖοι (ἐξ Ἰκάρου), 5 5.

Οἰνηΐς: Οἰνηΐδος, 18 2, 20 48.

Οἶον: ἐξ Ο[ἶον], 20 59.

Παιανιεύς: Παιανιέα, 18 34.

Πανδιονίς: Πανδιονίδος, [17 3-4], 24 2.

Πειραιεύς, 18 30-31; Πειραιεῖ, 27 9.

Περειθοΐδης, 20 49.

Πιθεύς: Πιθεῖ, 14 4.

Πο - - -, 26 2.

Πορθμός: Πορθμῶ, 1 11, 16-17, 85.

Πραξιεργίδαι: [Πρα]ξιεργιδῶν, 12 4-5.

Πυργίλιον: Πυργιλίω (in Attica), 1 87.

Ῥαμνούσιος, 15 14, [20 62]; Ῥαμνουσίου, 17 3.

Σαλαμίνιος: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σαλαμινίων, 18 45.

Σαλαμίνιος: Σαλαμῖνοι (the gene), 1 25, 80; Σαλαμινίων, 1 97; (ἀπὸ Σουνίου) 1 70, 2 31, 40; (ἐξ

Ἑπταφυλῶν) 2 23, 25-26, 42; Σαλαμινίους, 1 22, 81-82; (ἀπὸ Σουνίου) 1 69; (ἐκ τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν) 1 74-75; Σαλαμινίους (ἀπὸ Σουνίου) 1 4, 2 19; (ἐκ τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν) 1 3.

Σημαχίδης, 2 7.

Σιάς: Σιάδι, [27 9].

Σουνιεύς, 2 7; Σουνιέως, 1 69; Σουνιέων, 2 4.

Σούνιον: Σουνίου, 1 4, 70, 95, 2 20, 31, 40.

Συα[γγελῆς], 6.

Συπαλήττιος: Συπαλήττιον, 20 34.

Τειθράσιος, 18 25.

[Τ]ε[ρμ]ερεῖς, 5 1.

Φρεάριος, [17 8], 23 3.

- - - - σιος (demonic), 24 5.

III

DEITIES, MONTHS, DRAMAS, FESTIVALS

Ἀγελᾶ, epithet of Athena, 1 90.

Ἀγλαυρός: Ἀγλαύρου, 1 12, 45.

Ἀθηνᾶ: Ἀθηνᾶς, 1 44; Ἀθηνᾶι, 1 88; Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος, 3; Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Σιυράδος, 1 52; Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Σιυράδος, 1 10; Ἀθηνᾶι Ἀγελᾶι, 1 90; Ἀθηνᾶι Σιυράδι, 1 93.

Ἀλκμήνη: Ἀλκμήνῃ, 1 85.

Ἀπατούρια: Ἀπατουρίους, 1 92.

Ἀπόλλων: Ἀπόλλωνι Πατρῶϊ, 1 89.

Ἀρτεμῖς: Ἀρτέμιδι, 1 90.

Ἄτλας(?): Ἄτλαν[τι](?), satyr-play, 22 14.

Βασίλη: Βασίλ[ης], 25 10.

Βοηδρομιών: Βοηδρομιῶνος, 1 90, 20 2-3, [21 2-3], 24 3; Βοηδρομιῶνα, 1 66-67.

Γαμηλιών: Γαμηλιῶνος, 18 4-5.

Μονόσια: Μονυσίων τῶν μεγάλων, 23 27.

Μόνυσος: Μονύσου, 18 19; Μονύσω, 18 13.

Ἑκατονβαιών: Ἑκατονβαιῶνος, 1 88.

Ἑλαφηβολιών: Ἑλαφηβολιῶνος, [25 3].

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πλήρωσις: πληρώσεως, 15 9.

ποιέω: ἐποιήσαντο, [20 17]; ποιησαμένων, 23 11.

ποίησις: ποιήσεως, [23 29].

πομπή: πομπῆς, 18 12; πομπήν, [25 13].

πράττω: ἔπραξεν, 18 14.

προεδρεύω: προεδρεύειν, 20 21—22.

πρόεδρος: πρόεδρων, [17 7], 18 6—7, 20 4, [21 4, 23 5, 24 4—5, 25 5—6]; προέδρους, [20 21, 23 19, 25 17].

προῖημα, 1 61.

προθυμέομαι: προθυμούμενος, [8 14—15].

πρόξενος, 11 1.

προσάγω: προσαγαγεῖν, 20 22.

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πρυτανεύω: ἐπρυτάνευε, [11 4].

πρύτανις: πρυτάνεις, [13 1].

σάξ: σάξας, 1 33.

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σήκωμα: σηκώματα, 27 6.

σέλος, 1 32, 33, 39; σέλου, 1 35.

σπουδή: σπουδήν, [20 16—17].

σταθμός: σταθμά, [27 1, 8, 15]; σταθμών, 27 14.

στέφανος: στεφάνου, 23 29—30; στεφάνω, 15 16, 18 27, 36, [19 3], 20 25, 31, [23 24]; στέφανον, [23 26—27].

στεφανός: ἐστεφάνωσεν, 18 18; στεφανῶσαι, 15 15, 18 27, 35, [19 2, 20 25, 30—31, 23 23]; στεφανωθέντες, [13 2].

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συνβάλλω, see συμβάλλω.

συνέδριον: συνεδρίου, 18 39—40, [19 5].

συνθήκη, see ξυνθήκη.

συνπρόεδρος, see συμπρόεδρος.

συντίθημι, see ξυντίθημι.

σωφροσύνη: σωφροσύνης, 20 25—26.

τάλαντον: ταλάντου, [27 6].

ταρτήμορον: ταρτημόρου, [27 7].

τάττω: τεταγμένων, [27 2].

τελευτάω: τελευτήσει (subj.), 1 13—14.

τέμενος, 2 11, 18; τεμένους, 2 8—9; τεμένει, 2 21, 25.

τιμάω: τιμήσει, 18 21.

τιμή: τιμάς, 1 82.

τοξότης: τοξότην, [20 35].

τραγωιδία: τραγωιδίαι (dat.), 22 [16], 19.

τραγωιδιοί: τραγωιδιοῖς, 23 27—28.

τρέπω: τρέψει (subj.), 1 96.

ὑπεύθυνος: ὑπεύθυνον, 1 96.

ὑπόδικος: ὑπόδικον, 1 96—97.

ὑς: ὕν, 1 88, 89, 91, 92.

φέρω: φέρουσιν, 2 27, 32.

φιλία: φιλίαν, 8 25.

φίλος: φίλοι, 8 17; φίλους, [8 18].

φιλοτιμέομαι: φιλοτιμῶνται, 15 23—24.

φιλοτιμία: φιλοτιμίας, 15 18—19, 18 25, 35, [19 2]; φιλοτιμίαν, [20 17].

φιλοτίμως: 18 13, [25 15].

φόρος, 6.

φρέαρ: φρέατος, 2 35.

φυλακή: φυλακάς, [24 8].

φυλάττω: φυλάξω, [8 14].

φυλέτης: φυλέται, 18 44.

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χειρόγραφον, [27 4].

χειροτονέω: χειροτονηθέντες, [25 11].

χοῖνιξ: χοίνικος, [27 7—8].

χοῖρος: χοῖρον, 1 86, 87, 89, 90, 91.

χοῦς: χόος, [27 7].

χοῦμα: χοῦμασιν, 8 20.

χορηματίζω: χορηματίζαι, [20 23, 23 20, 25 18].

χρόνος, 1 59—60; χρόνον, 1 9—10, 18 21.

χρυσός: χρυσῶν, 15 16, 18 27, 36, 23 24.

χωρίον, 26 3; χωρίον, 14 1; χωρία, 2 14—15; χωρίων, 2 29, 33, 38.

ψηφίζω: ἐψηφίσθαι, 1 31.

ψηφισμα, 15 27—28, 18 37, [19 3, 20 27], 27 [2], 13;

ψηφίσμασι, [20 19]; ψηφίσμασιν, 18 16.

ὠμός: ὠμά, 1 23—24.

ὠσκοφόρος: ὠσκοφόρων, 1 21; ὠσκοφόρους, 1 49.

ὠφελέω: ὠφελήσω, [8 19].



Painted Pinax. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

EXCAVATIONS ON THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS, 1937¹

PLATE I

The excavations on the north and northeast slopes of the Athenian Acropolis, which were begun by the American School in the winter of 1930–1931, were continued at intervals until the spring of 1934. Most of the objects discovered in these earlier campaigns have been published in *Hesperia*.² The upper slope, as far north as the περίπατος below the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, was investigated and partly cleared in these early campaigns, but a row of modern houses made further progress down the slope impossible (see general plan, Fig. 1). In the winter of 1935–1936 three of these houses at the western end of the row were purchased by the American School and forthwith demolished in order to clear the area for excavation, and several others have since been purchased and removed.

All the houses in the upper row were originally built by squatters from Anaphe, who settled here some fifty years ago. Many of the houses have since changed hands, but the district is still called, from the first settlers, Anaphiotika. Below these houses the slope was unoccupied until the arrival of the refugees from Asia Minor in 1922. In the confusion that then arose some twenty-five temporary wooden houses were built on the lower slope on territory previously expropriated for archaeological purposes. The resettling

¹ The excavations, carried on from March 8 to July 24, were financed partly by a grant from the general excavation funds of the American School and partly by a donation from Mr. Philip Allen of Walpole, Mass. To Mr. and Mrs. Allen, who made frequent visits to the excavations during their stay in Greece in the early part of the campaign, I wish to express the appreciation of the American School of Classical Studies and my own personal thanks for their generosity and interest in the work.

Assistance in the field work was rendered by Dr. Hazel Hansen, who was in charge of the prehistoric area from March 15 to April 17, and by Miss Dorothy Schierer who supervised the work in the underground passage from May 5 to June 16. The inventories were kept by Miss Margaret Hill and Mrs. L. R. Shero. Valuable assistance was also given for shorter periods by Miss Margaret MacVeagh and Mr. Paul Morgan, Jr.

To the Director of the School, Prof. Charles H. Morgan, and to the Excavation Staff of the Athenian Agora, especially the Director and Mrs. T. L. Shear, I am indebted for invaluable help throughout the campaign and for permission to refer for comparison to unpublished material from the excavations in the Athenian Agora.

The drawings and water-colors were made by Mr. Piet de Jong, and the plans for Figs. 1 and 5 by Mr. John Travlos. The photographs are by Hermann Wagner, except the one reproduced in Fig. 41 which was made by Mrs. C. H. Morgan.

Brief notices on the results of the excavations have appeared in *Illustrated London News*, August 28, 1937, and in *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 161–164. In addition to these general accounts the following articles have appeared: Oscar Broneer, "A Calyx-Krater by Exekias," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 469–486; and Hazel D. Hansen, "The Prehistoric Pottery on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937," *ibid.*, pp. 539–570.

² *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 31–55; II, 1933, pp. 329–417; IV, 1935, pp. 109–302.

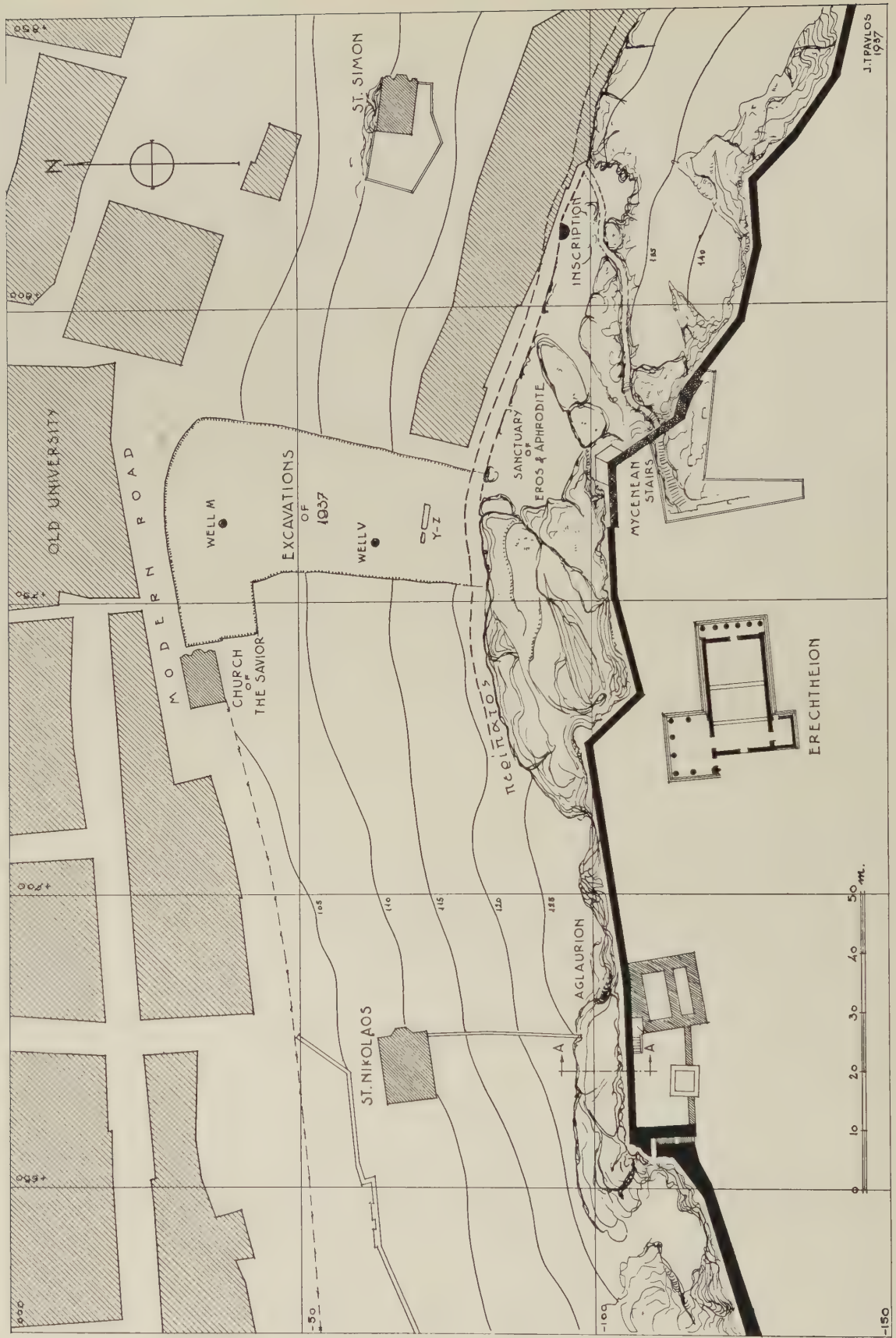


Fig. 1. North Slope of the Acropolis, General Plan

of the refugees in permanent quarters was undertaken by the Greek government shortly after their arrival, but on account of the immensity of this task the work was delayed, with the result that the temporary shelters erected by the refugees themselves came to assume permanent character. Finally in 1936, when the new Ministry of Tourism was established, an effort was made to remove all the unsightly wooden shacks still standing in the city, especially those in the vicinity of archaeological sites. By special request



Fig. 2. North Slope of the Acropolis at Beginning of Campaign 1937

of the American School of Classical Studies, the Ministry of Public Welfare, which has charge of resettling the refugees, removed all the wooden houses on the lower slope of the north side late in March 1937. This opened up the whole area from the upper row of houses to the modern road south of the old Capodistrian University. (See photograph in Fig. 2, taken during the demolition of the refugee houses.)

The aim of the excavations on the North Slope is threefold. In the first place an attempt is made to find solutions to some of the topographical questions connected with this section of ancient Athens. Numerous cult places are known to have existed all along

the slope, but the literary and epigraphical sources with regard to these are in most cases too meager to throw much light upon the cults concerned. New information can come only from fresh discoveries through excavation. The second objective of our work is to supplement the earlier excavations on the Acropolis itself. During heavy rains streams of water rush down the slopes carrying with them much archaeological material from above. A large number of potsherds, fragments of inscriptions and sculpture, architectural pieces, etc., belonging to monuments on the Acropolis, are mixed with the late fill which covers the slopes, and each campaign of excavation yields large quantities of this kind of material. In most cases the fragments are small and insignificant in themselves, but because of their connection with the known objects from the Acropolis they often assume an importance out of proportion to their size and condition. Finally, an important object of our work is the study of the scant remains of the city from prehistoric times which at last are receiving the attention they deserve. On the Acropolis itself such remains are few and difficult to interpret. In spite of the revolutionary advance in our knowledge of prehistoric Greece since the time of the Acropolis excavations, it is a fact that pitifully little is known from archaeological sources about the earliest periods in the existence of Athens. Some progress has been made to remedy this defect. The results of the excavations by the Italian School on the South Slope of the Acropolis and recent discoveries of prehistoric pottery in the American Zone of the Athenian Agora, as well as our excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis, have yielded much important material for the study of the early history of the city.

This threefold purpose of our excavation was pursued in the 1937 campaign, and some progress was made toward each objective. In the prehistoric field a small section containing stratified deposits from neolithic times to the end of the Bronze Age was excavated by Dr. Hazel Hansen. In this excavation, covering an area of only about twenty square metres, a great deal of pottery was obtained,¹ which has been published in an earlier number of *Hesperia*.² In addition to this exclusively prehistoric section, a considerable amount of prehistoric pottery was discovered in the main area of excavation, especially along its upper, *i.e.* southern, edge. Huge pieces of rock, which at one time must have broken off from the main mass of the Acropolis rock, now cover the southern part of this area. A few niches in the rock are the only traces left of classical occupation in this part of the slope. Insignificant remains of a Byzantine dwelling with a well preserved threshold constitute the earliest evidence of building activity, and in most places the modern fill extended down to stereo. At one point, close to the Byzantine threshold, an undisturbed prehistoric fill was discovered. Some Middle Helladic sherds were found directly below the Byzantine fill, but at a lower level the pottery appears to date chiefly from late neolithic times. No complete vases were discovered, and the sherds are so small that in no case can the shape of a vase be accurately determined. Part of the deposit extends under a large piece of rock, which must have broken away from the ledge above

¹ For the location of the area see figure 5 and cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pl. I, between points X, Y, and Z.

² *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 539-570.

subsequent to the period represented by the pottery but before the Byzantine house was constructed. Another large piece of rock (Fig. 5, A), now supported by a wall of masonry, has on one side a rectangular cutting approached by steps, no longer in a horizontal position, showing that the rock has moved since the steps were cut. It is probable that these and other large pieces of rock which now cover much of this section at one time formed the roof of a cavern where the early settlers found ready-made shelter.¹ In the



Fig. 3. Southern Edge of Excavated Area, Showing Niches in Rock

Italian excavations on the South Slope of the Acropolis further evidence was produced to show that the first inhabitants of Athens lived in caves.

The main area excavated in 1937 (Figs. 4 and 5), covering approximately 1500 square metres, extends in a narrow strip from the *περίπατος* on the south side as far north as the modern road above the old Capodistrian University of Athens. The length of this strip from north to south is *ca.* 57 m., and the average width from east to west is a little

¹ Originally the caves along the whole North Slope of the Acropolis were larger and more numerous than is now the case, cf. Kavvadias, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1897, p. 24.

over 25 m. All along the ledge of rock at the south edge of the excavation there are numerous niches cut in rock, the line of which gives us the approximate level of the *περίπατος*. Here and there along this path ascending rows of niches indicate that subsidiary paths led from this level to the various sanctuaries which were situated between the path and the Acropolis wall. An ascent of this kind in the form of a ramp leads from the northeast to the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite,¹ and a similar but somewhat



Fig. 4. View of Main Area, Looking South

steeper approach led up from the northwest at the point where our excavations began this season. Three small niches, which still retain some stucco on the inside, show the rising level of the ascent, and over against these there are clear traces of a rock-cut step on the other side of the ascending path (Fig. 3). The steepness of the ground at this point probably necessitated the building of stone steps instead of the earth ramp used on the northeast side. Below the niches and the rock-cut step and slightly farther

¹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 119, fig. 8.

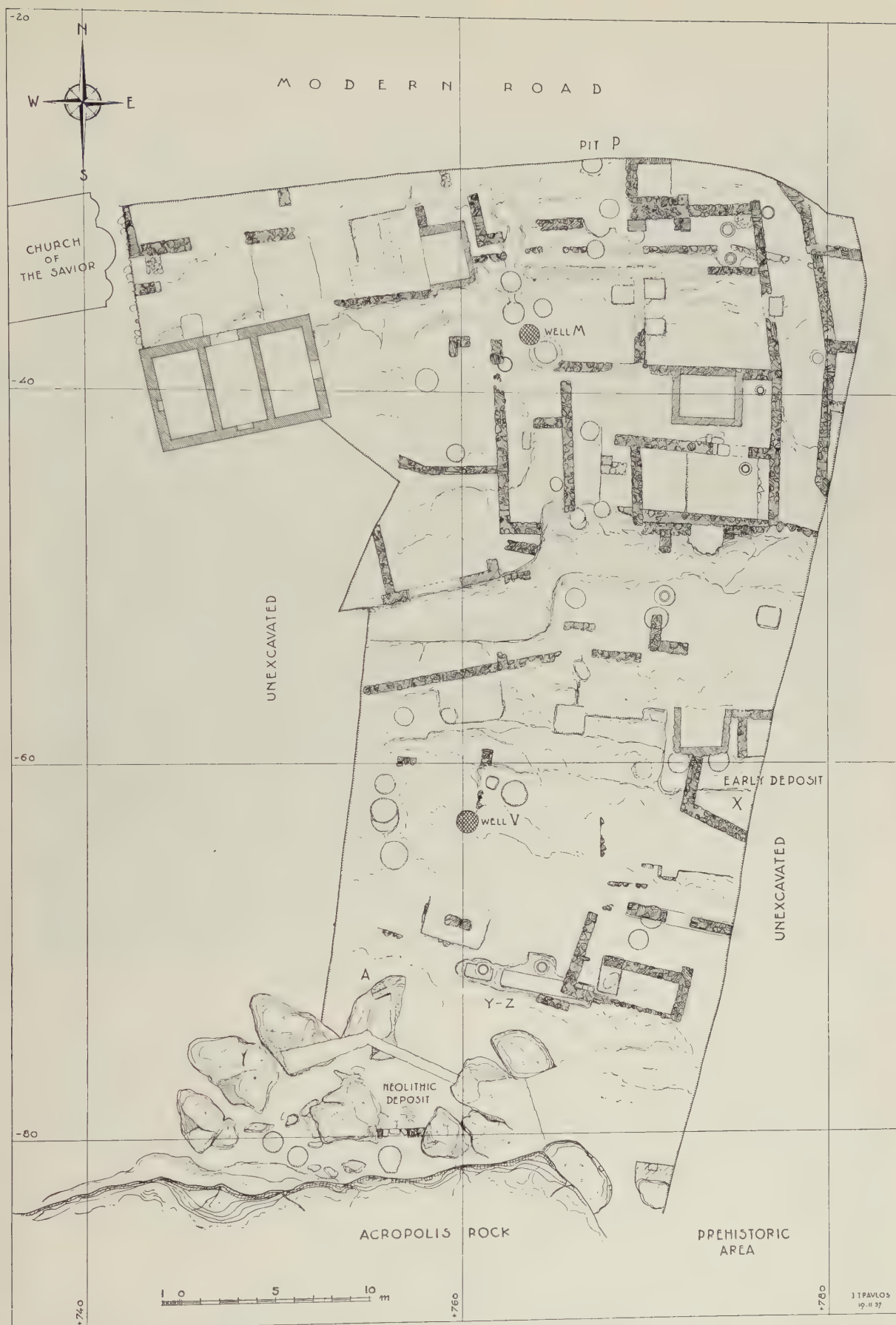


Fig. 5. Detail Plan of Area Cleared 1937

east there is a deep niche, the bottom of which is *ca.* 2 m. below the lowest of the three smaller niches. This large niche, which measures 0.62 m. in height, 0.44 m. in width at the bottom, and 0.25–0.40 m. in depth, indicates the approximate level of the *περίπατος*.¹ It is not unlikely that the level changed from time to time as indicated by the varying heights of the niches above the path.

In the rest of the excavated area there are no points of topographical interest. Not a single stone from a classical building was found in its original place, and there is evidence to show that the ground level has been lowered in most places since ancient times. The steepness of the slope, in which torrents of water have dug deep furrows, and the construction of cellars for mediaeval and modern houses have caused the disturbance and removal of practically all the accumulation of earth from earlier times, with the result that the fill, which covered the area before the excavations began, produced almost no stratigraphic evidence for the date of the objects which it contained.

Three points in the main area, an irregular cutting (Y–Z, Figs. 1 and 5) and two wells (M and V), are important because of the objects which they produced. These together with their contents will be discussed below. The numerous walls of late houses showing in the photograph (Fig. 4) and indicated on the plan (Fig. 5) are of no archaeological interest in themselves, but in many of them were found fragments of sculpture and inscriptions as well as some architectural pieces of importance. Because of this material the walls will be demolished, and the whole area can then be covered with earth for the planting of trees.

East of the Church of the Savior a narrow section (Fig. 6) was cleared along the modern road. The only building discovered in this area, in which were found pottery and other objects of modern times, seems to have been used for some industrial purpose. It is divided into three rooms of about equal size, and in the floor of one of these are two storage pits with channels leading into them. A deep layer of ash on the floors indicates that the building was destroyed by fire, probably as late as the beginning of the last century. To the north of this building, along the modern road, the fill was deeper and of a somewhat earlier date. Close to the east wall of the church were found some plates with green glaze and incised decoration (see p. 261, Fig. 87) which seem to date from the Turkish period.

In an earlier number of *Hesperia*² the view was expressed that the Arrephoroi made use of the underground stairway northwest of the Erechtheion on their secret mission

¹ I had formerly assumed on the basis of the niches farther east that the *περίπατος* ran at a much higher level at this point (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 122), and I tried to explain the accumulation of post-classical fill above the path by the assumption that a Venetian mine was dug here in 1687. I was misled by the inaccurate rendering of this territory on military sketches made for the occasion, especially those published in Laborde, *Athènes aux XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e Siècles*, II, pls. opp. pp. 150, 172, and Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, opp. p. 308. My mistake was kindly pointed out to me in a private letter by Prof. J. M. Paton, who showed that the mine referred to was located farther west. The discovery of the large niche at the lower level has solved the difficulty satisfactorily.

² *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 49 ff.

to the Peribolos of Aphrodite. The narrow cleft in the rock where this stairway was built had never been thoroughly investigated,¹ and it seemed desirable in view of its connection with the Eros-Aphrodite Sanctuary to examine the fill to the bottom of the cleft. This undertaking proved to be a lengthy one with most unexpected results. Below the modern and mediaeval accumulation of no great depth a mixed fill containing black-figured, geometric and Mycenaean sherds extended to a depth of *ca.* 3 m. Farther down



Fig. 6. Area East of Church of the Savior, Showing Walls of Late Buildings

the sherds are mostly Mycenaean with a few geometric fragments appearing from time to time to a depth of *ca.* 6 m. The pottery discovered below this level is practically all Mycenaean, with a negligible number of small sherds of later periods, probably washed down during heavy rains. A hole dug into the Mycenaean fill reached a depth of nearly 20 m., and at the bottom were discovered well preserved flights of steps constructed of

¹ It was partly cleared by Kavvadias, who published a plan and drawings of the cuttings for the steps (*Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1897, pp. 26–31), but the deep fill at the bottom of the cleft has never been studied before.

flat stones laid in a mortar of clay (Fig. 7). The difficulty of working in the limited area at the bottom of this deep trench and the danger from the overhanging mass of loose fill made it necessary to cease operations here for the season. It is likely that the stairway led down into some subterranean water supply analogous to the Persea at Mycenae, but the indications are that it will continue to a considerably greater depth



Fig. 7. Underground Passage Northwest of the Erechtheion, Showing Mycenaean Stairway

than that reached during the present campaign. Inasmuch as the work in this place will be continued in 1938, a description of the whole underground passage will be postponed until it has been entirely cleared.

THE CUTTING Y-Z

The three places referred to above as cutting Y-Z, and wells M and V, are the only points in the main area in which classical fill was found undisturbed. The objects from

these places constitute three definitely closed groups, and it seems desirable to present the material from each place separately.

The first of these places is a shallow cutting in stereo (marked Y-Z on the plans, Figs. 1 and 5) of irregular shape and uneven depth (Fig. 8). It measures *ca.* 6.75 m. from east to west and slightly more than 1 m. from north to south. At the east end it slopes gradually with a rough approximation of steps, and at the west end there is a small oval depression, 1.30×0.75 m., which appears like the beginning of a shaft into an underground reservoir, with small footholds cut on either side. The bottom of the shaft is only 0.60 m. lower than that of the main cutting. At the east end of the cutting and at right angles to it there is a shallower depression in stereo (seen in the foreground in Fig. 8), measuring 2.10×1.10 m., and only *ca.* 0.30 m. in depth. Both cuttings were filled up toward the end of the sixth century B.C. At a late period, probably in Turkish times, two storage pits were sunk into the larger cutting (visible in Fig. 8 to the right of the main cutting). Although some of the sixth century fill was then removed, the rest of it remained uncontaminated by the late intrusion. It is obvious that the early cutting was filled up at one time, and the nature of the pottery shows that this took place shortly before the end of the sixth century B.C. The latest of the datable sherds are some fragments of a red-figured kylix shown in Fig. 9. The rest of the pottery is black-figured or undecorated.



Fig. 8. The Cutting Y-Z, Looking West

1. (A.P. 911) Fig. 9. Several fragments of a red-figured kylix. Of the decoration is preserved most of the figure of an ithyphallic satyr advancing to the right toward a maenad. The tail of the satyr is added in a purplish brown color applied over the black glaze. Part of the figure, from neck to waist, right foot, and end of tail are missing. The black glaze has peeled off in several places close to the figure so as to render the details, especially of the face, very indistinct. Of the maenad only the feet and lower part of her drapery are preserved. Another small fragment

probably from the other side of the vase preserves part of a wing and part of a palmette. Several fragments have parts of the design, consisting of buds and tendrils, round the handles. Relief lines for the contours are clearly visible.

The drawing is rather careless with few interior details added. The kylix was painted by some second-rate artist of the Epictetan circle. It has many points of similarity with the works of the Euergides painter, especially the awkward rendering



Fig. 9. Fragments of Red-figured Kylix from Y-Z

of the hands,¹ but on the basis of the small remaining fragments it is difficult to assign it to a definite painter. The date is *ca.* 510 B.C.

2. (A.P. 942) Fig. 10. Loutrophoros Hydria.² Height, 0.297 m. In the centre of the main zone two female figures stand facing each other, each holding a large wreath.

¹ Cf. Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases*, pl. 3; Beazley, *J.H.S.*, XXXIII, 1913, p. 351, fig. 3.

² For the shape see Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, pp. 5-6; and Graef-Langlotz, I, Nos. 1139-1236.



Fig. 10. Loutrophoros Hydria from Y-Z

Their hands and arms are concealed beneath their cloaks, which hang like shawls from the shoulders. The cloak of the left figure is purple with a border of dots and incised lines at the bottom, and her chiton, edged with a simple border of incised lines, is black and decorated with small rosettes. The figure on the right wears drapery with the same patterns in the reverse order, the chiton of the one resembling the cloak of the other. A purple stripe along the front edge of the second woman's cloak is probably intended to indicate the lining. Below each of the horizontal handles is a panther with long neck and head bent back so as to come directly beneath the handle. In the rear of the main zone are two male figures facing away from each other, and between them, below the vertical handle, is the figure of a crane(?). The neck of the vase is decorated with a procession of four female figures to right, each carrying wreaths. They resemble the women in the lower zone but the patterns of their drapery vary with each figure.¹ These stereotyped figures are probably conceived of as taking part in the wedding ceremony for which the vase was intended.

The rim is decorated with a simple meander in white paint,² and on all the handles are single rows of heart-shaped leaves, likewise in white. The decoration on the shoulder consists of a simple tongue pattern in black, and underneath the main zone are tall rays, while blobs and rosettes are used as fillers between the figures.



Fig. 11. Black-figured Pitcher from Y-Z

¹ Cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 68, no. 1155. A loutrophoros from the excavations in the Athenian Agora of the same shape as ours, but larger, and with similar decoration, and fragments of a second vase of the same type will be published by Eugene Vanderpool in the next number of *Hesperia*. For the pose of the figures and the form of the drapery cf. amphora from Daphnae, Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zeichn.*, III, pl. 32, no. 142.

² This is the common type of decoration on the rim of this kind of vase, cf. Graef-Langlotz, p. 128.

The symmetrical grouping of the figures on the body of the vase, as contrasted with the less formal arrangement on the neck, gives a structural unity to the decoration which is not vitiated by the repetition of almost identical figures in the two zones. The excellent preservation of the white and purple, contrasting vividly with the black against the red color of the clay, and the crisp rendering of the quaint figures combine to make this vase one of the finest examples of its kind.

3. (A.P.1047) Fig.11. Black-figured pitcher. Height, 0.215 m. The pitcher is painted black except for the panel in front reserved for the decoration. Below this panel is a purple line, and on the neck is a double row of ivy leaves below a meander pattern. The reserved part probably included the rim, which may have been decorated with a checker pattern. Only a small piece of the rim is preserved at the back; the rest has been restored in plaster.

Dionysos is seated on a folding chair to the left of the centre, holding a drinking horn in his left hand. A vine rising from behind encircles his head and fills some of the vacant space in the panel. He wears a wreath with alternating black and purple parts, and a cloak decorated with triple dots of white color, purple dots and stripes. A triangular white space below his neck was probably intended to indicate an undergarment. On the right side is the figure of Athena seated on a folding chair and facing Dionysos. She has a helmet with high crest, spear, and shield. Her garment is decorated like that of Dionysos. On the shield is a bent leg painted in white, and purple dots around the rim. Athena's face and grotesquely elongated feet are also painted white. Behind the two deities on either side stands a satyr. The one on the left is dancing, the other approaches Athena with a gesture which seems to indicate



Fig. 12. Black-figured Amphora from Y-Z

surprise. The figures are badly drawn, but the effect of the whole picture is pleasing. White and purple colors are very well preserved.

4. (A.P. 948) Fig. 12. Amphora. Height, 0.26 m.; diam., 0.16 m. Most of the vase is covered with a mottled red and black glaze. Above the base is a reserved band with a pattern of rays, and on either side of the body is a reserved panel.

The clay is brick red and coarse, and seems to have contained some particles of limestone which turned to lime in the firing and caused the surface to flake off. Moreover, the vase was not properly polished before the glaze was applied; the marks of turning are clearly visible in many places.

A. A nude youth with a spear in his right hand and some indistinct object in the left is standing in the centre. He appears to be walking to the right, but is looking in the opposite direction. On either side of him is a draped figure holding a spear. Above is a row of heart-shaped leaves.

B. Fig. 12. A youthful warrior with his chlamys over his left arm and his spear in his right hand advances to the right, looking back. He, too, seems to have held something in his left hand, but it may be merely the poor rendering of the hand that gives this effect. In front and behind are draped figures holding spears, almost identical with the flanking figures on the opposite side.



Fig. 13. Black-figured Lekythos from Y—Z

5. (A.P. 941) Fig. 13. Lekythos. Height from foot to shoulder, 0.097 m.; diam., 0.062 m. The neck and most of the shoulder are missing. In the centre of the scene is a horse to left and behind him stands a figure, apparently female, wearing an outer cloak with a border of white dots and a purple stripe. She wears a fillet or wreath on her head and in her hand she appears to hold the bridle of the horse. On either side of her stands a warrior to left in full armor, with spear, helmet, and large circular shield. Purple and white are used freely for accessories. On the shoulder of the vase are figures of a cock and heart-shaped leaves. The bottom is unglazed and perforated in the centre.¹

¹ See G. P. Oeconomus, "De profisionum receptaculis sepuleralibus," pp. 22 ff.

6. (A.P. 950) Fig. 14. Part of lekythos. On the front is a scene of a warrior to left between two draped figures facing each other. The drawing is very poor.
7. (A.P. 958) Fig. 14. Fragment of a black-figured lekythos, preserving the lower part of two figures. The scene seems to have consisted of a warrior between two draped figures. Very careless work.

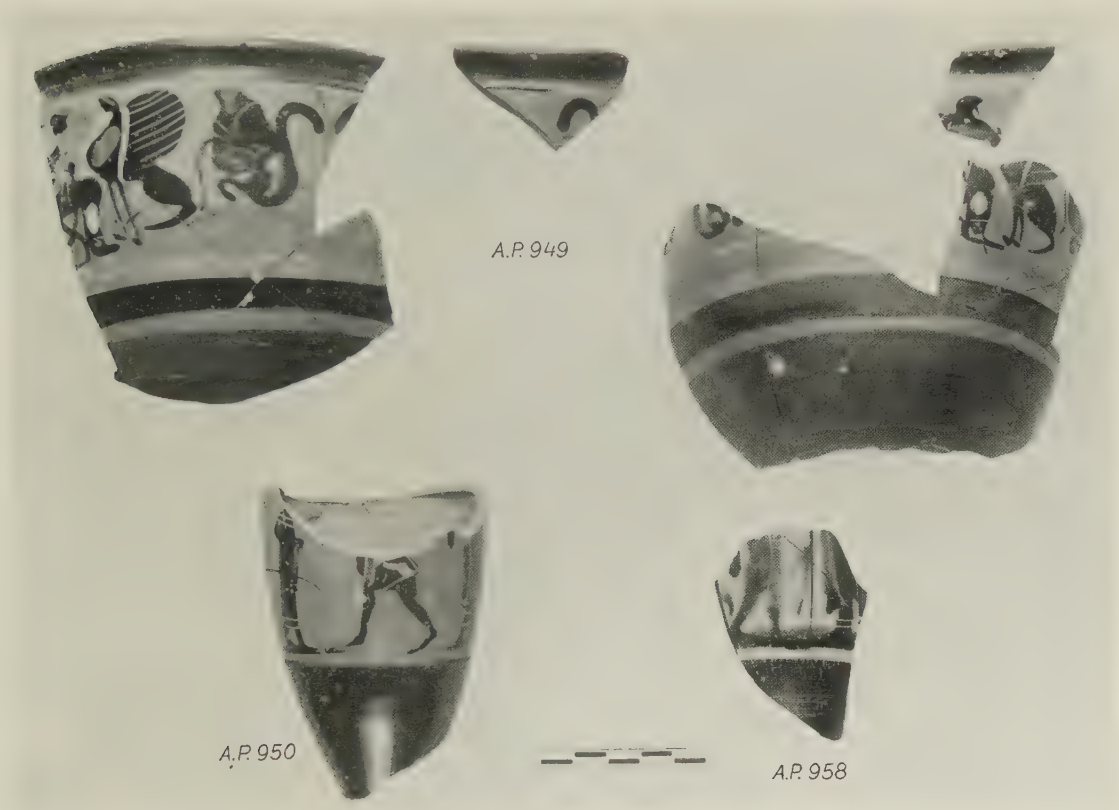


Fig. 14. Fragments of Three Black-figured Vases from Y—Z

8. (A.P. 949) Fig. 14. Fragments of a black-figured skyphos with moulded lip. The glaze varies between black and red. Of the decoration is preserved a draped figure to right seated on a folding chair, and facing him is a seated sphinx. There seems to be room for another sphinx behind the seated figure. The scene on the other side was similar. On either side of the handles were palmettes. Red and white paint and incised lines were used for accessories.

This is a striking example of the incredibly careless vase-painting produced in Athens during the period of the finest archaic art.

9. (A.P. 990) Fig. 15. Fragment of plate. On the rim is a double row of elongated leaves. In the centre within a border of purple lines and black dots is preserved

the lower part of a draped figure to right. In the exergue below is a crude palmette. The fabric is heavy and rather coarse.

10. (A.P. 970) Fig. 15. Two fragments of a plate of very fine ware. The rim both above and below has several raised and sunk bands, further accentuated by being reserved. The smaller fragment from the decorated panel in the centre preserves part of a running dog to right. Details are rendered by incised lines and a liberal

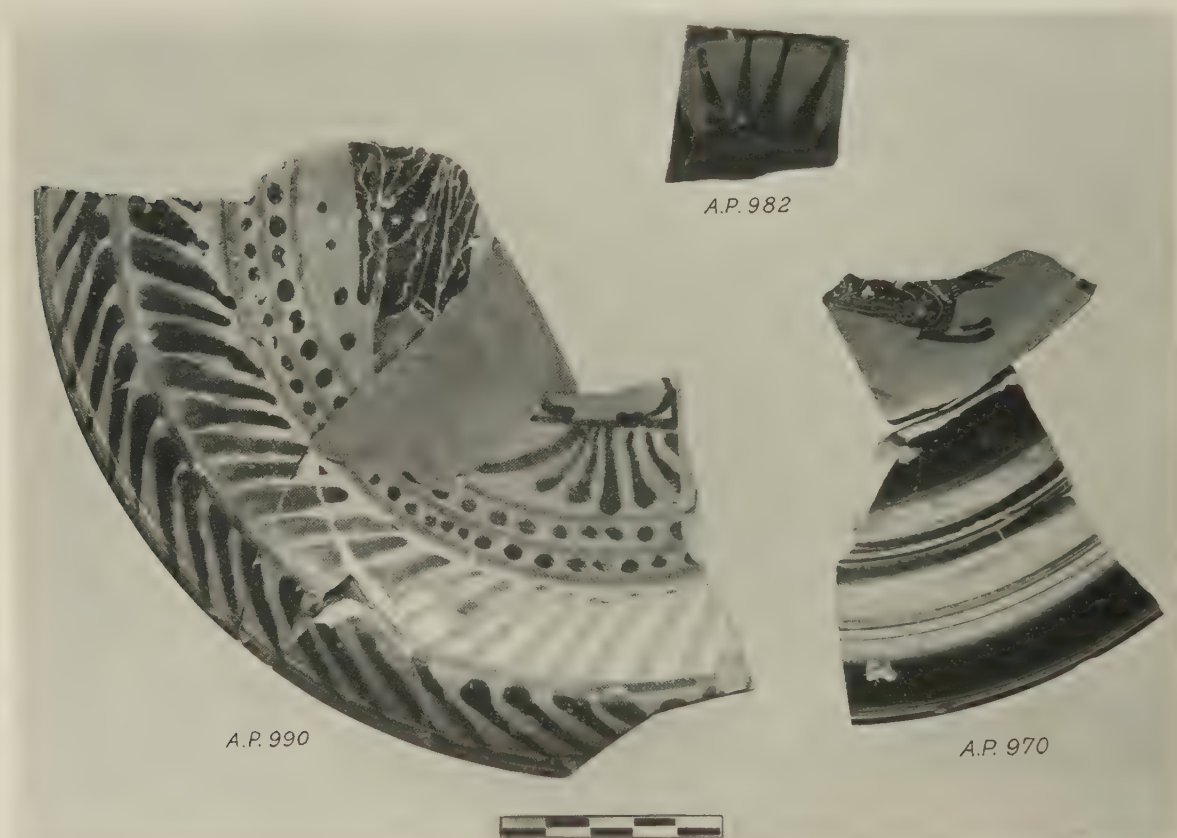


Fig. 15. Fragments of Plates and Lekanis Cover from Y-Z

use of white and purple. The two fragments do not join, but there is little doubt that they belong to the same plate.

11. (A.P. 982) Fig. 15. Sherd from middle part of lekanis cover with ray pattern and purple line. The under side is covered with a black and brown glaze and decorated with purple lines.
12. (A.P. 969) Fig. 16. Diam., 0.25 m. Fragments of lid with double row of heart-shaped leaves on the rim and rays in the centre within a reserved band. The

under side, unglazed, is provided with a substantial flange at the inner edge of the flat rim. The clay and glaze are of excellent quality.

13. (A.P. 983) Fig. 17. Sherd of Protocorinthian ware with imbricated pattern made with deeply incised lines. Below are one white and three purple lines. Light buff clay. (The sherd is turned upside down in the photograph.)
14. (A.P. 972) Fig. 17. Fragment of a black-figured lekythos on which are preserved parts of two figures facing each other.
15. (A.P. 1042) Fig. 17. Sherd of black-figured skyphos with a ray pattern at the foot and the lower parts of three draped human figures above.
16. (A.P. 995) Fig. 17. Small fragment of lekythos with figure of Herakles wearing the lion's skin. Accessories are added in purple color and incisions.
17. (A.P. 1046) Fig. 17. Small fragment of black-figured lekythos with part of warrior to right and traces of two other figures.
18. (A.P. 971) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with part of a shield preserved. The rim is purple and the design on the shield is white.
19. (A.P. 967) Fig. 17. Tiny black-figured sherd with head of ram to right. The large curving horns are painted white, the neck is purple.
20. (A.P. 981) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with upper part of male figure to right holding a spear. In front is part of another figure.
21. (A.P. 964) Fig. 17. Sherd from interior of cup with figure of gorgoneion. The teeth are rendered in white, the tongue is purple.
22. (A.P. 966) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd from interior of cup. One foot and part of drapery of female figure are preserved.
23. (A.P. 988) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with head of lion. Dark purple paint is used for the mane.
24. (A.P. 994) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with figure of warrior wearing breastplate and holding large shield and spear. Decorations on shield and breastplate are added with a creamy white paint and incised lines, and the sword belt seems to have been purple.
25. (A.P. 978) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd of open vase with left foot and part of drapery of figure to right.



Fig. 16. Fragments of Large Lid from Y—Z



Fig. 17. Small Fragments of Pottery from Y—Z

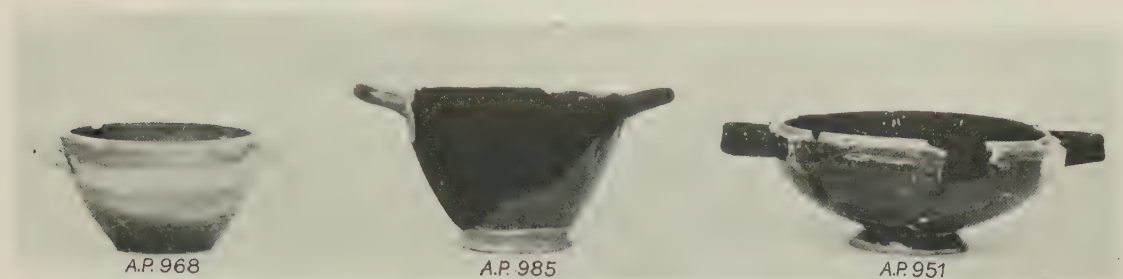


Fig. 18. Three Plain Vases from Y-Z

26. (A.P. 1045) Fig. 17. Black-figured sherd with remains of figured decoration, probably part of sphinx.
27. (A.P. 968) Fig. 18. Height, 0.056 m.; diam., 0.097 m. Skyphos with flat rim projecting slightly toward the outside. At the level of the handle is a reserved band and on the rim are alternating painted and unpainted sections. The bottom is flat and unpainted. The glaze varies between red and dark brown. A similar vase was discovered in well M (see p. 216, Fig. 49, A.P. 1086).
28. (A.P. 985) Fig. 18. Height, 0.077 m.; diam., 0.108 m. Fragments of black painted skyphos with a purple band just above the base applied directly on the clay, and a narrow line of purple below the handles applied over the black glaze.
29. (A.P. 951) Fig. 18. Height, 0.064 m.; diam., 0.15 m. Shallow lekanis with flange for the lid. On the inside are two double lines in purple color applied on the black glaze which covers the vase.
30. (A.P. 993) Fig. 19. Height, 0.15 m.; diam., *ca.* 0.26 m. Part of bowl with broad, flat rim and horizontal handle turned up so as to be joined to outer edge of rim. There are bands of brown glaze around the middle and on the base, and the whole inside is covered with a dark brown glaze.
31. (A.P. 947) Fig. 20. Amphora. Height, 0.34 m.; diam., 0.31 m. The clay is rather fine, of a reddish buff color. Decorations in reddish brown consist of horizontal bands on body, neck, and rim, double loops with crosses on the shoulders, and zigzags on the neck. The outside of the handles is covered with similar glaze. Much of the vase, including the whole base, is restored in plaster.



Fig. 19. Part of Bowl of Household Ware from Y-Z



A.P. 947

Fig. 20. Large Amphora with Graffiti from Y-Z

An inscription in two lines is incised on the shoulder and body, but some of the letters are lost. The letters vary in height between 0.015 and 0.06 m.

- Line 1. **ΑΛΙΣΙΚΑΕΣ** **ΕΥΡΥΚΑΣ**
Ἀλίσικαες *Εὐρύκ(λ)(ε)ς*
- Line 2. **Κ** - - - *ca.* 12 letters - - - **ΚΙΕΣΔΟΚΕΝΛΑΦΙΛΙΔΕΙ**
ΚΑΒΑΡΥΝΟΣ
Κ - - - - - *κλες δοκῆν Ἀαφιλίδει*
Καβ(β)αρύνος

Translation: "Laphilides thinks that Agasikles, Eurykles, K - - - and - - - - kles are utterly dull-witted."

The first line contains two names in the nominative case, but the second name seems to be misspelled. At the beginning of the second line there were probably two names in the nominative case, followed by the infinitive *δοκεῖν*, and a third name in the dative. The letter following the name *Λαφιλίδει* was written as an *alpha* and later changed to *kappa*, or vice versa. The rest of the letters are perfectly clear, but the meaning is puzzling. The most plausible reading is *καβ(β)αρίνος*.



Fig. 21. Large Amphora from Y—Z (left), and Similar Vase from Main Area

The word *βαρίνος* seems to be otherwise unknown, but parallel formations, such as *βαρύφρων*, *βαρύνχοος*, occur. The preposition *κατά* joined to the word *βαρίνος* here has an intensive force as in *κατάδηλος*, *καταφανής*, *κατάρατος*, *κατάπλεος*, etc. The abbreviated form of *κατά* occurs in similar formations in Doric dialects.¹ The infinitive *δοκεῖν* is peculiar in this sentence. If all the names in the nominative were considered as the subject, the form ought to be *δοκοῦσι*. Possibly this is some conversational use of the infinitive which does not occur in literature.

The habit on the part of the ancient Athenians of recording on their household ware whatever feelings they had about their neighbors is well attested by graffiti

¹ E. g. the Doric form of *καταβαίνω* is *καβαίνω*; see R. Kühner, *Ausf. Grammatik d. gr. Sprache*, I, p. 179, 4.

found in the excavations in the Agora.¹ Possibly the vases inscribed with these sentiments were filled with wine or some other product and presented as a gesture of contempt.

The decoration on the vase is most unusual. Fortunately the contents of the cutting in which the pieces were found can be dated with accuracy to the second half of the sixth century B.C. (see p. 171), and this date is further indicated by the letter forms. The double loop pattern without the crosses appears on vases of orientalizing ware from Delos,² and Rhodes,³ and on sherds from Olynthos, dating from the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.⁴ Although the decorative motifs,



Fig. 22. Fragments of Pithos from Y Z

simple as they are, may have been borrowed from non-Attic sources, the clay and glaze is so similar to that of other household ware from Athens (cf. No. 30 above) that there seems to be no good reason for doubting its Attic origin.

32. (A.P. 1048) Fig. 21. Amphora. Height, 0.47 m.; greatest diam., 0.41 m. Pale buff clay. Coarse pot put together of numerous small fragments. On the body is a series of horizontal lines in brown paint at approximately regular intervals. The amphora shown on the right in figure 21 was found at the east edge of the main

¹ See L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 346 ff.; and T. L. Shear, *ibid.*, p. 36.

² Dugas and Rhomaïos, *Delos*, XVII, pl. X, nos. 7 and 21.

³ Clara Rhodes, IV, pp. 128, fig. 121; 193, fig. 201; 254, fig. 276; 335, fig. 371.

⁴ G. Mylonas, *Olynthos*, V, pl. 41, P. 81.

area together with sherds of the black-figure period. Similar vases have been discovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora,¹ and recently several amphoras of approximately the same size with similar decorations were discovered in a sixth century well in the Agora at Corinth.

33. (A.P. 991 + 992) Fig. 22. Several fragments of a pithos with at least two bands of incised lines and circles. For a discussion of the decoration see p. 221, Fig. 56 (A.P. 1127), and cf. fragments from well V, p. 198, Fig. 33, A.P. 1176.



Fig. 23. Poros Statuette from Y-Z

OTHER OBJECTS.

The only piece of sculpture from Y-Z (A.S. 162) is the small statuette² shown in Figs. 23, a and b, and 24. It is made of very soft stone, like hardened clay, of a light buff color. The head is missing, but the edge of the hair is preserved on the back. The greater part of the feet and part of the right hand are likewise broken away, and the

¹ These will be published by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool in the next number of this journal.

² Preserved height, 0.08 m.

surface is damaged in several places. There are slight traces of pink color preserved along the edges of the drapery.

The statuette represents a seated draped figure, apparently female. The hands are held on the knees, palm up, and in the left hand is a spherical object, like an apple. A similar object may have been held in the right hand. The feet are drawn back forming an acute angle at the knees, and the left foot is slightly advanced. The drapery consists of a chiton with a fringed border at the bottom and a plain fold between the knees;



Fig. 24. Poros Statuette. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

and an outer garment extending down to the edge of the chair, and forming an apronlike flap on the lap of the figure. With the exception of a broad fold or seam in front, representing the two edges of the himation, and a curved line below the left knee, the drapery is plain. At the lower edge it spreads and extends to the edge of the seat. Of the chair only the edges of the seat proper are represented. The lower part consists of a square plinth rather crudely carved. The throne may have been of some perishable material like wood into which the square plinth was inserted. In the bottom of the plinth is a hole, 0.04 m. deep and 0.009 m. in diameter, which may have fitted to a peg for fastening the figure to the base.

This statuette, probably earlier than any of the other seated figures from the Acropolis,¹ shows more clearly than they the influence from Ionia.² Its heavy proportions and the form of the drapery connect it very closely to the earliest among the Branchidai statues³

and the seated figure of Phileia from the Heraion on Samos.⁴ But there is a fundamental difference between the statuette and the figures of the Ionic school. The often repeated

¹ Among the statues from the Acropolis the one most nearly related stylistically to our statuette is No. 655 (Dickens, *Cat. of Acrop. Mus.*, I, p. 193; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pl. 125, 5), found northeast of the Erechtheum (Petersen, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 145). This is a seated marble figure measuring 0.285 m. in height. The description by Dickens of the Acropolis figure would be equally applicable to our statuette: "The appearance of the statuette is very archaic and rude, like the earliest Branchidai figures."

² See Hans Möbius, "Form und Bedeutung der sitzenden Gestalt," in *Ath. Mitt.*, XLI, 1916, pp. 119 ff.

³ *Br.-Br.*, 141, 142.

⁴ Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder*, p. 26, pls. 90-91.

tag that these figures "sit in their thrones as if they would never be able to rise" does not apply in the same degree to our statuette. The effect, aptly described by the above phrase, is obtained not only by the heavy drapery and by the pose of the figure, which makes it seem "all of a piece with the chair";¹ it is chiefly due to the position of the legs, and in this respect our statuette is more closely related to the early Attic school. In the Branchidai figures and in most seated statues of the Ionic school the angle of the knees is considerably more than a right angle, whereas in the Attic figures the legs are drawn back forming an acute angle at the knee. This is the position of the legs which a seated person has to assume before he can rise from the chair, and it is this position that gives the seated figures of the Attic school a less immobile effect. It is particularly pronounced in the Athena statue of Endoios, but may be observed in many others.² A second touch of naturalism, obtained by putting one foot slightly in front of the other, gives the springy effect especially prominent in the Athena statue. Both these elements are present in our statuette. Heavy and squat as it is, entirely submerged under the foldless drapery which almost obliterates the bodily form underneath, it nevertheless conveys the impression that the person seated in the chair is at least willing—if unable—to rise.

In view of the fact that none of the objects from the cutting can be shown to have come down from the Acropolis, it is not improbable that the figure under discussion was dedicated in one of the nearby sanctuaries on the North Slope. The object held in the hand, probably an apple, is an appropriate attribute of Aphrodite, and the nearness of her sanctuary to the place of finding adds probability to the suggestion that the seated figure represents the goddess. If this is correct, the statuette is the earliest object hitherto discovered which can be connected with her shrine.

Apart from the pottery and the statuette, few objects of interest came out of the fill in Y-Z. Two bronze vessels, a small pitcher and a bowl, are so completely oxidized that it would be inadvisable to subject them to any process of cleaning. A few pieces of terracotta figurines, one Mycenaean, and several small fragments of the primitive type, are of no importance. A more interesting object is the mould for a small head (A.F. 646), probably of the type applied to a flat plaque.³ Figure 25 shows the mould and a plaster cast made from it. A tiny fragment of an Egyptian vessel of a greenish buff paste (A.M. 219, Fig. 81) was discovered close to the bottom of the cutting. It seems to be part of a flask of the shape known as Menas flasks of later times. The fragment preserves part of the figure of a bird, outlined in black.

Six loom weights were found, four of which (A.W. 59, 60, 61, 68) are of the common pyramidal type. One of these (A.W. 68) has some small depressions in the top made with a pointed instrument while the clay was wet. One (A.W. 62) is almost brick-shaped, only slightly wider at the bottom than at the top, and a single specimen (A.W. 63) is conical.

¹ Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

² *Ibid.*, pl. 117, nos. 618, 620; and the figures of scribes on pl. 118.

³ Morgan, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 203, fig. 9.

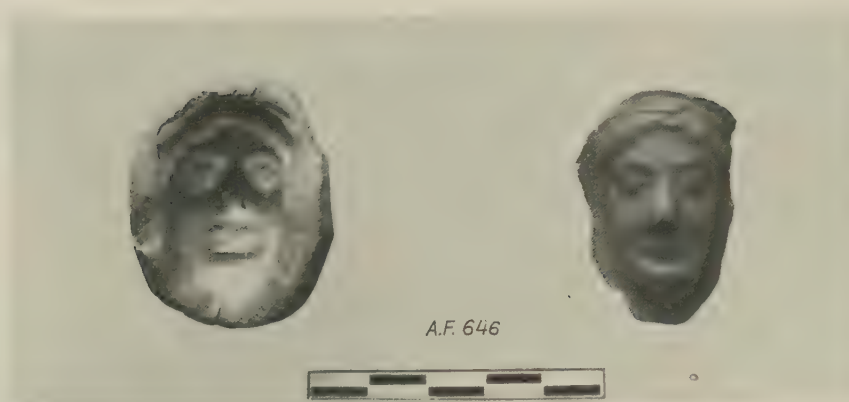


Fig. 25. Terracotta Mould and Plaster Cast of Head from Y-Z

WELL V

At a distance of 7 m. northwest of Y-Z was discovered a well (Fig. 5, V), having a diameter of 0.92 m. and reaching a depth of 17.80 m. In the sides are two rows of small steps. Although the well was sunk on the steep upper slope, it has an ample supply of water, standing to a depth of *ca.* 3 m., which does not give out during the dry season. The well seems to have been filled up at one time from the bottom to the very top. There was no accumulation at the bottom which can have been made while the well was still in use. Either it was filled up not long after it had been dug, or else it had been cleaned out shortly before the fill was thrown in.

For the dating of the fill the most important of the objects are two tiny pieces of red-figured cups, one with decorations round the handle (Fig. 27, A.P. 1015) similar to those on the cup from Y-Z (Fig. 9). The rest of the pottery from well V is black-figured, of the sixth century B.C.

POTTERY

1. (A.P. 1044) Black-figured calyx-krater of Exekias found at a depth of 17 to 17.80 m., and published in a separate article, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 469-486.
2. (A.P. 1008) Fig. 26. Three fragments of a plate of heavy fabric. In a panel to the left of the centre, a draped figure to right leans on a spear or staff. Facing him is the figure of Athena with a large shield leaning against her left side. Behind her is another draped figure also holding a spear or staff. The top of the head of the figure on the extreme right is preserved on a small fragment from the upper part of the plate. A checker pattern fills the spaces above and below the panel with the figured decoration.¹ The reverse is painted in bands of poor black glaze which tends to peel off.

¹ For a similar plate cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 99, nō. 2428, a b.

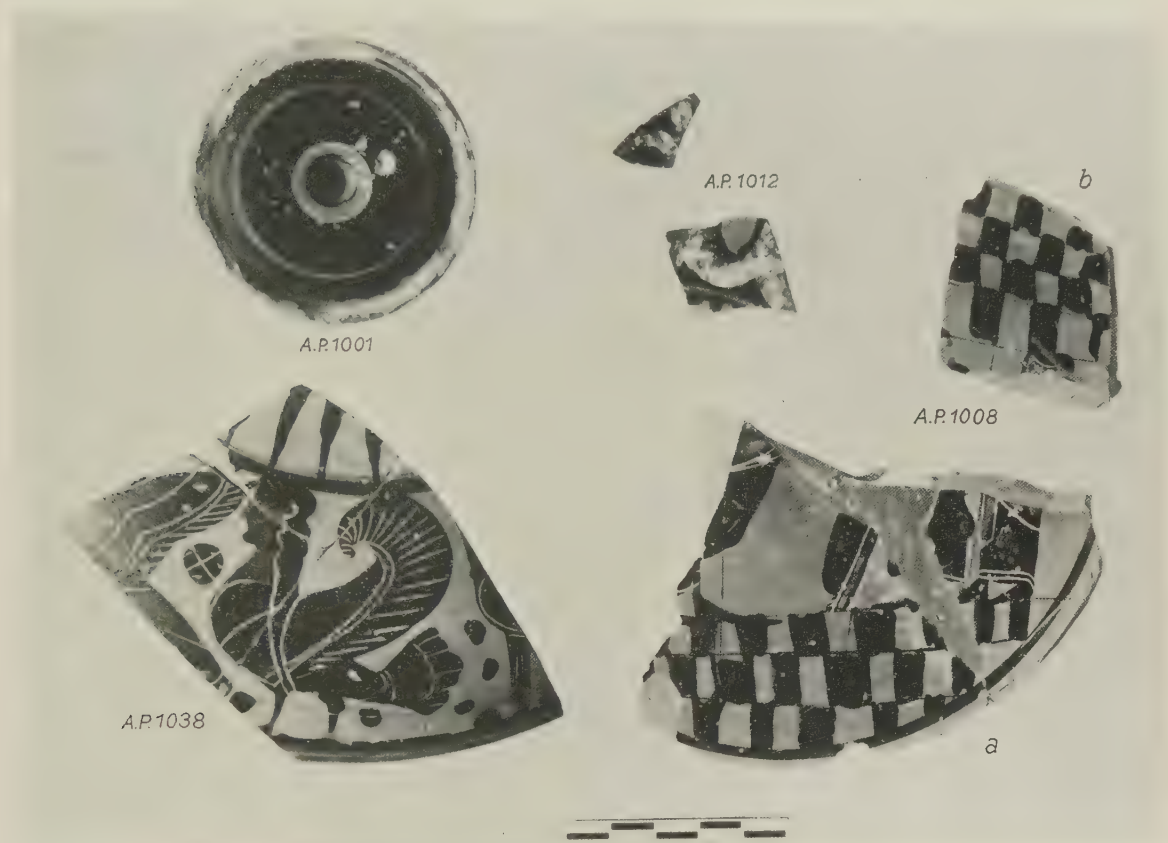


Fig. 26. Fragments of Black-figured Pottery from Well V

The three pieces came from different depths in the well, one at the very top before the well shaft had begun to appear, a second at a depth of 2.50 m., and a third at 7.25 m. The discovery of these three pieces at greatly varying depths strengthens the conclusion, drawn from the homogeneity of the fill, that the whole well was filled up at one time (see p. 195, No. 22).

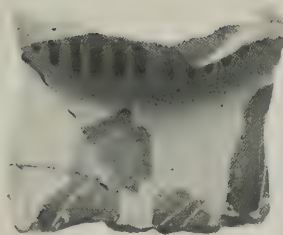
3. (A.P. 1038) Fig. 26. Lid decorated on top with a row of sirens and sphinxes to left. Rosettes and small blobs are used as fillers, and round the knob in the centre is a pattern of rays. The inside is covered with black glaze, over which were applied two lines in red.
4. (A.P. 1001) Fig. 26. Handle of lid. Diam., 0.062 m. The outer edge is raised and in the centre is a deep conical depression. The edge of the rim and a ring round the depression are reserved, and there is a band of purple on the top.
5. (A.P. 1041) Fig. 27. Fragment of black-figured oinochoe with reserved panel decorated with figures. Only rear part of horse and left leg of man to right remain. The glaze

is mottled red and black, and below the decorated panel is a purple line encircling the vase.

6. (A.P. 998) Fig. 27. Small fragment of black-figured lekythos with rays at the bottom and animal's foot above.
7. (A.P. 1004) Fig. 27. Fragment of pitcher with a tongue pattern on the neck. Below are parts of two figures to right, probably sphinxes. Purple is used for the headgear of one figure and the wing of the other. Very careless work. The largest fragment came from a depth of 2-3 m.; but other pieces were found 5 m. deeper. Cf. No. 2 for a similar occurrence of fragments of the same vase found at different levels.
8. (A.P. 1017) Fig. 27. Fragment from neck and shoulder of Panathenaic amphora. Of the decoration are preserved a bit of the palmette design on the neck, some of the tongue pattern on the shoulder, and at the lower edge the face of a man to right. At the base of the neck is a raised line. Purple is used for the fillet round the man's hair, for the tongue pattern, and for narrow lines at the edges of the black band on the shoulder.
9. (A.P. 1010) Fig. 27. Fragment of large black-figured vase. Part of chariot scene; the hind legs of the horses, the pole and traces, and part of the guard of the chariot are preserved. Between the horses and the chariot the whole space is filled in with black glaze. The horse on the right seems to have been painted white, but the color has disappeared, leaving a dull black surface which stands out against the shiny glaze of the background. Purple is used on the pole and on the guard of the chariot. The inside is painted dark brown.
10. (A.P. 1037) Fig. 27. Fragment of small black-figured skyphos. The lower part is painted black with a reserved band. Above is a decorated frieze, from the figures of which are preserved the lower part of a draped human figure to left and the rear part of a small sphinx, also to left. The inside is covered with black glaze.
11. (A.P. 1018) Fig. 27. Small fragment of large vase preserving one leg and part of the cloak of a figure walking with long strides to the right. The surface is much worn.
12. (A.P. 1020) Fig. 27. Fragment of lekythos with a checker pattern and a double row of small leaves on white ground. There are also traces of a purple line at the bottom.
13. (A.P. 997) Fig. 27. Black-figured sherd. Above a band with checker pattern is the right foot of a figure to right. Behind are preserved the letters - - - ΟΣ. Below is part of animal's head(?).
14. (A.P. 1039) Fig. 27. Diam. at top, 0.065 m. Fragments of small black-figured skyphos. Below the edge on either side is a pair of sphinxes facing each other. Very careless work. The glaze is red, shifting to dark brown and black.



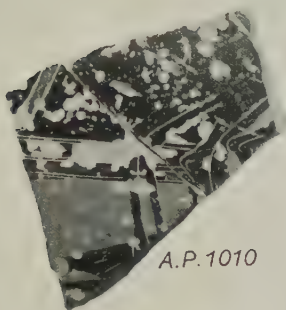
A.P. 1041



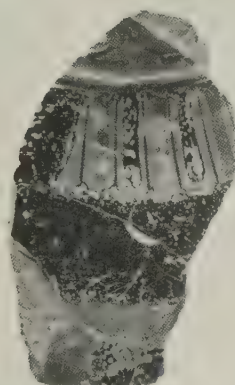
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A.P. 998



A.P. 1010



A.P. 1017



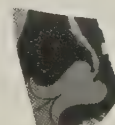
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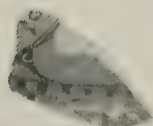
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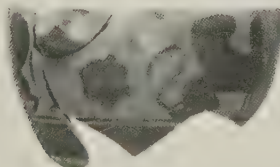
A.P. 1020



A.P. 1015



A.P. 997



A.P. 1039



A.P. 1022



Fig. 27. Small Fragments of Pottery from Well V

15. (A.P. 1019) Fig. 28. Volute from handle of volute krater, decorated with a double row of heart-shaped leaves and a wavy line. The edges of the volutes are painted purple. Cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 111, 2633.
16. (A.P. 1002) Fig. 28. Fragment from edge of handle volute decorated with running spirals. At the outer edge are traces of a purple band. Cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 111, 2631 a.



Fig. 28. Three Fragments of Pottery and Three Miniature Vases from Well V

17. (A.P. 1003) Fig. 28. Fragment of black glazed kylix on the inside of which is incised a *delta*, possibly with an *epsilon* on the left. This seems to be the kind of signature, used on vases belonging to the demos, numerous examples of which have been found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora.¹
18. (A.P. 1013) Fig. 28. Miniature kothon without handle. Height, 0.025 m.; diam., 0.045 m. On the rim is a row of elongated dots on a reserved band. A narrow band below the rim and the bottom of the base are likewise unglazed. The surface tends to flake off.

¹ L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 352 ff.



Fig. 29. Lekythos of Six's Technique from Well V

19. (A.P. 1036) Fig. 28. Diam., 0.039 m. Miniature squat oinochoe, poorly made and carelessly decorated with tongue patterns on shoulder and body. Handle and top missing.
20. (A.P. 1007) Fig. 28. Miniature pyxis. Height, 0.035 m.; inner diam., 0.034 m. The foot is divided into three sections. The decoration consists of reserved bands and purple lines.
21. (A.P. 1012) Fig. 26. Two small fragments of plate or bowl decorated with designs in white and purple on a black ground. The other side is unglazed.
22. (A.P. 1024) Figs. 29 and 30. Lekythos in "Six's technique." Height from base to shoulder, 0.106 m.; diam. at shoulder, 0.075 m. The handle and the neck are entirely

missing, and large parts of the body have been restored in plaster. The opaque colors, applied over the black glaze, have entirely disappeared, leaving only shadowy outlines of the figures and marks of the incisions. Two colors, presumably a creamy



Fig. 30. Lekythos. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

white and some shade of red, were used, leaving slightly different outlines on the black glaze, but in the present condition of the vase it is practically impossible to determine with any degree of certainty the distribution of the two colors. The restoration of the colors indicated in figure 30 is partly conjectural.

The decorations, both on the body and on the shoulder of the vase, are confined to the front. The main scene consists of a figure of Aktaion, attacked by four dogs. He is represented entirely nude, running toward the right but looking back at the attacking dogs. His hair, which was not of the same color as the body, was presumably painted white and the body red.¹ The dogs are conceived of as running up on him from the rear, their heads being partly hidden behind the body of Aktaion. But the desire of the artist to represent all the figures in profile, has led him to arrange the dogs, two on either side, clinging to him high above the ground. If we are right in assuming that Aktaion was painted red or brown, all the dogs were probably white. Details were added by fine incised lines through which the opaque colors were scratched away exposing the black glaze underneath. These incisions now appear as fine shiny lines on the black glaze, but some of the details on the figure of Aktaion are rendered by deeper lines extending into the surface of the clay.

Below the decoration was a fine line, probably in purple. The shoulder decoration consists of a palmette of alternating white and red leaves, the spiral on either side of which ends in a bud.

The composition of the scene is very simple, but the figures are drawn with a sureness of form and attention to detail rarely encountered in vases decorated in this technique. The lively motion of the dogs and the frightened, helpless gestures of Aktaion are portrayed with a vividness and accuracy which the loss of the colors has not entirely obliterated.

A stylistic study of the lekythos in comparison with other vases of the same technique is difficult because of the disappearance of the colors. An alabastron in the British Museum,² on which are represented two grooms engaged in exercising horses, shows some affinity to our lekythos in the rendering of details of the nude figures, especially in the use of incised lines; but the figures of the grooms are drawn with a degree of naturalism which shows that the alabastron belongs to a later period. The fine column krater in Freiburg, published by Dragendorf,³ and dated by him to the end of the sixth century is stylistically farther removed from our lekythos, although closely related in point of time.

Most of the fragments of the lekythos were found near the bottom of well V together with the pieces of the Exekias krater, but some came from a depth of only 7 m. The varying depths at which the fragments of this vase and those of the plate in figure 26 (A.P. 1008) were discovered show beyond a doubt that the well was filled up at one time.

23. (A.P. 1015) Fig. 27. Small piece of red-figured cup decorated on the outside. A bell-shaped bud is the only part of the decoration that remains. Relief lines are visible

¹ Several instances of a similar color scheme are found (J. Six, *Gaz. Arch.*, 1888, pl. 28 B, C) but in other cases nude male figures are painted white.

² A.-S. Murray, *Mélanges Perrot*, pp. 251-254.

³ *Jahrb.*, XLIII, 1928, pp. 331 ff., and pls. 10, 11.

at the stem but not at the edges of the leaf itself. The fabric is less than 2 mm. thick. The bud is similar to those on A.P. 911 from Y-Z (p. 172, Fig. 9), and the date of the fragments must be approximately the same, *ca.* 510 B.C. This and the following small fragment, the only red-figured sherds from the well, are valuable for establishing the date of the fill.

24. (A.P. 1022) Fig. 27. Small sherd of red-figured cup of very thin fabric. The preserved decorations consisting of a spiral and a narrow reserved band are from the inside of the vase.
25. (A.P. 1030) Fig. 31. Small black painted pitcher. Preserved height, 0.115 m.; greatest diam., 0.079 m. The mouth and the handle are broken away. Just below the base of the handle is a purple line round the body of the vase. The base is flat and unpainted. On the neck are scratched the letters **XA**. The same two letters have been found on vases in the Athenian Agora.¹

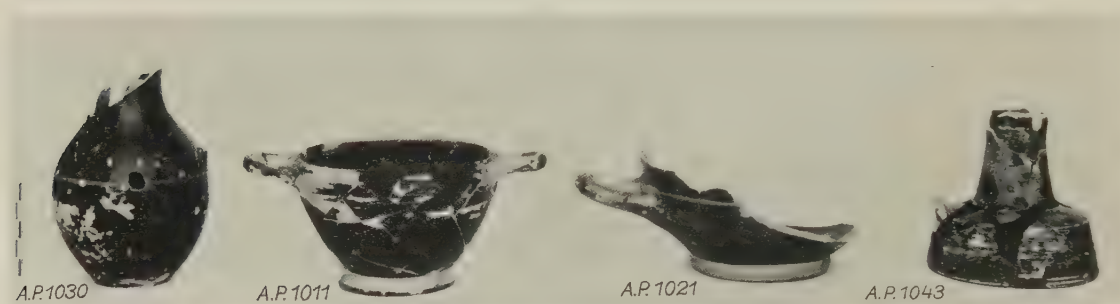


Fig. 31. Four Black Painted Vases from Well V

26. (A.P. 1011) Fig. 31. Corinthian skyphos. Height, 0.07 m.; diam., 0.102 m. It is covered with a poor, dark brown glaze, which has partly peeled off. Below the handles is a purple line, and at the foot a reserved band. The edge of the base ring is glazed and there are glazed circles in the centre, but the rest of the bottom is reserved. The color of the clay, where the glaze has peeled off, is pink, but the reserved parts at the base are light buff.
27. (A.P. 1021) Fig. 31. Part of a stemless kylix with offset rim, of rather coarse ware. There is a purple line below the rim both inside and outside. The base and the inside of the handle are unglazed.
28. (A.P. 1043) Fig. 31. Diam. at bottom, 0.09 m.; preserved height, 0.085 m. Oinochoe with squat angular body, long narrow neck, and single handle extending from the shoulder to the lip. Only the base of the handle is preserved, and the mouth is

¹ L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 352.

missing. The glaze is mottled red and black, and traces of purple lines are preserved on the body of the vase. The bottom is perfectly flat and unglazed.



Fig. 32. Large Undecorated Pithos from Well V

29. (A.P. 1176) Fig. 33. Fragment of large pithos of coarse, brick-red fabric, highly micaceous. Below the neck is a raised edge and directly below that a decorated band consisting of incised lines and stamped circles. Several fragments of a second pithos with similar decorations were also found at the bottom of the well. For

the type of pithos to which these fragments belong see p. 221, No. 1127, Fig. 56, and cf. p. 185, No. 33, Fig. 22.

30. (A.P. 1471) Fig. 32. Height, 0.985 m.; largest diam., 0.73 m.; outer diam. of rim, 0.555 m.; inner diam. of mouth, 0.40 m.; width of rim, 0.075 m.; diam. of base, 0.23 m. Large pithos with broad rim, flat on top, and a raised ridge to set off neck from shoulder and a similar ridge above the base. The fragments of the pithos were discovered at the bottom of well V together with the Exekias krater.



Fig. 33. Fragments of Pithos from Well V

LAMPS

The terracotta lamps from well V (Fig. 34) belong to types found in large numbers on the Acropolis. The earliest is A.L. 149, which is unglazed and made of rather coarse, brick-red clay. It consisted of a large circular vessel with numerous small, spoon-shaped depressions in the top which served as *infundibula*. Only two whole and two half depressions remain. The wicks lay in rudimentary nozzles, consisting of open grooves connected with the *infundibula*. A.L. 151 is of a later date, probably late sixth century B.C. The oil was poured into an open channel, the outer edge of which is pinched out at intervals to form open nozzles. A.L. 150 is made like ordinary lamps of type III,¹ but with an unbridged nozzle.² On the rim and the inside it is covered with a brown glaze. The reverse is flat, but has traces of an attachment to a circular base. This shows that it is part of a multiple lamp, consisting of numerous individual lamps attached to a circular stand with the nozzles turned toward the outside. No. 147, which belongs to type IV, had a small horizontal handle at the back. Like the preceding it was attached to a flat base-ring, a fragment of which still adheres to the bottom of the lamp. The individual lamps stood so close together on the stand that the sides show traces of the attachments from the other lamps of the group.

All four specimens discussed above belong to a class of multiple lamps, generally known as the Corona type, especially common on the Athenian Acropolis. It comprises several varieties, four of which are represented by the lamps from well V. It is found

¹ See *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 38 f.

² For lamps with unbridged nozzle, cf. Deonna, *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, p. 139, fig. 1; Walters, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps in British Museum*, p. xviii and pl. XXXIX, 10, 13; Thompson, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 196, fig. 1, L. 17. Among the published lamps from Corinth there are no examples with unbridged nozzles (see *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 5), but not a few have been discovered in the recent campaigns.

at all periods, but its use was probably limited chiefly to sanctuaries. Numerous examples have been found on the Athenian Acropolis¹ (still unpublished); in a temple deposit at Gortyna, Crete;² at Girgenti;³ at Selinunte;⁴ at Knidos,⁵ and elsewhere.

Only a single specimen (A.L. 148) not belonging to the multiple type of lamps came from well V. It belongs to type V, the characteristic feature of which is the moulded lip round the central opening. It had a small horizontal handle at the back, now missing,



Fig. 34. Lamps from Well V

but no base. Brown glaze is applied on the inside, the nozzle, handle and moulded lip, and in a broad band on the rim. The rest is covered with a thin wash.

¹ Cf. *Ilesperia*, II, 1933, p. 345, fig. 17.

² *Arch. Anz.*, 1909, p. 102; Xanthoudides, *Guide to the Candia Museum*, p. 34.

³ Marconi (*Not. Scav.*, 1926, pp. 142–145, and fig. 33) identified the multiple lamps from Girgenti with the kernos, a multiple kind of censer, used chiefly in the cults of the Eleusinian divinities. See Leonard, *R.E.*, XI, 1, pp. 316 ff.

⁴ Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXII, pp. 370 ff., fig. 163.

⁵ Walters, *op. cit.*, nos. 384–389.

The fact that all these lamps were discovered in a closed deposit with pottery of the second half of the sixth century is of the greatest importance for the dating of the individual types represented among them.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

The terracotta figurines, like the pottery from well V, present a homogeneous group of the ripe archaic period, the more important pieces of which are shown in Figs. 35-37. There are a few exceptions, including a fragmentary Mycenaean figurine of a common type¹ (A.F. 652, Fig. 35), and seven fragments of primitives, four of which are from standing figures of the columnar type (A.F. 624, and A.F. 653, Fig. 35), two from horses and riders (A.F. 608, Fig. 35), and one, too broken to give certain indication of its shape, seems to be part of some quadruped.

The two common types of archaic female figurines, the seated (Fig. 35, A.F. 577 and A.F. 610), and the standing (Fig. 35, A.F. 606 and A.F. 617) are represented by sixteen and five examples respectively, in addition to the separate heads, of which there are thirteen belonging to the two types.² A few have traces of red and blue color over a sizing of white, and most of them have some of the white color preserved. It is a remarkable fact that in several instances two or more of these figurines appear to have come from the same mould. Slight differences within these groups are due to the remodeling of the figures after they were removed from the moulds. In general only the front of the figurine was moulded, the rest being shaped by hand. The two seated figures in figure 35, A.F. 577 and A.F. 610, are probably from the same mould, but both show traces of remodeling. Five heads in the two upper rows of Fig. 36 show a strong similarity both in size and modeling, but the different treatment of the hair indicates that they came from three different moulds. A.F. 614 and A.F. 613 belong together as do A.F. 618 and A.F. 616, whereas A.F. 590 seems to belong to neither of these groups. Furthermore, A.F. 609 and A.F. 584 are apparently from a single mould, and the same is true of A.F. 588 and A.F. 604. All the nine heads considered above (three upper rows in Fig. 36) seem to be from seated figures. The fine head, A.F. 601, belongs to a figure of Athena wearing a helmet crest above the *stephane*.³ The crest itself is missing, but the break at the top of the head shows the attachment.

The hand in figure 35 (A.F. 607) belongs to a less common type of standing figures, a few examples of which have been found in Tanagra, and in Athens.⁴ The body is flat and the hands project straight forward. They are as a rule closed, and only the thumb

¹ Cf. Charles H. Morgan, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, fig. 1, a-e. The convenient classification used by Prof. Morgan in this article will be followed in the description of the terracottas below.

² The difficulty of determining whether a particular head belongs to a seated or a standing figure makes it desirable to group all the archaic heads together. Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 199, note 4.

³ Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 202, and fig. 7 b.

⁴ Winter, *Die Typen der figuralischen Terrakotten*, I, p. 32, 4.



Fig. 35. Terracotta Figurines from Well V



Fig. 36. Heads of Terracotta Figurines from Well V

is modeled separately, whereas the rest of the fingers are shaped together as if a mitten were worn.

At the very mouth of the well were found the fragments of the pomegranate, shown in figure 35 (A.F. 582). At one end is a deep groove and a knob, and at the other end is a hole, probably for suspension. The small fragment in figure 35 (A.F. 600) has a border of guilloche pattern and some indistinct decoration in relief. It may be part of a throne or some other piece of furniture.

A terracotta shield (Fig. 37), A.F. 583, with a diameter of 0.08 m. came from a depth of 1.50 m. In the centre is a gorgoneion. The white sizing which covers the whole surface is well preserved, and the rim had a coat of red over the white. The shield is from a large terracotta plaque on which was the figure of Athena riding in her chariot.¹ Part of Athena's drapery is preserved at the left edge of the fragment, and on the right side the original edge of the plaque remains.

The date of the figurines, as determined chiefly by the heads, agrees well with that of the pottery. The late archaic period, *i.e.* the very end of the sixth century and the first two decades of the fifth, is not represented. The heads belong to types which, on the basis of the Acropolis korai, may be dated chiefly in the third quarter of the century and slightly later.



Fig. 37. Fragment of Terracotta Relief from Well V

BRONZE HORSE-AND-RIDER

The horse-and-rider² (A.B. 177), shown in figures 38–40, was found in well V at a depth of 1.50 m. The photograph in figure 38 shows the condition of the bronze as it appeared when first discovered, and figures 39 and 40 show it after it had been cleaned.³

Both fore legs and the left hind leg of the horse are broken just below the knee, and the rider's left foot is missing. The horse's legs were apparently broken away and twisted when the figure was wrenched from its base. The tail has a break in the middle, but the lower part, being attached to the right hind leg, is preserved. There are some

¹ There are identical shields from similar plaques in the Acropolis Museum, cf. D. Brooke, in *Cat. of Acropolis Mus.*, II, section 2, p. 418.

² Measurements: Total length from tip of nose to tail of horse, 0.095 m.; total height above base *ca.* 0.10 m.

³ The cleaning was done by Mrs. T. L. Shear. To her meticulous care and experience in handling metal objects of this kind is largely due the excellent appearance of the bronze.

indications of hammering on the mane of the horse and on the right shoulder of the rider. In general the surface is well preserved, but small pock-marks caused by oxidization are visible in places, especially on the right side of both horse and rider. Some of the deeper holes may be imperfections of casting.

On the right side of the horse is the beginning of an inscription, but only the first three letters, **HIE**, were incised. In view of the fact that the Anakeion is known to



Fig. 38. Bronze Horse-and-Rider from Well V, Before Cleaning

have been located on the North Slope of the Acropolis it is tempting to restore it as *ἱερ[ον τοῖν Ἀνάκοιν]*, but it may equally well be a dedication to Athena or some other deity.

The horse is conceived in the manner of the ripe archaic period with long, cylindrical body, the neck forming nearly a right angle with the body, and the head set at an angle of approximately 45 degrees. The features of the head are modeled with great care and attention to details, but the end of the nose has suffered somewhat from oxidization. The cheeks are indicated by curved lines, but the curve is too abrupt, making the cheeks unnaturally small. The individual hairs of the hogged mane are



A.B.177

a



b

Fig. 39. Bronze Horse-and-Rider, Profiles

rendered by fine incised lines, and tufts of hair are similarly indicated below the cheeks and behind the elbows. The hair of the long tail is parted in the middle.



Fig. 40. Bronze Horse-and-Rider, Front View

The rider is seated far forward, and his legs, disproportionately long, seem to grip the chest of the horse. On the preserved right foot are traces of sandal straps, but he wears no other clothing. His hair, held in front by a fillet, falls in a solid mass on his back. His face is rather broad, his nose large, and his eyes bulging. His head is bent

slightly to the right (the statue's left, see Fig. 40) to avoid being hidden behind the head of the horse which is turned a little in the opposite direction.¹ The rider's hands, resting on his thighs, are in the position required for holding the reins, but no attachments for reins are visible either at his hands or at the mouth of the horse.

For a stylistic study of our statuette there are few examples of small bronzes that can serve as comparative material. Horses and riders of the archaic period are known from other parts of Greece and Sicily, but they are as different from our bronze as non-Attic archaic art in general differs from that of Athens. The horse-and-rider from Mantinea, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,² which is later, is not of the same breed, and the same may be said of the horse (without rider) in the Louvre from Dodona,³ and of the well preserved specimen from Grumentum in the British Museum.⁴ Among the numerous bronzes from the excavations on the Athenian Acropolis there is not a single horse-and-rider of the developed archaic period. A *protome* of Pegasos⁵ in a rather poor condition shows some affinity with our horse, but the modeling of the Pegasos head is more advanced.

The closest parallels are to be found among the marble sculpture from the Acropolis. The head of the rider strongly resembles that of the Acropolis horseman 623,⁶ which Schrader⁷ has combined with the fore part of a horse (4119). In the shape of the head, and the large, slightly modeled eyes, the two heads are very similar. The shape of the hair is much the same, but the spiral curls on the marble head are omitted on the bronze.

The badly mutilated fore part of a horse, to which the marble torso seems to belong, bears less resemblance to the bronze horse. The features of the marble horse are not well enough preserved for minute comparison, but the position of the rider is quite different from that of our bronze figure. In this respect the bronze resembles more closely the fine horseman in oriental costume (606),⁸ the only one among the mounted statues from the Acropolis sitting so far forward on the horse, and this characteristic is especially pronounced in the bronze figure. But the similarity goes further. The upper and lower curves of the horse's neck, and the shape of ears and mane are very much alike in the two figures. The peculiar modeling of the cheeks and a less minute rendering of musculature lends a somewhat more archaic appearance to the bronze horse. It is difficult to determine whether these differences should be interpreted as indications of an earlier date for the bronze, or merely as dependent on the difference in material and on individual peculiarities of the artists.

¹ For this convention see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pp. 6 ff., and 52.

² Ulf Jantzen, *Jahrb., Ergänzungsheft*, XIII, pl. 37.

³ Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. XXXVIII, b.

⁴ Jantzen, *op. cit.*, p. 26, 5; Lamb, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX, b; Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, pl. XIV, fig. 52.

⁵ De Ridder, *Bronzes de l'Acropole*, no. 504; Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 101, and pl. XXXVIII, a.

⁶ Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pl. 101.

⁷ *Arch. Marmor-Skulpturen*, p. 78. Cf. Dickens, *Cat. of Acropolis Mus.*, I, pp. 155, 156.

⁸ Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pl. 134, 2 and 3.

The Acropolis horseman in oriental costume is dated by Payne between two other statues for which he suggests the dates 550–540 and 520 respectively.¹ For the other group (Acropolis 623 + 4119) he does not suggest any definite date. Schrader² declares it to be the first horse-and-rider monument—not only on the Acropolis—, but this position is now occupied by the mounted statue to which the Rampin head belongs.³ The latter is certainly earlier than our bronze figure. The exact date is less important than the position which it occupies in relation to the marble horsemen on the Acropolis. The indications are that it belongs early in the second half of the sixth century B.C., a date which is further indicated by the contents of the well. Since, as we have seen, the well



Fig. 41. Fragment of Inscribed Bronze Sheathing from Well V

was filled up during the last quarter of the century, the horse-and-rider must be earlier than that, and it seems unlikely that it was destroyed and thrown away immediately after it was dedicated.

OTHER METAL OBJECTS

Numerous other objects of bronze and iron were found in the well, especially near the top, but these are in such a poor state of preservation that in many cases the shapes can hardly be determined. Among the bronze objects the following are the most important: *a*) fragments of shallow bronze bowl (A.B. 222); *b*) phiale (A.B. 225) like those

¹ The date 510–500 suggested by Miss Richter (*op. cit.*, pl. XVII, fig. 57) is certainly too late.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

³ See Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

in figures 76 and 77; *c*) small beaker or dipper (A.B. 223); *d*) hoop or rim of bronze vessel (A.B. 226); *e*) several tiny fragments of thin bronze decoration with patterns and traces of an inscription (A.B. 178); *f*) a piece of a thin bronze sheathing with letters made by puncturing small holes through the bronze (A.B. 224, Fig. 41); *g*) base of bronze kylix (A.B. 204, Figs. 42 and 43), attached to a high hollow stem (diam. of base, 0.075 m.; total height, 0.06 m.); *h*) one arrow point (A.B. 190) of the type most common among the points from the Persian war.¹ The letters preserved on *e*) seem to be --- NAI. They are only 0.003 m. high. On *f*) the letters are *ca.* 0.03 m. high. Of the first there remains only a slanting stroke, probably of a *nu*. The second and third are *theta* and *epsilon* and the last appears to be *iota*. These may be from the end of a name in the dative case like *Κλεά]ρθει*. Above the letters the original edge is preserved. It is not unlikely that the bronze fragment is part of a shield cover like that discovered in the Athenian Agora in 1936,² which has the same kind of lettering. If our fragment comes from a shield it was probably not circular, since the curve of the edge is so slight as to be almost imperceptible. The iron objects are in a poor condition, but the following implements can be recognized (Fig. 44): *j*) a hilted sword (length, 0.47 m.; A.M. 214); *k*) an object shaped like a trident (A.M. 212); *l*) a sickle (A.M. 213); *m*) a pruning-hook (A.M. 215); and *n*) a rectangular flat piece, possibly the blade of a mattock (A.M. 216).

Among the miscellaneous objects from well V are two loom weights (A.W. 41 and 50) of pyramidal shape, each with a circular impression in the top; another weight of a double convex shape (A.W. 70) with a hole in the centre; one terracotta whorl (A.W. 67); and one small grindstone (A.M. 208), almost spherical in shape. A large circular stone mill³ (A.M. 217, Fig. 46) was found near the bottom of the well, and directly underneath were the pieces of a flat mill stone of rectangular shape.⁴ These heavy objects had been thrown into the well shaft together with the fragments of the Exekias krater, several pieces of which were found above the mill stones, whereas most of the larger fragments came from the fill below.

No marble sculpture came from well V except the small piece shown in figure 45 (A.S. 161). It is made of white island marble and consists of a flat piece, *ca.* 0.035 m.

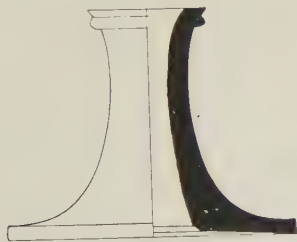


Fig. 43. Profile of Bronze Kylix Base from Well V

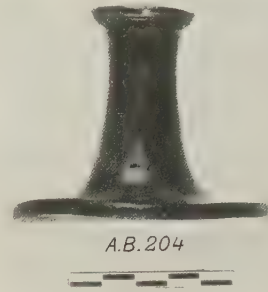


Fig. 42. Bronze Kylix Base from Well V

¹ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 114 f., fig. 4.

² T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 346 ff.

³ Height, 0.65 m.; outer diam. at top, 0.60 m.; inner diam. at top, 0.43 m. Because of its size and heavy weight the mill, which was found intact, was left standing in the excavations, but during the summer it was broken up by vandals and the pieces thrown into a deep hole.

⁴ Length, 0.485 m.; width, 0.385 m.; thickness, 0.065–0.085 m.

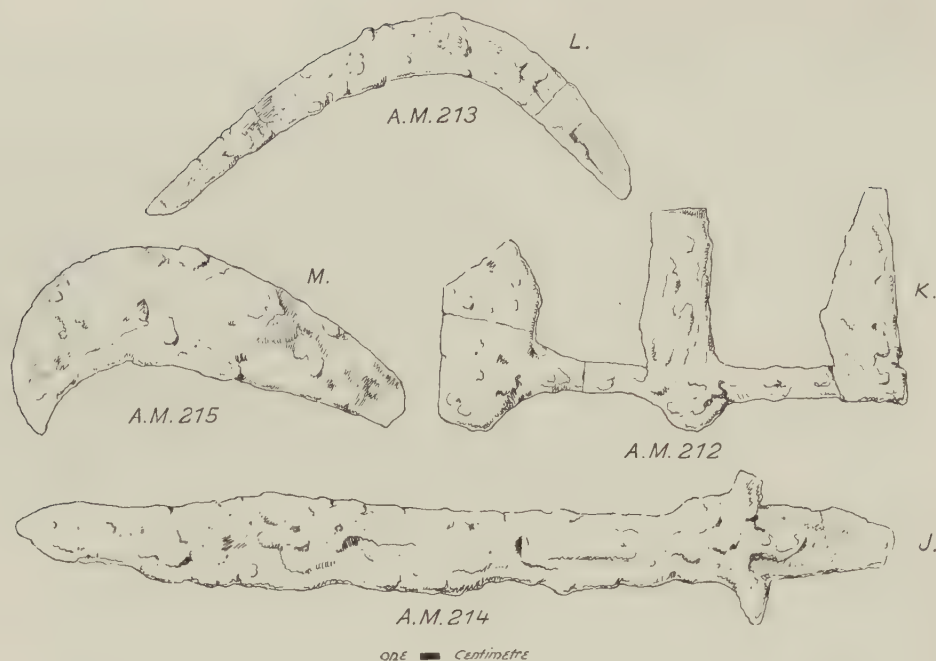


Fig. 44. Implements of Iron from Well V. Scale 1:4

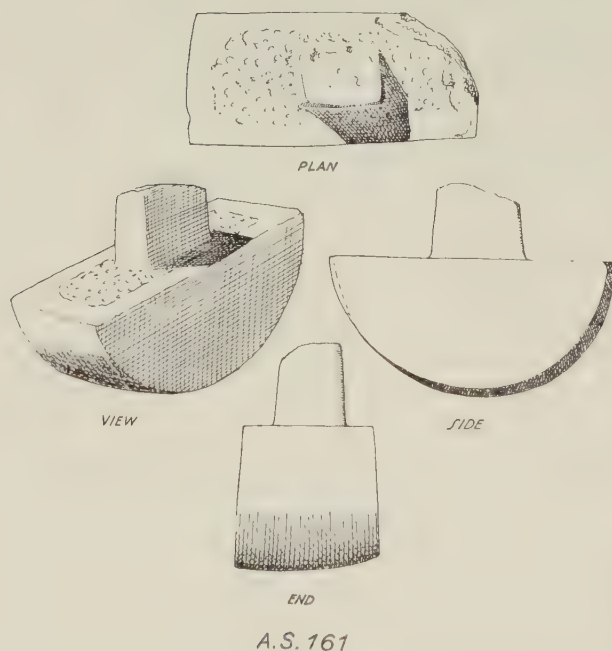


Fig. 45. Marble Piece from Well V. Scale 1:2

thick, shaped like the segment of a circle. The straight edge has a narrow anathyrosis, and in the centre is a small tenon, showing that the piece was fastened to some larger object. It may be the pommel of a sword, which for some reason had to be inserted into a marble statue as a separate piece.

A few fragments of marble cover tiles, some bits of wood, and various animal bones including the skulls of a dog and of a sheep, complete the list of recognizable objects contained in well V. The exact depth at which each object was discovered is shown on the chart on p. 211. The numbers in the chart are those of the inventory, which appear in the illustrations as well as in the text with each object mentioned and described.

Date	Depth Metres	Pottery A.P.	Figurines A.F.	Sculpture A.S.	Lamps A.L.	Bronzes A.B.	Miscellaneous A.M.	Weights A.W.
April 12	0-1	996-1000, 1012, 1013	582					
13	1-1.50	1001, 1002				222	212	
14	1.50-1.80		577, 583			177, 223	dog's skull	70
15	1.80-2.25	1003-1007	584-587			224		
16	2.25-3.15	1008 a	588-600	161	147, 148	225	208	
17	3.15-3.50	1009-1011	601			190	213, 214, sheep's skull	50
19	3.50-4	1014	602-605		149			
20	4-4.75	1015, 1016-1018	607, 608, 611, 612					
21	4.75-6		606, 609, 610, 615		150	178		
22	6-7.15	1022-1024	613, 614, 650, 651			226		
23	7.15-8.15	1008 b, 1025	653				210	
24	8.15-9.15	1026	616-622				215, 216	
26	9.15-9.80	1027			151	204		41
27	9.80-10.60							
28	10.60-11	1028-1030	624					
29	11-11.55	1031						
May 5	11.55-12	1032						
7	12-13							
8	13-14	1033, 1034						
10	14-15.60							
11	15.60-17.20	1035-1043, 1044, 1024, 1176	642				pieces of wood 217, 218	67
12	17.20-17.80	1471						

CHART RECORDING THE DAY BY DAY PROGRESS OF CLEARING WELL V,
AND THE DEPTH AT WHICH EACH OBJECT WAS DISCOVERED



Fig. 46. Stone Mill from Well V

WELL M

In the lower area, *ca.* 18 m. south of the old Capodistrian University of Athens a second well, M (Figs. 1 and 5), was discovered. It has a diameter at the top of 1.08 m. and a depth of 18.40 m. Unlike well V it contained objects of widely different dates. Near the top were found two sherds of a red-figured pyxis cover (A.P. 1093, Fig. 47) dating from about 430 B.C. These, the latest of the datable objects, are the only red-figured sherds from the well. At the bottom a great deal of pottery was discovered, which dates back to the end of the sixth or the early fifth century. Between these two limits two other fixed points of dating are furnished by ostraka of Themistokles and Kimon. The history of the fill seems to be as follows: The well was dug during the sixth century and was in use until late in that century or possibly slightly later. During that time a great deal of coarse pottery was lost in the

water. Shortly after the beginning of the fifth century the well fell into disuse and began to fill up gradually. At the time of the ostracism of Aristides in 482, at which Themistokles probably was proposed for ostracism, the fill in the well had reached a depth of *ca.* 4 m. Two decades later (461) it was *ca.* 12 m. deep, and at the end of the third quarter of the century it had reached the top of the well. The evidence for this gradual filling up, which continued for about three quarters of a century, will appear from the discussion of the objects listed below (cf. chart, p. 251).

THE POTTERY

1. (A.P. 1105) Fig. 47. Mycenaean sherd with a pattern of dots and part of large leaf in dark brown glaze on a light buff background.
2. (A.P. 1106) Fig. 47. Fragment of Mycenaean kylix or bowl with a nautilus design and circle of dots. Brown glaze on pale buff ground.
3. (A.P. 1098) Fig. 47. Diam., 0.04 m. Miniature skyphos of Corinthian fabric, with zigzags at the lip and a purple band below. Cf. M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 282, fig. 20, nos. 80, 81.
4. (A.P. 1109) Fig. 47. Fragment from lip of Corinthian skyphos with a pattern of alternating black and purple buds.
5. (A.P. 1117) Fig. 47. Fragment of lekanis cover of Corinthian ware with painted bands and zigzags. There is a hole at the edge for fastening the cover.

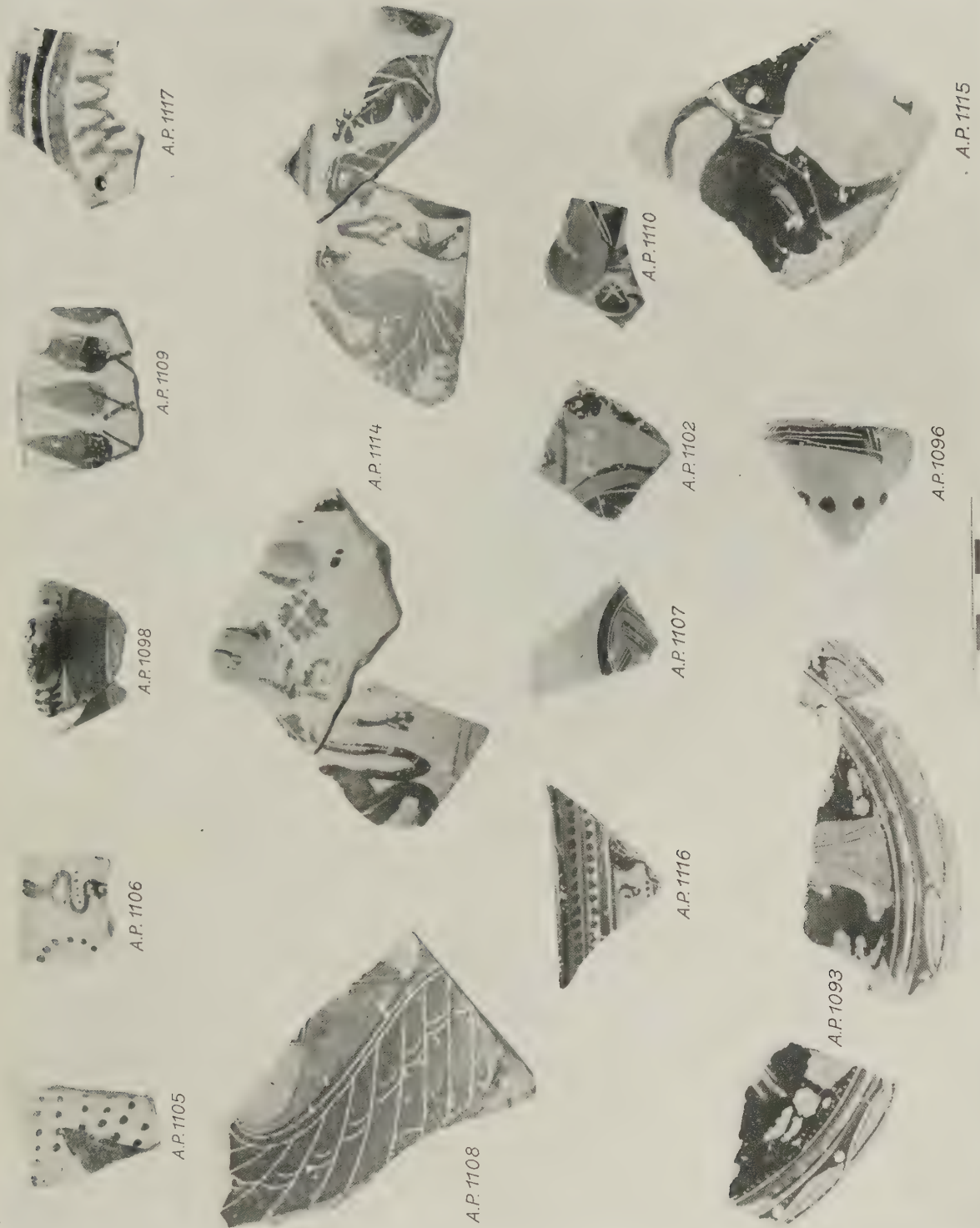


Fig. 47. Fragments of Pottery from Well M

6. (A.P. 1108) Fig. 47. Piece of large vase with figure of sphinx partly preserved. The base of the wing and the hair are purple, but the feathers of the wing are reddish brown. The fabric is 11 mm. thick.
7. (A.P. 1114) Fig. 47. Four fragments of black-figured, two-handled jar. On either side were two sphinxes facing each other and various designs used as fillers. The drawing is exceptionally careless. The clay is soft and mealy, and the glaze varies between dark brown and red.
8. (A.P. 1116) Fig. 47. Small fragment from rim of black-figured skyphos. On the profiled lip is a tendril pattern, and below on white ground is part of a figure to right. The inside is glazed black, except for a reserved band at the inner edge of the lip.
9. (A.P. 1107) Fig. 47. Small black-figured sherds with part of shield painted in purple and black.
10. (A.P. 1102) Fig. 47. Small black-figured sherd preserving part of human figure to left and circular object, probably a shield with a purple border at the edge.
11. (A.P. 1110) Fig. 47. Small black-figured sherd with fore part of sphinx to left. The wing is painted purple. In front is a rosette as filler.
12. (A.P. 1096) Fig. 47. Small black-figured sherd with part of draped figure and a row of large dots or leaves. The inside is painted black and has a double line of purple color.
13. (A.P. 1115) Fig. 47. Fragment of large black-figured vase. The rear part of an animal to left and the rim of a shield are preserved. The rim is painted white, and details are rendered in purple color and incised lines. The inside has a dark brown glaze.
14. (A.P. 1093) Fig. 47. Three fragments of red-figured pyxis lid. At the edge is a single row of elongated leaves, with pink dots at the points where the leaves overlap. Of the decoration on the top is preserved lower part of female figure to right. The outer drapery is indicated by fine black lines, and the folds of the chiton at the bottom are made with dilute glaze. Behind the woman is preserved the foot of a second figure to right, and in front of her are some sprays and dots in white paint. A smaller fragment preserves part of a wing, and below are sprays and dots like those of the larger fragment. The wings on the smaller fragment and the foot of the larger piece belong to a figure of Eros advancing to right behind the woman. These fragments, which are the only red-figured sherds from well M, can hardly be earlier than the end of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C. The drawing of the figures is very careless. A few simple lines, sketched in almost at random, and a row of simple brush strokes at the lower edge suffice for the

drapery. The most characteristic feature is the use of white paint to indicate grass and flowers, which occurs on vases connected with the style of the Eretria Painter,¹ but is even more common on works associated with the Meidias painter² and his circle.

15. (A.P. 1134) Fig. 48. Lower part of black-figured amphora. Diam., *ca.* 0.17 m. Above the base is a ray pattern, and on either side of the body are panels with figures. In the centre on the better preserved side is a warrior to left with spear and circular shield, flanked by draped figures, one of which is holding a staff. The other side had a similar scene, but very little remains of the figures. A purple line encircles the vase beneath the panels. The surface has flaked off to such an extent that the figures are almost obliterated. For the subject matter cf. A.P. 948, Fig. 12.

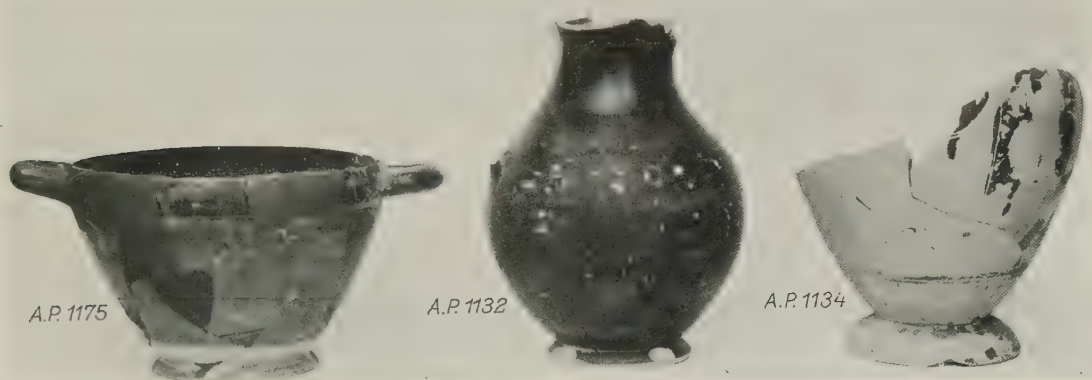


Fig. 48. Three Vases from Well M

16. (A.P. 1132) Fig. 48. Oinochoe. Height, 0.198 m.; diam., 0.15 m. It is painted black all over, except on the bottom of the base, and on the body are two horizontal lines in purple. The handle and part of the trefoil lip are missing.
17. (A.P. 1119) Fig. 49. Lower part of black painted pitcher. On the body of the vase was scratched some name ending in -- *αρος*. The base is unglazed underneath.

¹ Gardner, *J.H.S.*, XXV, 1905, p. 69, no. 534 and pl. I; Beazley, *Att. V.*, p. 430. Miss Lucy Talcott has kindly called my attention to a pyxis in Vienna (Inv. No. IV, 328) by the Eretria Painter from about 430 B.C., on which sprays and flowers are rendered in white as on the fragments from well M; C. H. Morgan II, *Worcester Art Mus. Ann.*, II, 1936-1937, pp. 29 ff.

² See especially pyxis in Boston, Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, fig. 12; *Mus. of Fine Arts Bull.*, III, 1905, pp. 30-31; F. Hauser, *Jahreshefte*, VIII, 1905, pp. 18 ff., pl. I; and see Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 461, no. 30.

Miss Lucy Talcott has kindly called to my attention an unpublished pyxis cover (no. 1597) in the National Museum in Athens, found in a grave in the vicinity of the Academy, which resembles A.P. 1093 so closely that the two vases seem to have been produced in the same shop. Like the fragments of our vase it is characterized by the use of grass and flowers added in white, by a single row of leaves on the rim, and by the careless rendering of the drapery. The pyxis on which it is placed does not belong to it.

18. (A.P. 1088) Fig. 49. Small hydria. Height, 0.10 m. The whole vase is painted black except for a reserved panel in front. Here a woman to right is seated on a folding chair and holding some object, perhaps a flower in her left hand. The contrast of white and black gives a pronounced Japanese effect to the carelessly drawn figure.¹



Fig. 49. Vases from Well M

19. (A.P. 1086) Fig. 49. Skyphos with flat rim, slightly projecting on the outside. Height, 0.054 m.; diam. at top, 0.09 m. Most of the vase inside and outside is covered with a dark brown glaze, but at the height of the handle there is a broad reserved band. The rim is decorated with alternating painted and reserved sections. The bottom is flat and unglazed. Both the shape and the decoration of this vase follow traditions from sub-geometric times, but the context points to a later date (see p. 181, Fig. 18, A.P. 968).

¹ The same kind of drawing and general effect of the figures appear on fragments of cups in Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 89, nos. 2029, 2033, 2070.

20. (A.P. 1175) Fig. 48. Corinthian skyphos. Height, 0.12 m.; diam., 0.178 m. Buff clay, black glaze shifting gradually into brown at the bottom. The rim curves in slightly. Below the rim is a double purple line, and at the base is a ray pattern. On the reverse are three concentric circles, approximately equidistant.
21. (A.P. 1122) Fig. 49. Part of skyphos. Height, 0.085 m.; diam., 0.131 m. The whole vase except the bottom of the base-ring is covered with black glaze, shifting to reddish brown at the upper edge.
22. (A.P. 1111) Fig. 50. Small skyphos with double purple line below the handle and reserved bands above the base and on the under side. Height, 0.037 m.; diam., 0.057 m.



Fig. 50. Miniature Vases from Well M

23. (A.P. 1100) Fig. 50. Miniature skyphos of the Corinthian shape, covered with a poor black glaze which has largely peeled off. Height, 0.046 m.; diam., 0.058 m.
24. (A.P. 1091) Fig. 50. Height, 0.038 m.; diam., 0.057 m. Miniature skyphos with the lower part painted black and in the upper zone traces of palmettes in black over a white color. The lip is moulded.
25. (A.P. 1099) Fig. 50. Skyphos like A.P. 1091. Height, 0.039 m.; diam., 0.053 m. On one side is the figure of a centaur(?), on the other a woman(?) between palmettes, but the figures are so carelessly drawn as to be unrecognizable.
26. (A.P. 1104) Fig. 50. Height, 0.025 m.; diam., 0.039 m. Small votive cup, undecorated, with large vertical loop-handles, one of which is broken away.

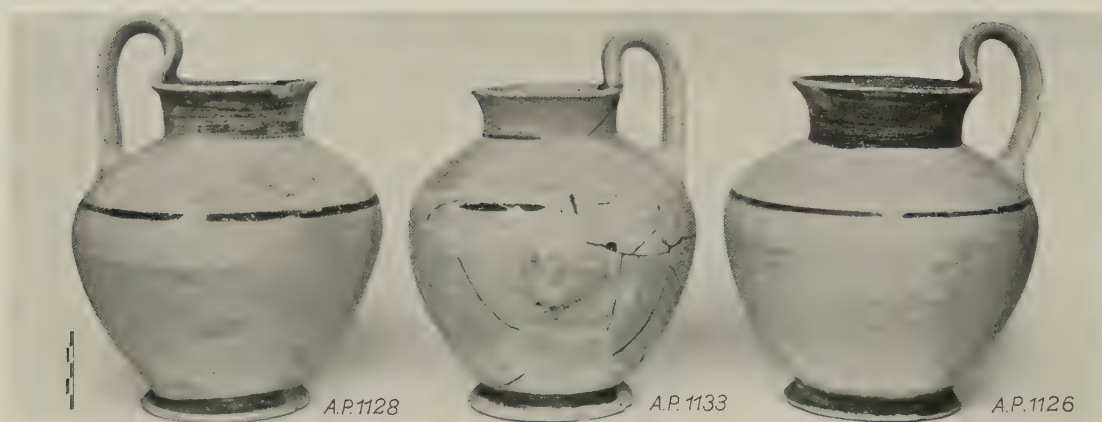


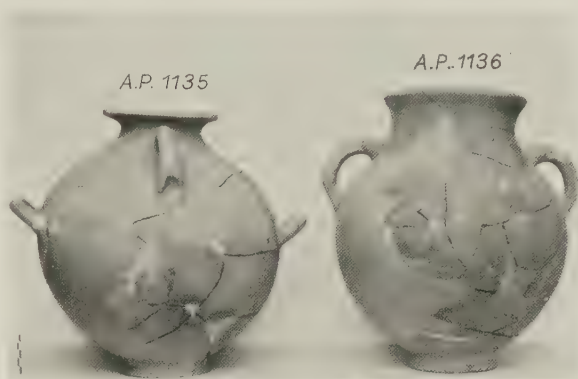
Fig. 51. Three Pitchers from Well M



Fig. 52. Amphora and Pitcher from Well M

27. (A.P. 1092) Fig. 50. Small votive cup with vertical handles, undecorated. Height, 0.027 m.; diam., 0.041 m.
28. (A.P. 1101) Fig. 50. Small undecorated cup like A.P. 1092. Height, 0.035 m.; diam., 0.054 m.
29. (A.P. 1087) Fig. 50. Small pyxis with flange for a lid. Height, 0.034 m.; diam. at bottom, 0.065 m. On the bottom are concentric red and black circles.

30. (A.P. 1128) Fig. 51. Pitcher. Height, 0.21 m.; diam., 0.195 m. Buff clay, chocolate brown glaze on neck and foot and a narrow band round the body. The vase was found intact at the bottom of the well.¹



31. (A.P. 1133) Fig. 51. Pitcher like the preceding. Height, 0.205 m.; diam., 0.18 m.

32. (A.P. 1126) Fig. 51. Pitcher, almost identical with A.P. 1128. Height, 0.205 m.; diam., 0.195 m.

33. (A.P. 1112) Fig. 52. Pitcher. Height, 0.168 m.; diam., 0.163 m. The outside is covered with a light brown glaze, but the neck and mouth, a narrow band round the body, and the base are painted dark brown.



34. (A.P. 1121) Fig. 52. Amphora. Height, 0.22 m.; diam., 0.19 m. The clay is soft and mealy. The lip and whole inside is glazed, and there are traces of glaze on the handles, but apart from these the outside is undecorated. For the shape, cf. M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 298, no. 181.

Fig. 53. Household Pottery from Well M

35. (A.P. 1135) Fig. 53. Large hydria of coarse ware. Height, 0.325 m.; diam., 0.30 m. Brick red, micaceous clay, handmade.

¹ For the shape see L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 343, no. P 5154, and cf. the pitcher from Corinth, M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 293, no. 148, which has a more elongated neck. The clay of our specimen resembles that of Corinth.

36. (A.P. 1136) Fig. 53. Amphora of coarse clay like that of A.P. 1135 and likewise handmade. Height, 0.35 m.; diam., 0.03 m. The mouth is very wide, 0.17 m. inside measurement at top, and there is no rim but a slightly flaring lip. On the shoulder is scratched $\text{H}\epsilon\text{P}\alpha\text{K}$, probably the signature of the owner.
37. (A.P. 1137) Fig. 53. Amphora of coarse ware like A.P. 1136. Height, 0.272 m.; diam., 0.235 m. It appears to have been made by hand, but the rim which is flat on top, was probably trimmed on the wheel. Several of these undecorated pots have punctures (visible in the photograph) which were mended in antiquity with some pitch-like substance.
38. (A.P. 1131) Fig. 53. Amphora of coarse porous clay of a light buff color. Height, 0.275 m.; diam., 0.21 m. This amphora differs considerably in the color and quality of the clay from the other coarse vases found at the bottom of the well, and unlike these it is made on the wheel. The shape, too, is quite different from that of the other amphoras. The body tapers in an almost straight line from the shoulder to the foot which is flat and without a base-ring. The rim is broad and flat on top. It is unlikely that this vase is of Attic make.

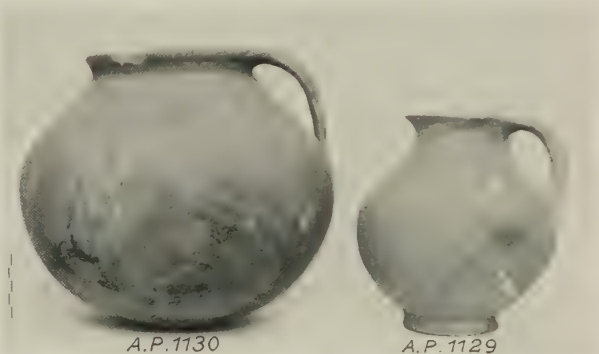


Fig. 54. Two Pitchers of Household Ware from Well M

39. (A.P. 1130) Fig. 54. Large spherical pitcher of coarse, highly micaceous clay of a bright red color. Height, 0.205 m.; diam., 0.233 m. The pitcher lacks a base. Like A.P. 1129 it is made by hand. It was found in a practically undamaged condition.
40. (A.P. 1129) Fig. 54. Pitcher of coarse handmade ware, and brick red clay. Height, 0.16 m.; diam., 0.15 m. A small piece of the lip is missing, but the rest of the vase is intact.
41. (A.P. 1094) Fig. 55. Height, 0.10 m.; diam., 0.15 m. Undecorated cooking pot with two high vertical handles and a flange round the opening where the lid rested. On the side is a narrow false spout, hollow at the top, but the wall of the vase is not perforated. On the side opposite the spout the vase is discolored from fire. The fabric is hard, of good quality, but very thin, of a brick red color.

A pot of the same shape but larger was discovered in a well at Corinth, the contents of which are dated in the years 460—420 B.C.¹ Another specimen of

¹ M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 304, 305, no. 205.

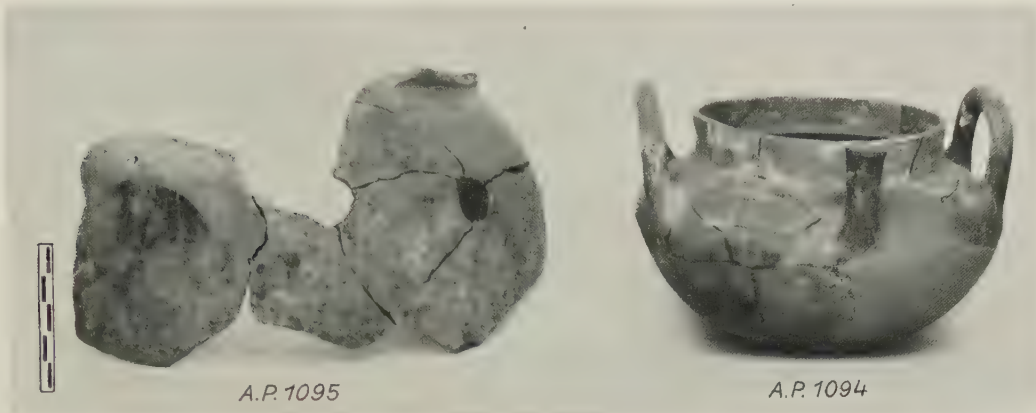


Fig. 55. Brazier and Casserole from Well M

much larger dimensions came from a well in the Athenian Agora, containing an ostrakon of Aristides from the year 482 and pottery dating from the first four decades of the fifth century.¹ The shape seems to have been in use during a long period of time, but the later specimens are as a rule flatter.

42. (A.P. 1095) Fig. 55. Fragment of brazier of coarse ware, discolored from fire on the inside. One handle is preserved. There were two rows of holes on one side, and presumably a square opening on the opposite side. For the shape cf. M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 305, fig. 36, no. 213.

43. (A.P. 1127) Fig. 56. Small pithos with stamped and incised decoration. Height, 0.40 m.; diam., 0.302 m. There is a band of stamped spirals on the neck and a similar band on the shoulder. On the body is a broader band of incised lines and stamped circles. A raised band sets off the neck from the body of the vase. On the broad flat rim are scratched the letters ΔΙΚ.² The decoration is similar to that on a large pithos used for burial in the cemetery at the Dipylon.³ It was published as a geometric grave, although

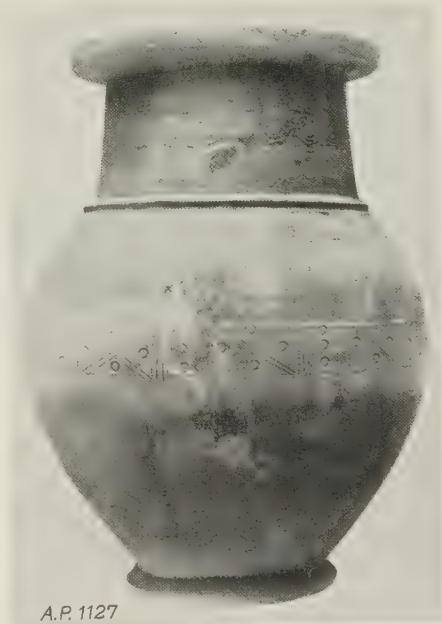


Fig. 56. Pithos from Well M

¹ L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 342, fig. 10, P 5184.

² For similar graffiti of three letters on domestic ware see L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 344, 352.

³ Brueckner and Pernice, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 133 f., grave XIX, fig. 30.

nothing was found within the pithos that would throw light on its period. On the other hand we have several fragments of two similar but larger pithoi (see Fig. 33, A.P. 1176) from the bottom of well V with identical decorations, and other fragments from Y-Z (Fig. 22, A.P. 991 + 992). Inasmuch as all these came from late sixth century deposits and the pithos under discussion was found in a similar context, there can be little doubt that the large pithos from the Kerameikos is of approximately the same date.¹

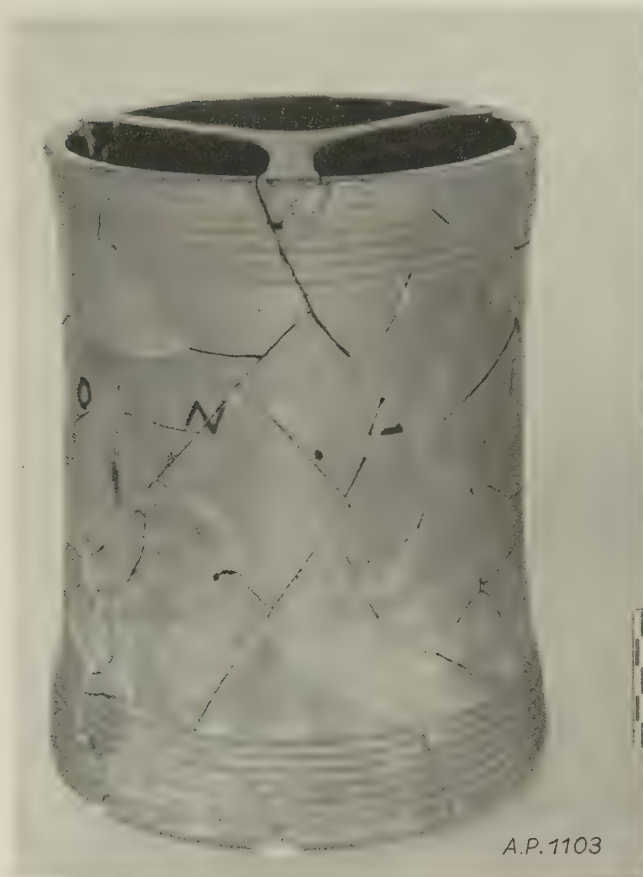


Fig. 57. Public Measure

STANDARD OF MEASURE

At a depth of 4 metres in well M was discovered the standard of measure (A.P. 1103) shown in figure 57.² It is made of heavy fabric, well polished, but unglazed on the outside, and covered with a black glaze on the inside. The outside decoration consists of a band of seven ridges at the top, and a similar band at the bottom, where the lowest ridge is widened to form a kind of base. The sides curve in slightly at the middle, and this feature is emphasized by the ridged bands. On the inside the walls are more nearly straight, though somewhat uneven. Slightly above the middle of the pot the inscription $\Delta E[M] O \Xi I O N$ is painted in letters 0.012 m. high. There is a punctuation of three dots at the end of the word and a somewhat larger dot at a lower level, probably an accidental splash.

By holding the vessel in the proper light it is possible to detect small pock-marks in the glazed surface of the bottom and about half way up the sides, where they gradually disappear. This distribution of the marks seems to indicate that they were caused by something poured into the vase. That they are not accidental is shown by the fact that numerous fragments found in the vicinity of the Tholos are similarly marked. Whatever

¹ Mr. R. Young has kindly furnished the information that numerous fragments of similar ware have been found in the Athenian Agora, always with pottery of the late sixth or early fifth century. See also the small fragments from the Acropolis, Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 11, 328, 343, a-d.

² Outside height, 0.215 m.; outer diam., *ca.* 0.168 m.; depth, 0.197 m.; inner diam., 0.145-0.15 m.

the reason for this condition of the surface, it is likely that it was produced before the vase was fired, while the clay was still sufficiently soft to take the impressions. The glaze must have been applied after the surface had been thus indented.

At the top a triple bar is set in and fastened in the walls of the vase.¹ The bars are wedge-shaped in section and are covered, like the inside of the vase, with black glaze on their slanting sides, but their upper flat surface is unglazed. They were inserted into wedge-shaped holes cut in the rim, and at the points where the ends of the bars are fastened to the walls of the vase a slight projection interrupts the ridges of the upper band. At one of these points there is a small diamond-shaped seal impression with the owl of Athena in the centre.

The inscription on the outside, the stamp with the public seal, and the similarity with the measures found in the Agora Excavations² in the vicinity of the Tholos show beyond a doubt that this is one of the public standards of measure. Fortunately, no essential part of the vase is missing, which makes it possible to measure the contents with fair accuracy. By mathematical calculation the content amounts to 3253 c. mm. This number was obtained by using 0.725 m. as the radius and 0.197 m. as the depth, but the dimensions vary as much as 5 mm. at different points. Furthermore, allowance has to be made for the displacement caused by the bars set into the vase. To obtain greater accuracy of measurement the vase was filled to the top with rice, and this was then poured into glass tube measures.³ The cubic content obtained in that way is 3.175 l.⁴ The difference of 78 c. mm. is slightly more than the displacement caused by the bars, approximately 60 c. mm., making a discrepancy of *ca.* 18 c. mm., due to the inaccuracy of the measurements. Unfortunately, the second method of measurement can hardly be considered any more accurate than the first. The rice would probably pack more in the large vessel than in the glass tubes. Furthermore, by shaking the vessel slightly a considerable quantity of rice could be added, and different kinds of cereals would probably pack differently. Since the results of the two methods are so nearly the same, we may accept 3.200 l. as approximately correct. The metric equivalent of the Attic $\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ as given by F. Hultsch⁵ is 1.094 l., which is only slightly more than one-third of our measure ($1.094 \times 3 = 3.282$ l.).⁶

¹ Similar bars are found in a *modius* from a villa near Pompeii, *Not. Scav.*, 1922, p. 465, fig. 5; and *Arch. Anz.*, 1926, p. 143, fig. 25. A similar vessel in the museum at Chester is illustrated in Cagnat & Chapot, *Man. d'Arch. Rom.*, II, p. 267, fig. 499.

² T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 346.

³ I am indebted to the pharmacist Joannes Maurikou for measuring the amount of rice contained in the vase.

⁴ This is very nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ okades in modern Greek measurements, and a little less than six pints according to the American standard dry measure.

⁵ *Gr. u. röm. Metrologie*, p. 703.

⁶ According to more recent calculations by Videbantt (*R. E.*, XV, 1, s. v. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\mu\nu\omicron\varsigma$) on the basis of a kotyle of 0.208 l., the choinix is only 0.832 l. It would take nearly four choinikes of this size to fill the vase from our excavations ($0.208 \times 4 \times 4 = 3.328$ l.). In an earlier volume of the *R. E.*, XI, 2, s. v. $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\lambda\eta$, the same author gives 0.226 l. as the equivalent of the kotyle, making a choinix of 0.906, which is based on Dumont's measurements of the vase in the National Museum (*R. Arch.*, XXIV, 1872, p. 297).

It can hardly be an accident that the contents of our measure coincides very closely with the Attic chous (3.283 l.) as given by Hultsch, but the form of the vessel seems to preclude its use as a liquid measure. Inasmuch as both the liquid and the dry measure are based on a kotyle with equal value for both, there would be good reason for using a dry measure of three choinikes corresponding to the chous of liquid measure. This tentative identification is strengthened by comparison of our measure with a water-clock recently identified among the finds from the Athenian Agora.¹ The latter bears an inscription which appears to indicate a contents of two choes. It is found, by actual experiment, to hold the contents of our measure exactly twice. A fortunate chance has made possible the checking of one fifth century measure against another; this circumstance, though it may reopen the unhappy question of ancient measures, can perhaps do so on the basis of practical demonstration.

It is obvious that a terracotta vessel used as a standard of measure could not meet modern requirements of accuracy. The potter cannot possibly have known how much to allow for shrinkage due to the firing, and there is no indication that any adjustments were made after the vessel was baked. It might be suggested that the pock-marks, referred to above, indicate that the vessel was measured while the clay was still semi-soft by pouring into it a known quantity of grain or some similar substance, and that the size was then adjusted with due allowance for shrinkage. On the other hand, we learn from the inscription² concerning regulations of weights and measures that the standards of dry measure were constructed according to specified dimensions. Obviously, slight irregularities in the shape, unavoidable in a terracotta vessel, would allow a considerable margin of error, and it seems necessary to suppose that the clay vessels were made for practical use as the near equivalents of metal archetypes, such as have been found in other parts of the ancient world.

PAINTED PINAX

The fragments of a painted pinax (A.P. 1085) shown in figure 58 and plate I, were found in well M at the very top of the fill. Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.039–0.042 m. It is made of coarse clay of a brick red color, like that common in Attic roof tiles. The back is rough, but the decorated surface is smoothly finished. The top edge of the plaque is preserved above the man's head.

A bearded figure to right is holding a lyre in his left hand. The nude parts are rendered with a thick dull paint of purplish red color; his hair, beard and eye, as well as his tunic and the lyre are painted brown. This shade of brown seems to be the basic color of the figures, underlying all the other colors, as is shown in the case of the chin

¹ This object, and the other material on the subject of measures, from the Agora Excavations, will be published in *Hesperia*. I am indebted to Miss Luey Talcott for information concerning this vessel.

² *I.G.*², II, 1013.

which appears clearly underneath the pointed beard. The contours and some details are made with deeply incised lines. For the face and hands as well as for the contours of the lyre single lines are employed, but the other contours are made with double lines, and the stripe between the two lines is painted brown. The eye consists of two concentric circles with small triangles added at the corners, and the eyebrows are rendered with



Fig. 58. Painted Pinax from Well M

double incised lines. In the case of the tunic, the double lines apparently indicate a border of the garment decorated with white dots. On the tunic are preserved two large rosettes consisting of a purple centre surrounded by smaller dots in white over a sizing of brown. The lyre, which is too small in proportion to the figure, consists of a single curved piece with bridge and crossbow for the attachment of the strings. The horns are decorated with double spirals, and on the body are two circles. The seven strings are indicated

partly by double incised lines and brown paint, and partly by painted lines without incisions. But the artist trying to show the man's hand behind the lyre got fingers and strings somewhat confused, and this confusion is augmented by the disappearance of the purple color on his hand. The string which held the plectrum hangs down from the bridge. At the right side are the two hands of a second figure, represented in the act of taking the instrument or giving it to the bearded man. Both hands are painted purple, like that of the other figure, but the finger nails are brown.

The identification of the bearded figure is rendered difficult by the fact that both he and the second figure are holding the lyre. One naturally thinks first of Apollo, who sometimes appears with a beard in early vase paintings.¹ It may be, however, that the figure on the right is Apollo, and in that case the bearded figure might be Zeus² or Hermes, but I know of no other instance of Apollo receiving the lyre from one of these or from someone else. It is possible that the figure to the left is the Centaur Cheiron teaching Achilles to play the lyre in the manner of the celebrated painting from Pompeii, but again parallels in archaic art are lacking. For the form of the lyre, the manner of holding it, and, above all, for the disproportionately small size of the instrument the Melian amphora, already referred to, offers the best parallel.

In the use of colors and in the style of decoration our fragment strongly resembles the painted metopes from Thermon.³ The head of the hunter⁴ on one of the metopes is remarkably like the head of the lyre player, but there is one fundamental difference. The incised lines on our fragment are particularly prominent, whereas the metopes rely entirely on color both for contours and details. Incised lines, to be sure, were used on the metopes,⁵ and in some instances, especially apparent on the Perseus metope, the lines are double, but they seem to have served a purely technical end. They were used as outlines to guide the artist in painting the broad contour lines and in most places they have disappeared under the paint. Presumably the peculiar technique of double contour lines, so prominent on our fragment, owes its origin to this practice of scratching fine double lines on the clay in order to assure an even contour line.⁶ Where the incisions are part of the decoration they were, of course, made after the figures had been painted. The difference is important also as indication of date.

¹ On a Melian amphora (A. Conze, *Mel. Thongef.*, pl. IV); the Francois vase; a B.F. sherd from the Acropolis (*Ep. Arch.*, 1883, pl. 3, and Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, pl. XXI, b, and p. 329).

² Cf. for example the group of deities represented on the bronze plate of armor from Olympia (*Olympia*, IV, pl. LIX; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, 30, fig. 135).

³ The colors on the metopes are not identical with those on our fragment but the color scheme is parallel, *i.e.* yellow for the background, some shade of red for the male figures, brown (or red) for outlines, and brown (or black) for hair, beard, eyebrows, etc.

⁴ H. Koch, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, 237 ff., pl. XV; Soteriades, in *Ant. Denkm.*, II, pls. 49-52 A.

⁵ See Soteriades in *Ant. Denkm.*, II, p. 5.

⁶ The double contour lines appear on bronze work (cf. *Olympia*, IV, pls. XXII, XXXVII, LVIII, LIX), but in this case it seems not unlikely that the metal worker took his cue from the vase painters. In order to render the broad contours on the bronze the engraver, having no recourse to the use of color, gained a similar effect with the double lines, for which the painters had already pointed the way.

It is generally accepted that the metopes from Thermon were painted by Corinthian artists working in Aetolia,¹ but the influence of Corinth on early Attic vase painting was sufficiently strong to account for the similarity between these metopes and the fragment from our excavations. In the second half of the seventh century, to which our plaque belongs, stylistic influences in Attic vase painting are not easily labeled. Attic art was just then emerging from the mixing bowl into which had been poured the traditions of the indigenous geometric school together with numerous elements from other artistic centres, and the resulting product, archaic Attic, was coming into independent existence. That being the case, it is among the early Attic vase paintings that we must look for comparative material. The closest parallel is offered by the Piraeus amphora in the National Museum in Athens.² Here we find the same prominence of the incisions with a slight tendency toward the double contour line,³ a comparable if not similar use of colors, the same awkward rendering of the finger nails on the closed hands, the shape of eyes and beard, and, most important of all, a general similarity in the drawing of the figures which shows beyond a doubt that we are dealing with products of the same school and the same period.

The Thermon metopes have been dated in the period between 650 and 620 B.C.,⁴ and our fragment probably belongs to a slightly later period. The prominent incised lines are an indication to that effect. This is further suggested by its close similarity to the Piraeus amphora, which likewise belongs to the period following that of the metopes.⁵ Inasmuch as our fragment was found in the top fill of the well together with sherds of a much later period, the context offers no evidence for its date.

On the analogy of the metopes from Thermon one might be tempted to conclude that the fragment under discussion was part of a metope, but this is very unlikely. Two important features, the thinness of the slab and the absence of a frame are more appropriate in a dedicatory plaque. The proportions of the figures are approximately the same as those of the Thermon metopes, but our fragment lacks the decorated border. We may assume that the plaque measured *ca.* 0.50 × 0.60 m., which is the measurement of the

¹ So H. Koch (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 244) and H. Payne (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 160 *et passim*; *B.S.A.*, XXVII, 1925–1926, p. 132). But the letter forms on the Chelidon metope are not what we should expect in a Corinthian inscription of the seventh century B.C. The *epsilon* Ε with one exception (*I.G.*, IV, 225, Soteriades, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, 9) regularly stands for ΕΙ on the Corinthian pinakes, and the three-bar *iota* occurs only in later inscriptions (see H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 158–160). The forms are the same as those in the metrical inscription on a vase from the Dipylon (E. S. Roberts, *Introd. to Gk. Epigr.*, I, p. 74; *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. X) which, however, differ radically from the letters on the vases from the deposit on Hymettos (C. W. Blegen, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pl. III). For a discussion of the inscriptions on the metopes see Soteriades, *op. cit.*, p. 7, who assumes that the letter forms are Corinthian but with certain irregularities.

² No. 353. L. Couve, *'Eφ. 'Aρχ.*, 1897, pp. 67 ff. and pls. V–VI; Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, III, 19, fig. 88.

³ The chest and fore legs of the front pair of horses but not of the second pair are so outlined in front.

⁴ Cf. H. G. G. Payne, *B.S.A.*, XXVII, 1925–1926, p. 132, and *Necrocorinthia*, p. 96, n. 3, where he further limits the date to the period 640–620 B.C. See also H. Koch, *op. cit.*, pp. 244 ff.; and E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, p. 54.

⁵ H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 344.

decorated field within the frames of the metopes.¹ The thickness is a little more than half that of the larger metopes from Thermon and only slightly less than that of the smaller ones. But the thickness in proportion to the calculated size of the slab is too slight for a metope. The cuttings which exist in the preserved archaic triglyphs on the Acropolis call for slabs—whether of marble or terracotta—of about twice the thickness of our plaque.² Moreover, these cuttings show that the inset slab in every case extended to the top of the frieze course. Inasmuch as the bearded figure comes up to the very edge of the plaque it cannot possibly have been used as a metope with no border and no room left for a taenia. Unless it formed part of a continuous frieze, such as has been suggested for the funeral plaques in Berlin, the most probable explanation is that it was used as a separate dedicatory plaque like the painted pinax in the Acropolis

Museum,³ and the smaller pinakes from the Acropolis, Penteskouphia, and elsewhere. If so, it is one of the earliest known specimens of its type.⁴

Fragments of a second pinax (A.P. 1113, Fig. 59) were found at the same depth as the preceding. Thickness 0.028 m. A curving portion of some figure is preserved, possibly from the wing of a sphinx, rendered with incised lines and red glaze which has a tendency to peel off. The background was painted white. It is probable that these fragments belong to a pinax from the same series as the preceding.

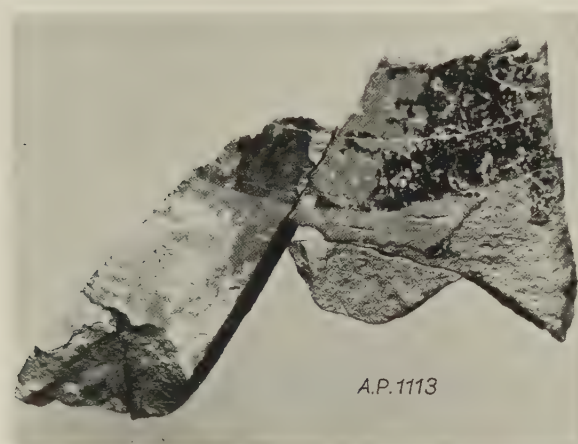


Fig. 59. Fragments of Pinax from Well M

OSTRAKA

Among the numerous objects from well M are 191 ostraka, all but one of which are inscribed with the name of Themistokles. These were found together below the water level at a depth of 13–15 m. Obviously so large a number cannot have come into the fill accidentally, and in all probability they were thrown into the well shortly after the ostracism took place.

¹ G. Soteriades, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

² See Wiegand, *Arch. Porosarchitektur*, buildings A–E, pp. 148 ff.

³ *Ep. Arch.*, 1887, pl. 6.

⁴ Prof. W. B. Dinsmoor has kindly called my attention to the fragment of a painted pinax in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (*Metr. Mus. Bull.*, XXXI, 1936, pp. 116 f.; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 305, fig. 3), which is of approximately the same period as ours, but the subject of its decoration (part of a lion) is so different, that a comparison of the two pieces is not possible. Some small fragments of painted plaques have been discovered in the Excavations of the Athenian Agora.

The sherds used for the ostraka are of four classes, the most numerous being the kylix bases, of which there are no less than 122. These are of three distinct varieties, illustrated in figure 60. In the first of these (Fig. 60, I) by far the most common of the three, the stem is short and just above the base is a slight ridge, set off both above and below by a scratched line. The top of the base slopes gently and uniformly to the edge, which is rounded. On the reverse the slope of the base merges gradually into the hollow part of the stem which ends in a blunt point. The base is covered above and below with a black or brown glaze, usually applied so unevenly that the clay shows

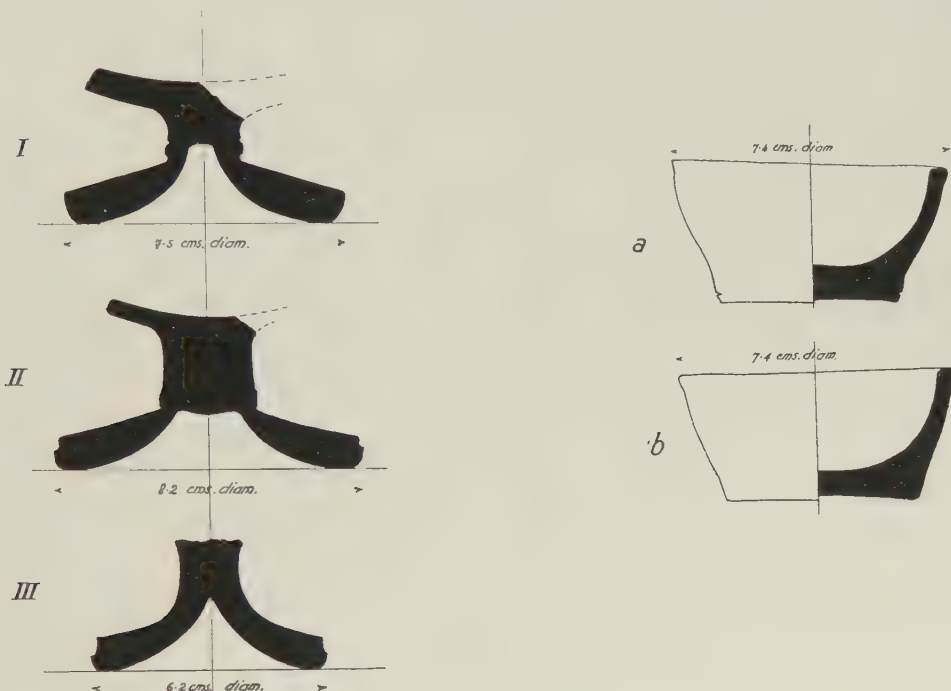


Fig. 60. Profiles of Kylix Bases and Bowls

through. The edge of the base and the hollow part of the stem are reserved. The second variety (Fig. 60, II) differs from the first in two particulars. The edge of the base has a groove or set-back near the top, in some cases very slight, but always clearly perceptible; and the centre of the reverse, which is reserved, is flat and decorated with one or more painted rings. The third variety (Fig. 60, III) of which there are only three examples, has a narrow stem merging gradually into the base without the intervening ridge observed in groups I and II. At the edge of the base is a groove like that of II, but the centre of the reverse ends in a rather sharp point. All three examples of this variety are small, having an average diameter of only 0.063 m., as compared with *ca.* 0.074 m. of I and II. Within each of these groups there is so little variation that they give the impression of having been made all in one shop and at one time. The bases usually have the inscription on the bottom, but a few are inscribed on the top, and one (A.O. 36) both on the top and on the bottom.

The second class of ostraka, numbering only ten pieces, consists of skyphos bases. These are of one variety, with a heavy base-ring grooved at the edge like the kylix bases of groups II and III. The inner edge of the base-ring is glazed, and on the reserved bottom are three concentric circles, the larger one of which has a diameter varying between 0.03 m. and 0.035 m. As in the case of the kylix bases, there is an astonishing uniformity in shape, size, and fabric. There is one exception (A.O. 46), in which the base-ring is slightly higher, and the outer circle on the bottom is made with a double line. As a rule the inscription is scratched on the painted inner edge of the base-ring, but some are inscribed on the unglazed bottom, and two on the inner glazed surface of the vase.

The third class consists of small bowls with flat base and straight or slightly bulging sides (see profiles, Fig. 60, a and b). The mean height is slightly less than 0.04 m., and the diameter varies between 0.065 m. and 0.075 m. The clay is soft, of a buff color, and the glaze, which covers all but the under side, is light brown and tends to peel off. The bowls are poorly made and so lightly fired that most of them have cracked from drying since they came out of the well. The inscription is scratched on the inside of the bowl, usually near the bottom. Several of these vessels were found quite intact, and without exception, so far as can now be determined, the bowls were unbroken at the time when the inscriptions were added. The uniformity observed in the case of the first two classes is equally striking among the bowls. It is obvious that they were all made at one time and for a given purpose, and it is most unlikely that they had been in use before they were inscribed. No bowls of this kind have appeared in the earlier excavations on the North Slope, where numerous small votive cups have been found, nor have any come to light in the recent excavations in the Agora and on the Pnyx.¹ Twenty-six specimens, more or less complete, belong to this class.

The fourth class comprises thirty-two small sherds, some of which belong to undecorated kylikes like those of which the bases were used. Many of the sherds have a thin brown glaze, not unlike that of the bowls, and the clay is likewise poorly baked, but none of the sherds came from bowls of the kind described above. They are parts of larger vases, like kylikes, but the pots cannot have been finished before they were broken and used for ostraka. Apparently they had received a preliminary baking, after which the glaze was applied, but the vases were broken up before the final firing had taken place.²

¹ I owe this information to Dr. Homer Thompson and Miss Lucy Talcott. A vessel recently discovered in the vicinity of the Tholos has approximately the same shape, but the rim has a different profile, and the glaze and fabric are far superior in quality to those of the bowls from well M.

² This would presuppose that the vases were fired twice. Gisela M. A. Richter (*The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, pp. 37 ff.) argues against a common practice of firing the pottery more than once. In that case we should have to suppose that the bowls and some of the sherds used as ostraka had never been fired at all, and in view of the fact that they were found below the water level in the well, it is hardly likely that they could have retained their shape with the inscriptions still legible, if they had been inscribed and thrown away before they had been fired. On the other hand, the glaze had the consistency of grease when the fragments were first taken out of the well, and this is true not only of the bowls, but of many of the kylix fragments as well.

Of the more common type of coarse sherds, usually employed for ostracism, like that inscribed with the name of Kimon (p. 242, Fig. 71, A.O. 1), not a single specimen was found among the ostraka of Themistokles.

The inscriptions are as a rule carefully incised and very legible, but variations in spelling as well as obvious mistakes occur frequently. In all but two cases the name



Fig. 61. Ostraka of Group A

of Themistokles is spelled with a *theta* in the third syllable. Usually his name appears in the nominative, followed by the genitive of his father's name. But there are instances of Themistokles' name in the dative, and once it is found in the genitive. The nominative of the father's name also occurs. A group of eight ostraka give the demotic $\Phi\epsilon\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (Fig. 68) and omit the name of the father.

The letter forms vary considerably, and the recurrence of certain combinations of forms makes it possible to group the ostraka according to different hands, of which fourteen

may be distinguished. This shows beyond a doubt that they were not inscribed by the voters themselves. The writing is sufficiently individualistic so that most of the groups can be isolated without any difficulty. Others are more nearly alike, but the margin of possible error is in any case not large. The most characteristic letter is the *theta*, which occurs in four distinct forms, but there is considerable variation also in the forms of some

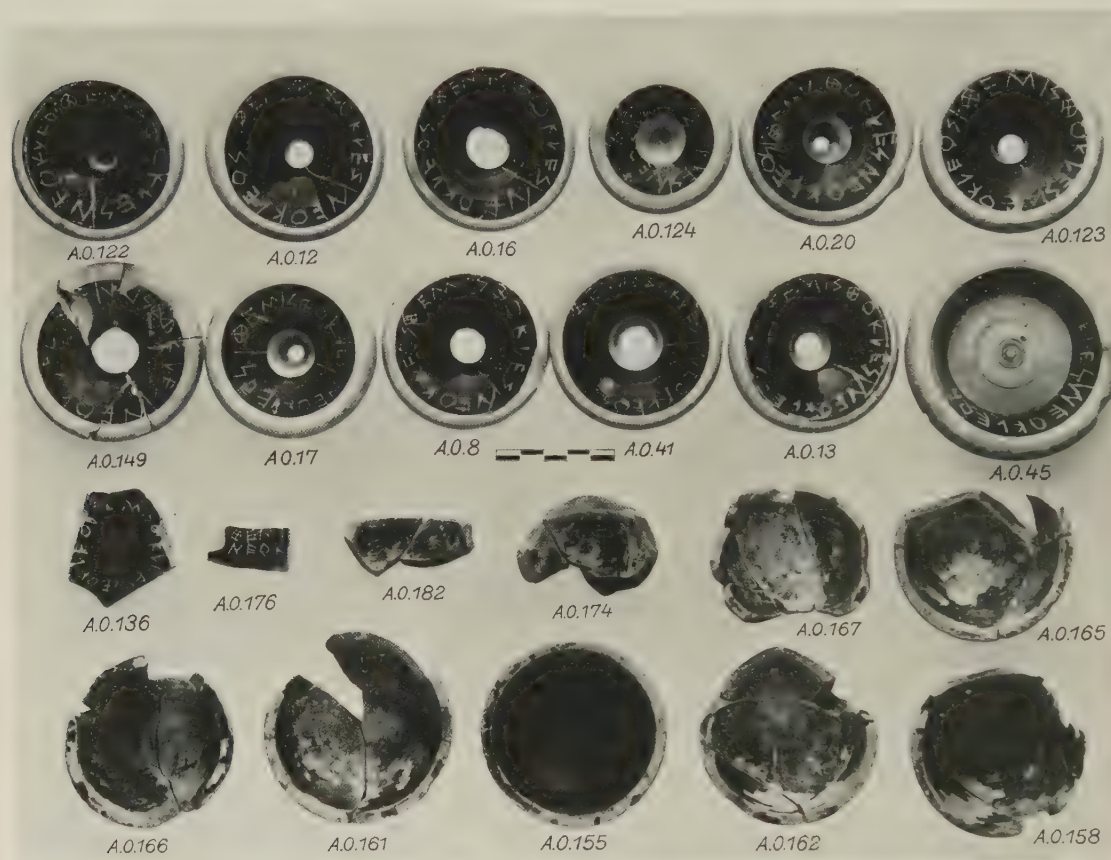


Fig. 62. Ostraka of Groups A and B

of the other letters. The ostraka have been arranged according to groups, numbered A to O, and the variations in the forms of the letters will be discussed in the description of each separate group.

- A. (Figures 61 and 62.) This group is characterized by large, bold letters, deeply incised. The *theta* is made with a St. Andrew's cross within the circle, the two slanting strokes of *kappa* usually come together in a point touching the vertical stroke, and the *sigma* is rather squat with the two angles nearly equal, but some slight deviations occur. The name of Themistokles is followed by a vertical line which separates it from the name of his father, and in a few cases there is a similar line at the end of the

father's name. A.O. 65 has a *sigma* following the second *theta*, and A.O. 20 omits the dividing line after the name of Themistoklēs. Thirty-two ostraka¹ are inscribed by this hand.

- B. (Figures 62 and 63.) The writing resembles that of A, but the letters are somewhat smaller and the two names are not divided by vertical lines. There are two exceptions

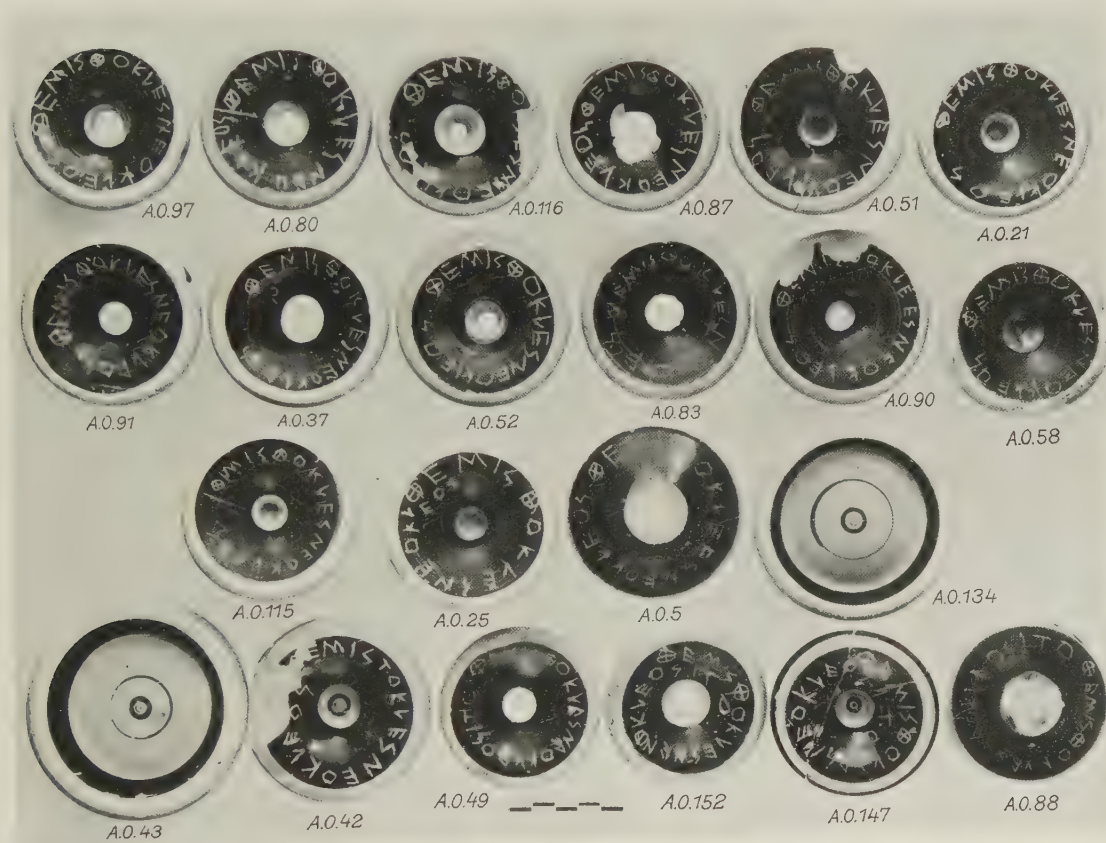


Fig. 63. Ostraka of Group B

(A.O. 115 and 80) in both of which the line precedes the name of Themistokles. *Theta* has the cross as in class A, and the *kappa* is similar in the two groups, but the *sigma* in B is more open. A.O. 5 and 136 have two *epsilons* in the last syllable of Themistokles (cf. groups G and H) and the *omikron* of Themistokles is omitted in A.O. 136; in A.O. 51 the *kappa* in ΝΕΟΚΛΕΟΣ has been written over a *lambda*; and A.O. 116 begins the father's name with a *mu*. On four of the kylix bases (A.O. 49,

¹ 31 kylix bases, A.O. 68, 65, 26, 79, 60, 24, 95, 89, 55, 50, 81, 19, 38, 84, 150, 56, 106, 28, 109, 107, 122, 12, 16, 124, 20, 123, 149, 17, 8, 41, 13; and 1 skyphos base, A.O. 45.

88, 147, 152) the imperative **ITO** is added after the name. The writing resembles that of B so strongly that there can be little doubt that they were written by this hand. One of the ostraka with **ITO** (A.O. 88) is inscribed on the top of the base. On the bottom of the same base are some scratches which show that the name of Themistokles was begun and left incomplete because of misspelling. A.O. 152 has

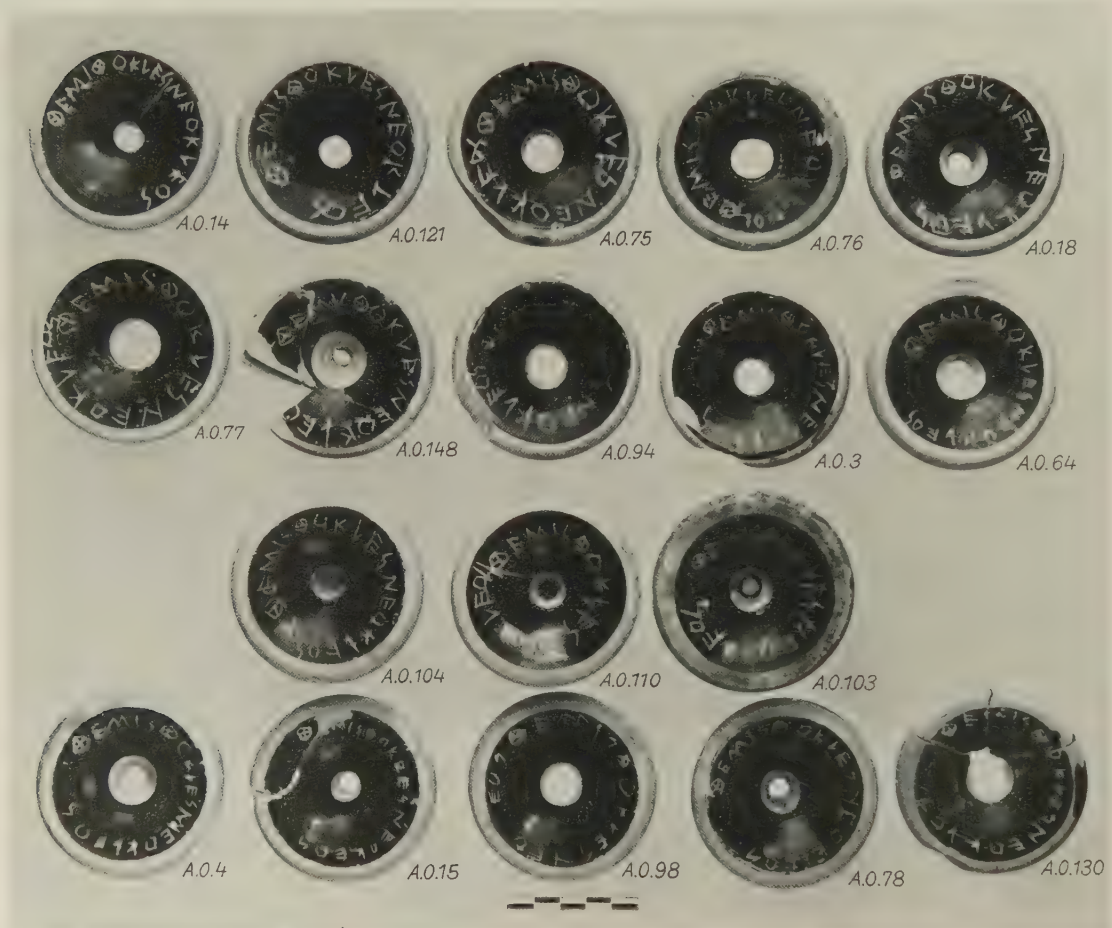


Fig. 64. Ostraka of Groups C and D

two elongated dots after Themistokles' name (cf. group I), and his father's name appears as **ΝΕΝΟΚΛΕΟΣ**. The only two ostraka on which the name of Themistokles is spelled with *tau* in the third syllable also appear to have been written by B. One is a skyphos base (A.O. 43), the other a kylix base (A.O. 42). There are thirty-three ostraka¹ of group B.

¹ 20 kylix bases, A.O. 97, 80, 116, 87, 51, 21, 91, 37, 52, 83, 90, 58, 115, 25, 5, 42, 49, 152, 147, 88; 2 skyphos bases, A.O. 134, 43; 9 bowls, A.O. 182, 174, 167, 165, 166, 161, 155, 162, 158; and 2 sherds, A.O. 136, 176.

- C. (Figure 64.) Group C differs very little from group B except in the form of the *theta*. In group B the cross is made with two intersecting lines, whereas in group C the two lines come together in a point so as to look like an *upsilon*. In most cases, however, the line on the right extends below the point of contact. Since the *theta* occurs twice on each ostrakon, this difference can hardly be accidental. In A.O. 14 there is a dividing line between the two names, and the first *sigma* in the name of Themistokles is omitted. Group C comprises thirteen ostraka,¹ all kylix bases.

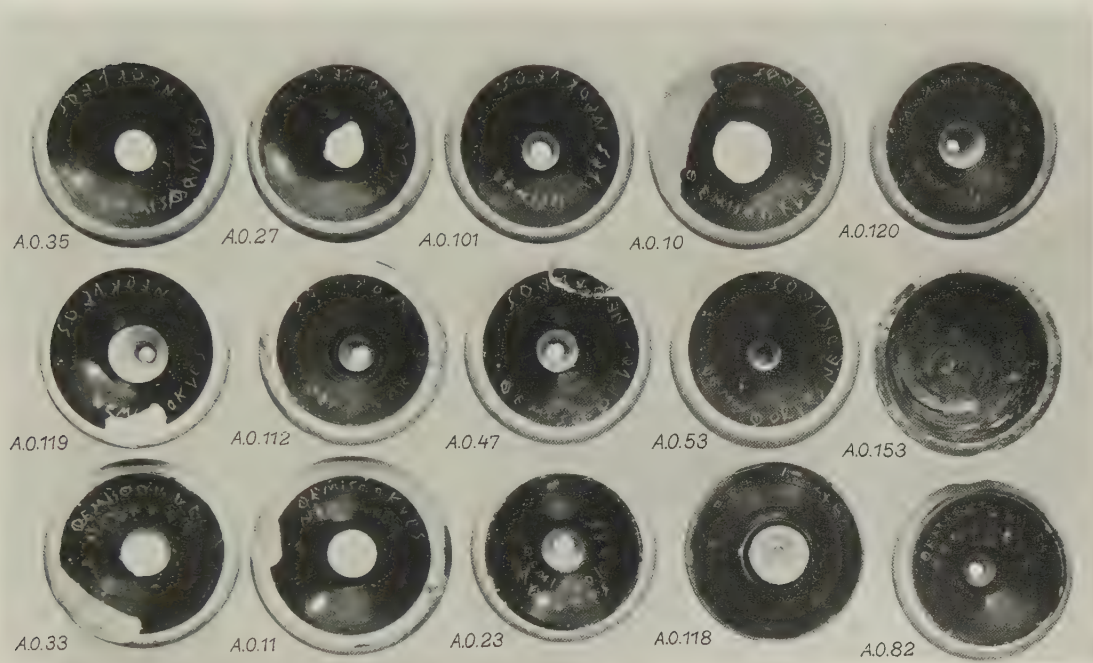


Fig. 65. Ostraka of Group E

- D. (Figure 64.) The letters are somewhat smaller than in groups B and C. The two slanting strokes of *kappa* form a very acute angle, the lower lines being practically horizontal; *sigma* is squat with a correspondingly sharp angle, and the *omikron* is as a rule written with a single unbroken line open at the bottom. A.O. 130 omits the second *epsilon* in the father's name. Only five ostraka,² all kylix bases, were inscribed by the hand of D.
- E. (Figure 65.) This is the most easily recognized of all the hands. Whereas the other groups are as a rule written with the top of the letters toward the outer edge of the circular base and the bottom toward the centre, in group E the reverse is most

¹ A.O. 14, 121, 75, 76, 18, 77, 148, 94, 3, 64, 104, 110, 103.

² A.O. 4, 15, 98, 78, 130.

commonly the case. The letters are small and incised with very fine lines. As a result the two names do not complete the circle but are usually widely separated, and in several instances the names are written one above the other. The characteristic letters are *theta*, which is written like a *phi* with a short vertical line within the circle, and *sigma*, which is very open. The two slanting strokes of *kappa* usually form a

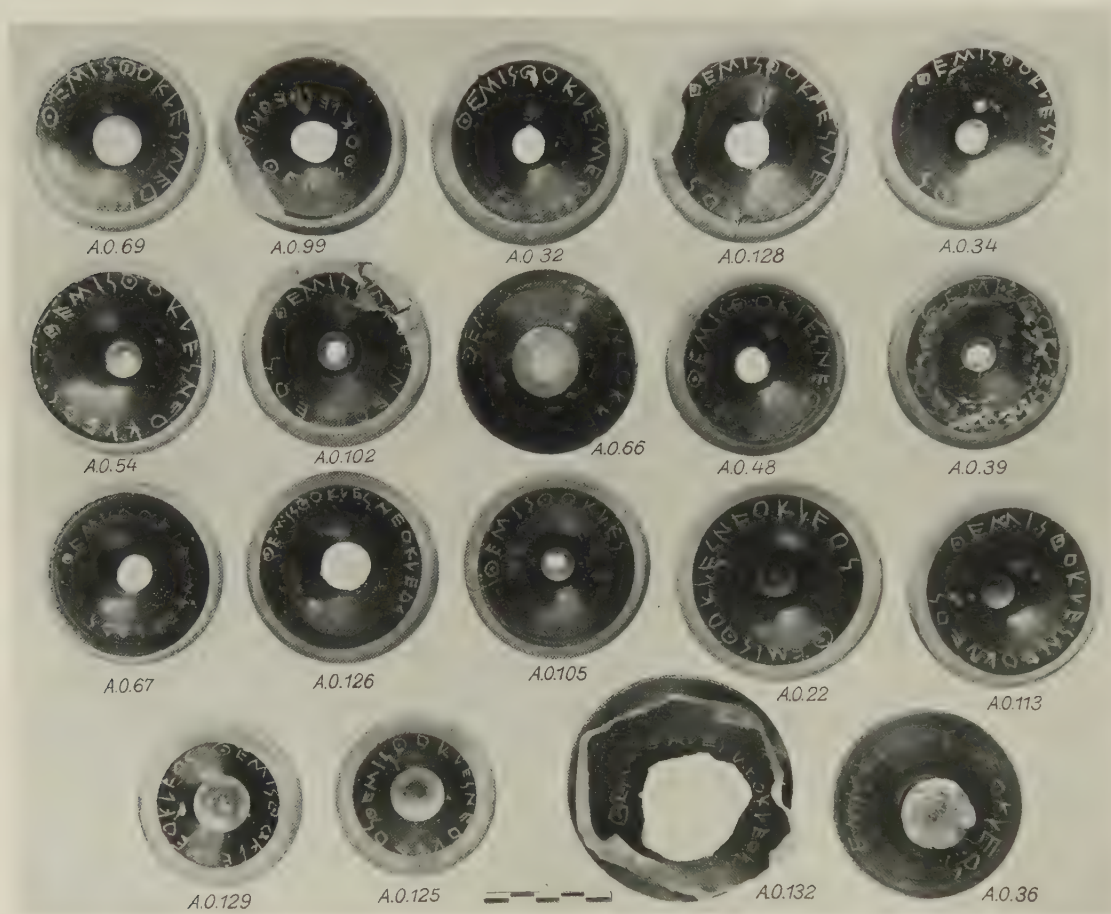


Fig. 66. Ostraka of Group F

very obtuse angle, which rarely touches the vertical stroke. In A.O. 118 the first *epsilon* in the name of Neokles is omitted, and the *lambda* is turned upside down. Fourteen kylix bases and one bowl belong to this group.¹

- F. (Figures 66 and 67.) This is the most numerous of all the groups and on the whole the most carefully written. The letters are of medium size and regularly spaced. *Theta* has a dot in the centre, and the *sigma* is often written with the

¹ 14 kylix bases, A.O. 35, 27, 101, 10, 120, 119, 112, 47, 53, 33, 11, 23, 118, 82; and one bowl, A.O. 153.

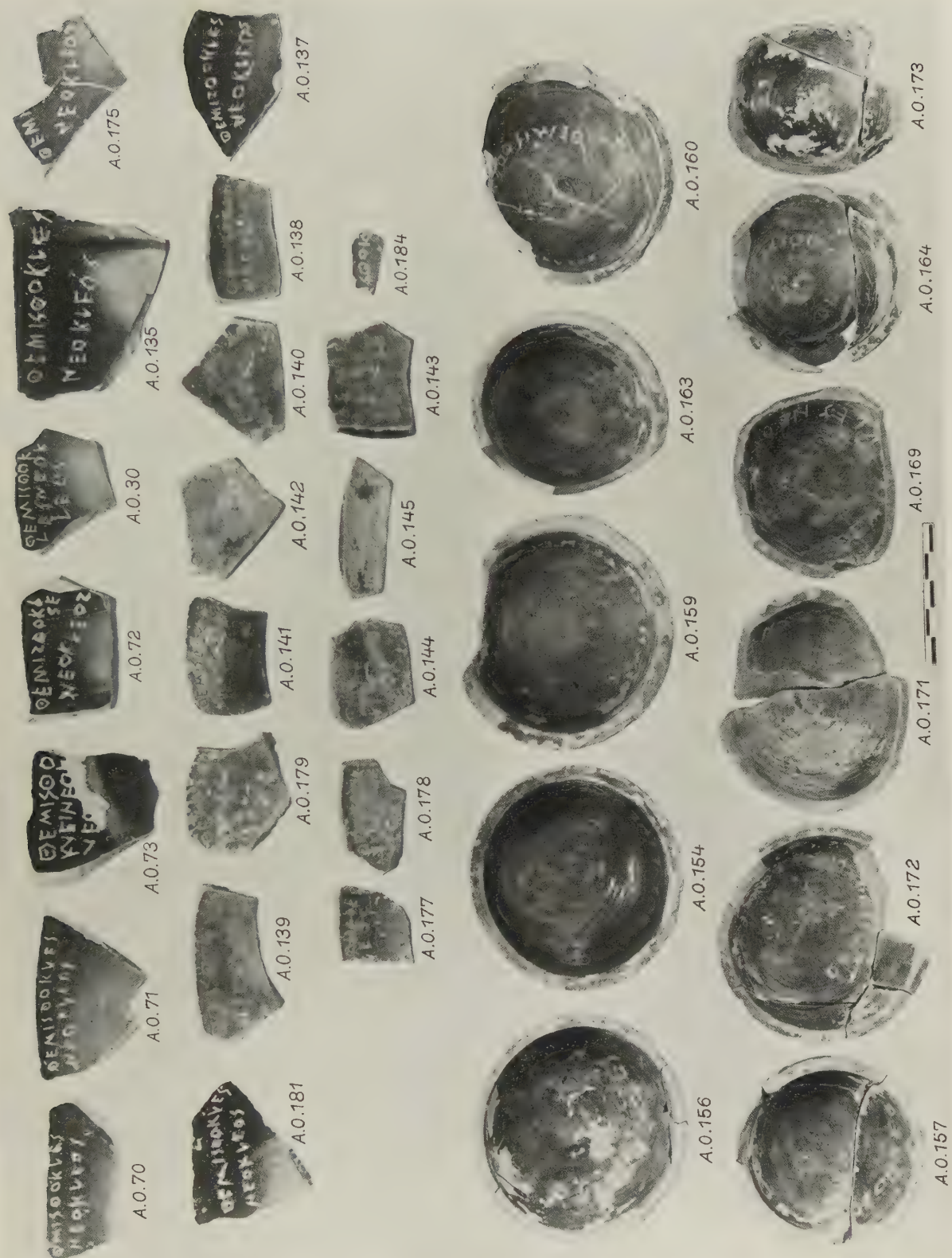


Fig. 67. Ostraka of Group F

upper and middle strokes forming a nearly right angle, whereas the angle between the middle and the lower strokes is obtuse. The lower stroke is usually longer than the other two and almost vertical. There are few irregularities, most of which occur on sherds and bowls. In a few cases (A.O. 72 and 137) the *sigma* is turned the wrong way; one *sigma* (A.O. 139) has four bars, and twice (A.O. 73 and 154) the dative form of Themistokles' name occurs. On A.O. 99 the letters are written with the tops toward the centre as in group E. A.O. 141 was inscribed on both sides, apparently both times with the name of Themistokles, but one inscription has been erased. A.O. 36, which is inscribed twice, is described under group M. No less than fifty-one ostraka¹ of all classes were inscribed by this hand.

- G. (Figure 68.) Only two specimens, both kylix bases,² belong to this group. The *theta* has the cross as in A-C. The *sigma* is usually written with five strokes, but in one case it has three strokes, and in another four. The double *epsilon* in the last syllable of Themistokles' name occurs on both ostraka of group G (cf. group B, A.O. 5 and 136, and group H).
- H. (Figure 68.) The writing is small, like that of E, but the letter forms are different. The *theta* has a cross, and the circle tends toward squareness. There are only three specimens of this class, all kylix bases,³ and in all of these the name of Themistokles is written with two *epsilon*s in the last syllable. This, as we have seen, occurs twice in B, and twice in G.
- I. (Figure 68.) This hand is best recognized by the use of two dots, like a colon, to separate the two names. *Theta* is written with a dot in the centre, the strokes of *lambda* are of so nearly equal length as to give the appearance of *upsilon*, the slanting strokes of *kappa* come together in a point touching the upright stroke, and *sigma* is made with three strokes of about equal length.

A.O. 146 is inscribed twice. The less clearly visible letters on the unglazed part seem to be written by the same hand. Themistokles' name appears as ΘΕΜΣΟΟΚΛΕΟ. In the second inscription written on the glazed inner edge of the base-ring, the first *omikron* in ΝΕΟΚΛΕΟΣ was first written as a *mu* and later corrected. In A.O. 131 the second *theta* has two lines through it, as if it were intended to be written with a cross. In A.O. 133 the first *sigma* was written as an *omikron* and later corrected. The *nu* in the father's name has a fourth stroke, which gives it the appearance of a W, the *kappa* was first written as *epsilon*, and the name is in the nominative. A.O. 168 has the form ΝΕΟΚΛΟΣ. One skyphos base (A.O. 44), on which the name of Themistokles is in the dative, with no punctuation mark separating the two names,

¹ 18 kylix bases, A.O. 69, 99, 32, 128, 34, 54, 102, 66, 48, 39, 67, 126, 105, 22, 113, 129, 125, (36); 1 skyphos base, A.O. 132; 11 bowls, A.O. 156, 154, 159, 163, 160, 157, 172, 171, 169, 164, 173; and 21 sherds, A.O. 70, 71, 73, 72, 30, 135, 175, 181, 139, 179, 141, 142, 140, 138, 137, 177, 178, 144, 145, 143, 184.

² A.O. 92, and 57.

³ A.O. 96, 127, and 111.

seems to have been written by this hand. Five skyphos bases, one bowl, and one sherd, but no kylix bases show the features peculiar to this hand.¹

- K. (Figure 68.) The ostraka written by this hand all have the demotic instead of the father's name. *Theta* is written with a large dot, which seems to have been formed by two intersecting short lines, and in one case (A.O. 61) the first *theta* has a large



Fig. 68. Ostraka of Groups G, H, I, K

cross as in group A. *Phi* is written with a vertical line which does not extend outside the circle, and the *rho* has a large loop without tail. On one kylix base (A.O. 63) the *lambda* of Themistokles was forgotten and later added above the line. In addition to six kylix bases certainly written by this hand, there are two other ostraka using the demotic instead of the father's name. One of these, a kylix base (A.O. 74) inscribed on the top, has both *thetas* written with a large cross within the circle, but in other respects the writing resembles that of K. The other is

¹ 5 skyphos bases, A.O. 29, 133, 146, 131, 44; 1 bowl, A.O. 168; and 1 sherd, A.O. 180.

a black painted sherd from the lip of a cup. The letters are like those of A.O. 74, but there are some curious misspellings: ΘΕΜΙΣΘΟΚΛΕΙΕΣ ΘΙΑΠΙΟΣ. The name of Themistokles seems to have been written first in the dative case, and later ΕΣ was added below. For the form Θιάπιος there seems to be no rational explanation. Inasmuch as the *theta* with the large cross appears on one of the ostraka of group K and the writing is otherwise similar, it seems probable that all the Θρεάπιος ostraka, of which there are only eight,¹ were written by the same hand.

- L. (Figure 69.) The genitive of the father's name is written with *omega*, and the *theta* has the upright cross. On one kylix base (A.O. 117) both *thetas* are practically square. In two instances (A.O. 117, 86) Themistokles' name is written with a double *sigma* in the middle, and in A.O. 100 the last *sigma* of the first name is omitted.

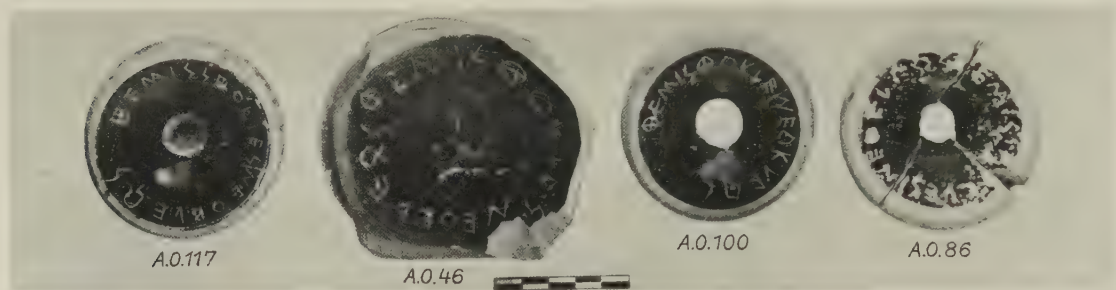


Fig. 69. Ostraka of Group L

A.O. 100 and A.O. 117, and probably also A.O. 86 have dividing lines after the first name. On the skyphos base (A.O. 46), in this case inscribed on the inside, the father's name is written slightly lower, which probably accounts for the omission of the dividing line. There are four ostraka of this group.²

- M. (Figure 70.) The ostraka of this group seem to have been inscribed by an unusually unschooled writer. The writing resembles that of E, but the letters are larger, still the possibility that the ostraka of these two groups were inscribed by the same hand must be admitted. The *theta* has the form of a *phi* as in E, *sigma* is usually turned the wrong way, *lambda* is often upside down, and in some cases the middle stroke of *nu* slants in the wrong direction. On one of these specimens (A.O. 111) the name of Themistokles appears in the genitive case, and on another (A.O. 108) the father's name is in the nominative. A.O. 36 is a specially interesting specimen. On the bottom it was inscribed by the hand of M with the mistakes characteristic of that group. Two of the *sigmas* are turned the wrong way, and the father's name is in the nominative. On the top (Fig. 66) it is inscribed in

¹ 7 kylix bases, A.O. 40, 9, 7, 74, 63, 6, 61; and 1 sherd, A.O. 31.

² 3 kylix bases, A.O. 117, 100, 86; 1 skyphos base, A.O. 46.

a different hand resembling that of F but differing in some respects. The letters are rather large, and the two names are separated by a dividing line. Five kylix bases were inscribed by the hand of M.¹

- N. (Figure 70.) There is only a single specimen² from this hand. The letters are large and in general resemble those of A, but the *theta* is written with a dot in the centre. There is no division line, and the names are written in two lines.
- O. (Figure 70.) One kylix base³ inscribed with exceptionally small letters does not seem to belong to any of the above groups. The *theta* has the dot as in group F, but in other respects the writing rather resembles that of E.

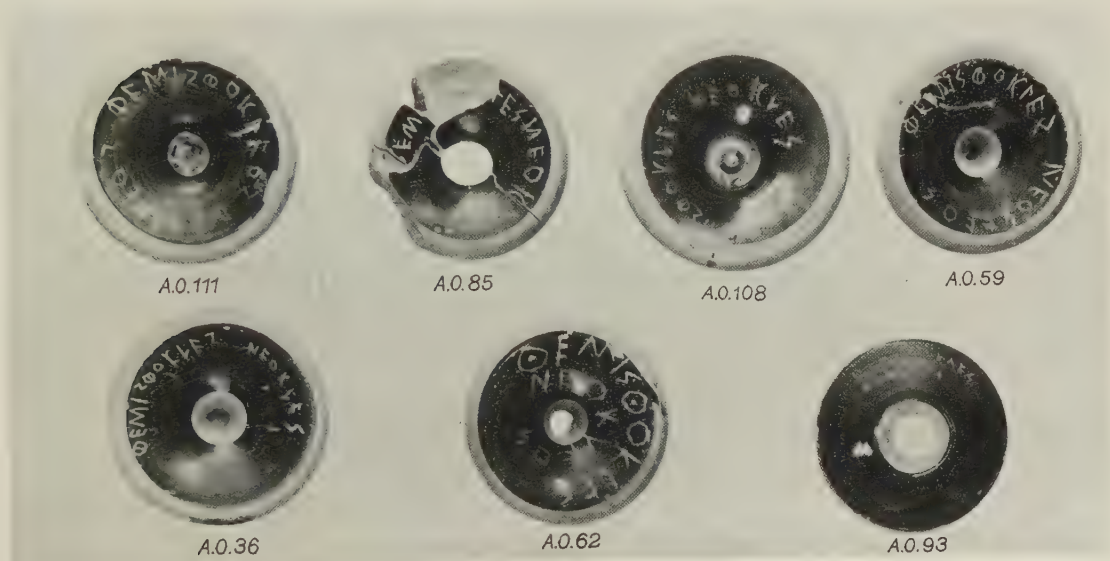


Fig. 70. Ostraka of Groups M, N, O

In addition to the groups described above there are eleven fragments⁴ too small to be assigned to any hand. Among the ostraka were also found one uninscribed kylix base of type I and, at a higher level, one with some illegible letters.

A single ostrakon (Fig. 71, A.O. 1), found at a depth of only 6.50 m., has the name of Kimon, son of Miltiades, whose ostracism took place in the spring of 461 B.C. The letters are scratched on the rim of a large bowl, covered with brown glaze. The *lambda* has the Ionic form, but in other respects the writing is Attic.

¹ A.O. 111, 85, 108, 59, 36.

² A.O. 62.

³ A.O. 93.

⁴ 4 of bowls, A.O. 170, 183, 190, 192; and 7 of sherds, A.O. 188, 186, 193, 189, 187, 191, 185.

Themistoklēs was ostracized from Athens some time during the late seventies of the fifth century,¹ but this can hardly have been the first time that an attempt was made to oust him from the city. His political career as leader of the progressive party brought him into constant clash with the opposing factions headed by such men as Hipparchos, Megakles, Xanthippos, and Aristides, who all went into exile largely through the influence of Themistokles. There is every probability that votes were cast for his banishment at many of the *ostrakophoriai* that took place during the twenty years in which he played a leading rôle in the government of Athens, and archaeological evidence tends to bear out this supposition. That he was proposed for ostracism in 482² is shown by the fact that ostraka of Themistokles and Aristides have been found together in wells and stratified deposits in the Athenian Agora.³

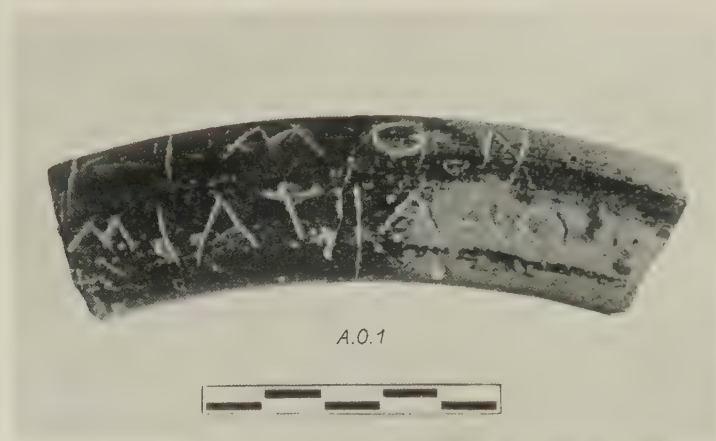


Fig. 71. Ostrakon of Kimon

Another name which occurs frequently on ostraka from similar contexts is that of Kallyxenos, son of Aristonymos, whose political career is otherwise unknown.

To which of the ostracisms of Themistokles do our ostraka belong? A glance at the ostraka of the year 483/2 from the Agora will suggest an answer to this question. It is a fortunate fact that the bases of pottery, both of kylikes and skyphoi, show definite changes in profile and decoration which follow the chronological development of the vases. Among the ostraka from the Agora there are at least three of Aristides, one of Themistokles, one of Xanthippos (ostracized in 484), and several of Kallyxenos, inscribed on kylix bases similar to those from well M. In view of the remarkable uniformity in the shapes of the bases, there is every probability that the ostraka from well M were prepared for the ostracism of 482. The same conclusion will be reached

¹ Carcopino, *L'Ostracisme Athénien*, pp. 157 ff., gives 472/1 as the most probable year of his ostracism.

² For the date of the ostracism of Aristides see Carcopino, *op. cit.*, p. 150; *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, IV, p. 153.

³ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 460; V, 1936, p. 39; *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 13; Homer Thompson, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 296.

by a comparison of the skyphoi bases with certain skyphoi found in a well deposit in the Agora, the contents of which date from the early fifth century B.C.¹

It has already been pointed out that the ostraka from the well were not inscribed by the voters themselves, and there are good reasons to believe that they were never used. We know that the *ostrakophoriai* took place in the Agora, which is far from the well in which the ostraka were discovered, and it seems unlikely that they were carried up the slopes of the Acropolis to be thrown away. Moreover, one would expect to find ostraka with other names among those of Themistokles, if the contents of the "ballot boxes" had been emptied into the well after the votes had been counted. Finally, the uniformity of the material used for the ostraka and the fact that no coarse sherds are found among them is further proof of the contention that they had never been cast at an ostracism. We may credit the opponents of Themistokles with the foresight of having prepared the ostraka on specially attractive material for distribution among the citizens who were not sufficiently well versed in the art of writing or were otherwise unwilling to take the trouble to prepare their own ballots.

LAMPS

Six terracotta lamps and fragments of lamps (Fig. 72) were found in well M. Two of these, A.L. 155 and A.L. 157 are pieces of multiple lamps like those discussed above together with the contents from well V (p. 199, Fig. 34). A.L. 155, found at a depth of 16.50 m., is made by hand of a coarse, micaceous clay, of reddish brown color. The individual units, three of which are preserved entire, are slightly more developed in form than those of A.L. 149, Fig. 34, and may be of a somewhat later date. A.L. 157, which came from near the top of the well, is a fifth century type. It consisted of a large circular receptacle with a rather broad rim pierced with numerous small wick-holes without any proper nozzles. In the centre was a hollow tube,² and on the bottom is a broad flat base-ring.

Two fragments of one lamp (A.L. 159) belong to type III, but certain features are present not commonly found in this type. The outer half of the rim is nearly flat and projects slightly, and the inner half slopes steeply toward the inside. The nozzle was unbridged, and at the back was a small handle. The bottom is flat without a base. Only the nozzle, the rim, and the inside were glazed. The remaining three lamps belong

¹ I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool. A corroboration of an early date of our ostraka was offered me by Prof. H. R. W. Smith, who is making a study of the chronological development of skyphoi bases. Knowing the ostraka only from photographs, he suggested, on the basis of shape and decoration alone, that the skyphoi to which they belong were made before the time of the Persian Invasion.

² It is generally considered that this tube developed because the lamps were set on a stand provided with a peg that fitted into the tube. Another explanation is offered by H. A. Thompson (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 198, note 1) that the tube is "a final stage in the development of the open centre found so commonly in the early multiple lamps in the Acropolis Museum, and in the hundreds of so-called 'kernoi' from the Sicilian sanctuaries of Demeter." Whatever was the origin of the tube, the lamps with open centre continued in use long after the tube lamps had reached their full development, cf. A.L. 151, fig. 34.

to type IV. The earliest of these (A.L. 156), found at the very bottom of the well together with the coarse household ware, is a flat, open dish with narrow rim, unbridged short nozzle, no handle and no base. In the bottom is a conical depression, with a corresponding conical projection on the inside. The nozzle and the inside are covered with a dull brown glaze. A small specimen (A.L. 154¹), with broad rim, bridged nozzle,



Fig. 72. Terracotta Lamps from Well M

and lacking both handle and base, is of later date. A black glaze covers inside, nozzle and rim. The latest of all the lamps from well M (A.L. 158), which came from the fill near the top, is a good example of the fully developed type IV of the fifth century,² with curving rim, horizontal handle, and low flat base. The black glaze, which covers all but the bottom of the base, is of excellent quality.

¹ Cf. *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, pl. II, 62.

² *Ibid.*, pl. II, 64.

FIGURINES

The terracotta figurines (Fig. 73), like the pottery, testify to the gradual filling up of well M. A few small pieces of primitives (A.F. 654, 655, 662, 657) came out of the fill at various depths in the well, but those found near the bottom are all of the archaic type. Two are seated female figures (A.F. 664, 665), and one fragment is from the lower part



Fig. 73. Terracotta Figurines from Well M

of a large standing figure (A.F. 663). Two heads in rather poor condition (A.F. 661, 659), found at a depth of 6 to 8 m., belong to the period after the Persian wars. A.F. 659 is probably the earlier of the two. The hair, divided in the centre, falls in full, wavy masses over the forehead. The eyes are still rather straight and bulging, lending an expression of vacant stare to the face, but there is no trace of the archaic smile. The second head (A.F. 661) has certain features showing a tendency toward experimentation along new lines in the manner of the transitional period. The hair is covered with a kerchief¹ wrapped several times about the head. The features of the face are carefully

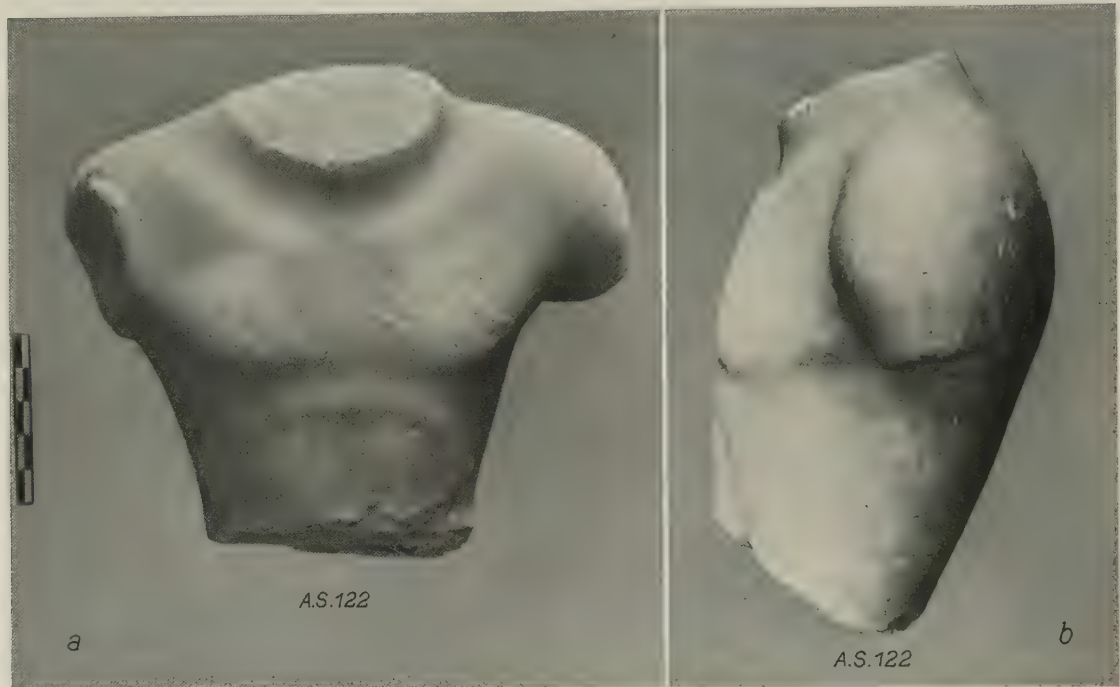


Fig. 74. Torso of Rider from Well M

modeled. The eyes are rendered with a degree of naturalism never attained in truly archaic figures, and the muscles about the mouth and chin give a highly individualistic expression to the face.

SCULPTURE

Two pieces of marble sculpture were found in well M. One is the torso of a rider (A.S. 122, Fig. 74, a, b), *ca.* one-third life size,² of grayish coarse-grained marble. The left

¹ A similar headgear is worn by two heads from one of the earlier campaigns on the North Slope. One of these, of somewhat later date than A.F. 661, is published by C. H. Morgan, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 208, fig. 12, a.

² Preserved height, 0.14 m.; width at shoulders, 0.15 m.

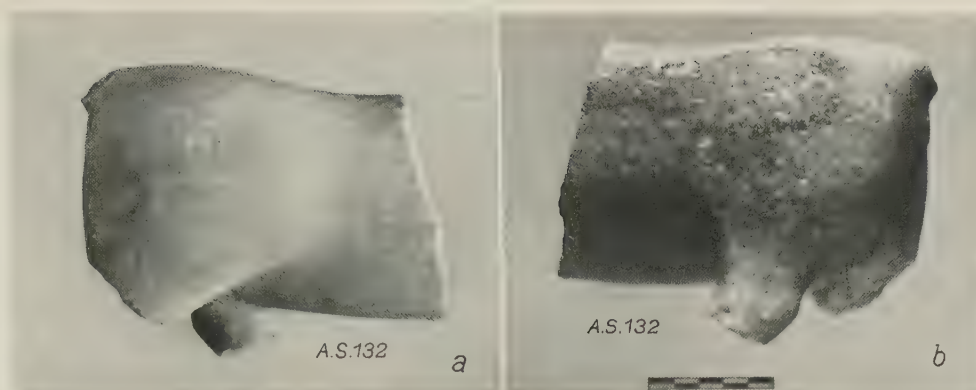


Fig. 75. Fragment of Marble Pig from Well M



Fig. 76. Bronze Vessels from Well M, Inside



Fig. 77. Bronze Vessels from Well M, Outside

arm was drawn back, and the right hand seems to have been held forward. The stooping shoulders and the forward bend of the neck show that the statuette represented a mounted figure.¹ The musculature of chest and abdomen is modeled with great care and delicacy, and the surface of the marble has been smoothly polished in front, whereas the back is roughly finished.

The second fragment (A.S. 132, Fig. 75, a, b) preserves the rear half of a small sow,² of coarse grained marble with blue veins. It is carefully modeled and well finished on the right side only. The left side, being rather flat and sketchily treated, cannot have been intended to be seen. The fragment is probably part of a dedication to Demeter from one of her sanctuaries known to have existed on the slopes of the Acropolis.³

METAL OBJECTS AND MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

Numerous metal objects were found in well M, many of them in a poor state of preservation. Those found below the water level are corroded beyond recognition.

1. (A.B. 180) Figs. 76 and 77. Bronze bowl. Height, 0.04 m.; diam., 0.14 m. The rim flares out slightly, and below is a double incised line, but no other traces of decoration are preserved.
2. (A.B. 181) Figs. 76 and 77. Height, 0.038 m.; diam., 0.122 m. Bronze phiale with omphalos in the centre. The rim turns in a little at the top. On the edge are some horizontal lines, and from there a series of elongated loops or tongues extend toward the omphalos.
3. (A.B. 179) Figs. 76 and 77. Height, 0.023 m.; diam., 0.092 m. Bronze phiale like the preceding but of smaller size.
4. (A.B. 182) Fig. 78. Length, 0.155 m.; width, 0.065 m. Bronze leaf of very thin metal and in poor condition.
5. (A.B. 217) Fig. 79. Solid bronze rod broken at one end. Length, 0.276 m.; diam., 0.013–0.016 m. It tapers gradually toward the broken end, and at the other end are some grooves which seem to have resulted from turning in a socket.
6. (A.B. 220) Fig. 79. Piece of bronze rod, broken at one end and terminating in a blunt point at the other. Length, 0.047 m.; diam., 0.006–0.011 m.



Fig. 78. Bronze Leaf from Well M

¹ Cf. Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pl. 133, no. 490.

² Total length of fragment, 0.15 m.

³ Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, pp. 286 ff.; Keramopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XII, 1929, pp. 73 ff.

7. (A.B. 221) Fig. 79. Bronze piece shaped like the point of an umbrella. Length, 0.061 m. At the thicker end it is hollow for a length of *ca.* 0.02 m., and on the outside is a flange, beyond which it is broken off.
8. (A.M. 239) Fig. 79. Spear butt of iron and bronze. Total length, 0.26 m. It consists of a socket of iron, *ca.* 0.025 m. in diameter, held together with a bronze ring at the open end, and tapering slightly toward the closed end, where it is attached by means of a bronze shoe to a solid piece of iron, *ca.* 0.033 m. square in section and 0.105 m. long.

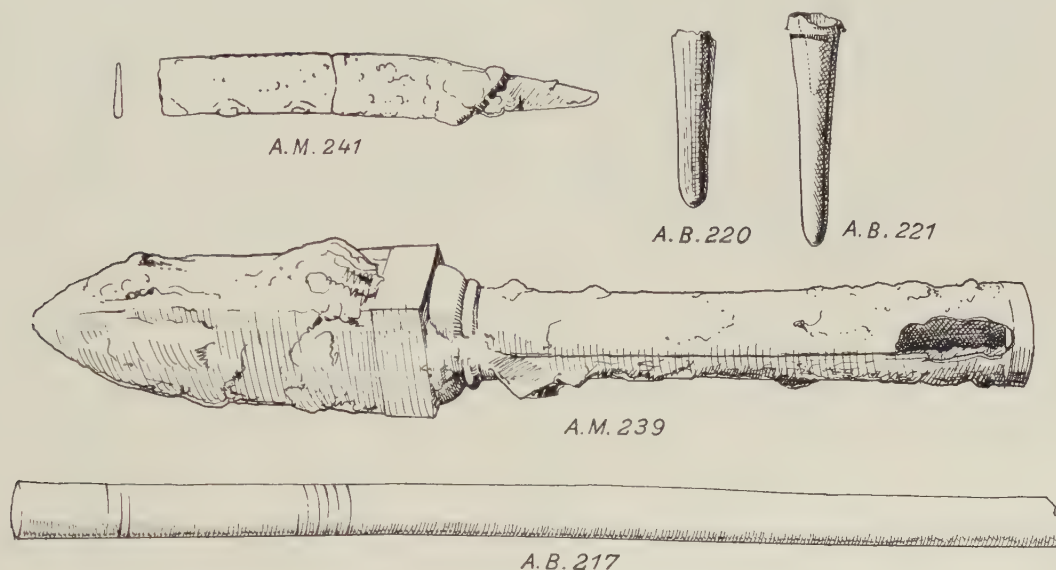


Fig. 79. Objects of Bronze and Iron from Well M

The common shape of spear butt is more elongated and pointed, so much so that examples of that type have been mistaken for spear blades.¹ It is, of course, possible that our specimen is broken off at the end, but this is not necessarily the case. A butt end of bronze from Cyprus, now in Paris,² is equally blunt and thick in proportion to the spear shaft, but it is circular instead of square in section. A dedicatory inscription dates it to about 480 B.C. The best parallel from Greece is offered by an iron spear butt from Patras.³ It is somewhat more elongated and

¹ See Furtwängler, *Olympia*, IV, p. 175 and pl. LXIV, 1050–1060, and cf. Richter, *Gk. Etr. and Rom. Br. in Metr. Mus.*, p. 398. Prof. Homer Thompson, to whom I am indebted for the identification of the spear butt from well M, has called my attention to a similar object in Toronto (*Bull. Roy. Ont. Mus.*, March 1932, p. 13.)

² Babelon-Blanchet, *Bronzes Antiques de la Bibl. Nat.*, p. 670, no. 2141.

³ Bosanquet, *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, pp. 273 ff. This article is the best brief discussion on the subject, but see also Walters, *Cat. of Br. in Br. Mus.*, nos. 77, 2767, 2768, 3202; and Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 33, pls. XXXIX, XL.

slender, but in other respects it is very similar to ours, even to the bronze ring at the juncture between the socket and the butt end proper.

9. (A.M. 241) Fig. 79. Iron knife. Length, 0.113 m. It was found fastened by rust to a small stone, from which it is impossible to remove it without damaging the blade.
10. (A.M. 243) Fig. 80. Iron adze, badly destroyed by rust, but the shape can be clearly determined. It is practically identical with that of the modern *σκεπάρι*, regularly used by Greek carpenters in place of the common hatchet.

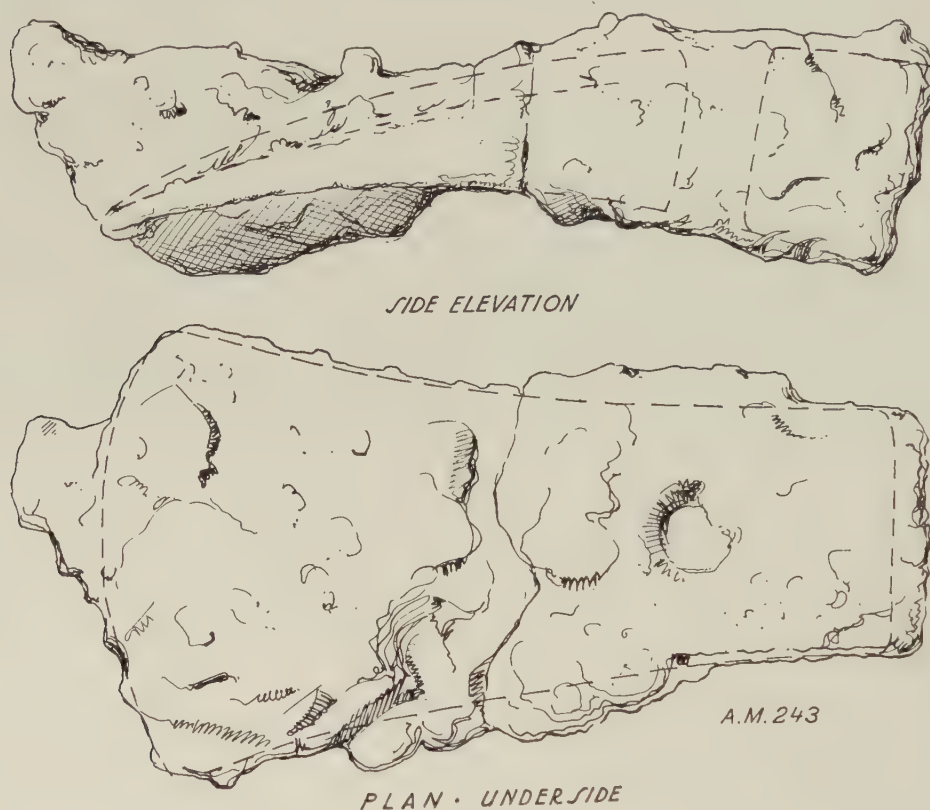


Fig. 80. Iron Adze from Well M

11. (A.M. 240.) Twelve lead rivets of various sizes, probably prepared to be used for mending pottery.¹

The miscellaneous objects from well M include six terracotta loom weights (A.W. 72-77), all of the pyramidal type. One (A.W. 76) has three incised lines in the top, and another (A.W. 74) has five small depressions arranged in a quincunx. A flat circular grindstone (A.M. 242), 0.112 m. in diameter and 0.035 m. in thickness, came from a depth of 11 m.

¹ See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 469.

Date	Depth Metres	Pottery A.P.	Figurines A.F.	Sculpture A.S.	Lamps A.L.	Bronzes A.B.	Miscellaneous A.M.	Weights A.W.	Ostraka A.O.
May 14	0-0.70	1085-1087					235		
15	0.70-2.10	1088-1096	654		157				
17	2.10-3.10	1097-1102, 1113	655				236-238, 240	72-74, 77	
18	3.10-4.10	1103-1105	656-658		158	179-182, 217, 220, 221, 227	239		
19	4.10-4.75	1115-1117							
20	4.75-6	1106, 1107, 1114	659, 660			Fragments	241		
21	6-7	1108-1112			159				
22	7-8.30		661				Marble, Roof Tiles		
24	8.30-9.10	1118				Bowl			
25	9.10-10			122					
26	10-11.20			134				75	
27	11.20-11.90	1114					242		
28	11.90-13		662				243, Cover Tiles		3-30, 51, 153-161
29	13-14	1119-1121		132			Wood		32-50, 52-152, 166-175, 181-193
31	14-14.55	1122, 1123							
June 1	14.55-15.30		663		154				
2	15.30-16.15								
3	16.15-16.80	1124, 1125	664		155				
4	16.80-17.75						Wood		
5	17.75-18.40	1126-1137, 1175	665		156		Wood	76	

CHART RECORDING THE DAY BY DAY PROGRESS OF CLEARING WELL M,
AND THE DEPTH AT WHICH EACH OBJECT WAS DISCOVERED

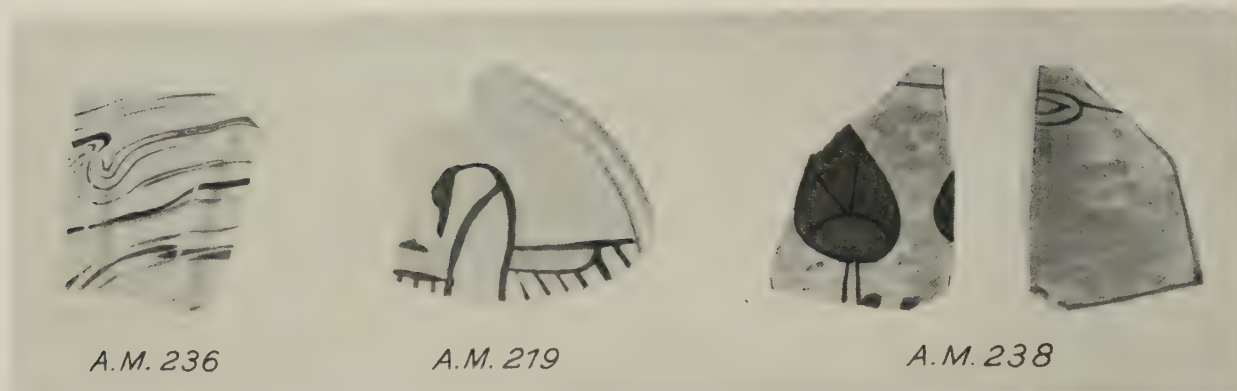


Fig. 81. Objects of Glass and Faience

One small piece of opaque glass (A.M. 236, Fig. 81) with blue striations and raised ribs is from an open bowl with part of the slightly flaring lip preserved.¹ A small fragment of faience (A.M. 238, Fig. 81) resembles the Egyptian piece found in Y-Z (p. 187). It is part of an open vessel and preserves a small piece of the upper edge. On the outside it was decorated with buds outlined in black and filled in with purple, and on the inside is a small leaf near the edge of the vessel. Both fragments came from a depth of two to three metres, with objects dated in the second half of the fifth century (see p. 214, Fig. 47, A.P. 1093).

OBJECTS FROM THE LATE FILL OF THE MAIN AREA

In the main area of excavation almost no undisturbed stratification was observed, with the exception of the fill in cuttings Y-Z and in wells V and M, the contents of which have been discussed above. At one point, however, near the east edge of the area (Fig. 5, X) there was a slight accumulation of earth containing pottery and terracotta figurines of the late sixth century B.C. (cf. p. 183, Fig. 21, A.P. 1174). This may prove to be the outer edge of an undisturbed deposit, extending into the unexcavated area toward the east. The sculpture and pottery culled from the late fill in the excavation of 1937, are now being studied and will appear in a future number of this journal. The remaining material, comprising a large variety of objects: terracotta figurines, coins, and miscellaneous finds, will be published in connection with the material from subsequent campaigns. A small selection of significant objects of postclassical times will be discussed below.

No less than 125 fragments of inscriptions were discovered in 1937. Many of these are unimportant pieces preserving a few letters each. The important documents from the sixth to the third century B.C. are published in a separate article by Eugene Schweigert in this number of *Hesperia*.

¹ Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum*, I, pl. I, gives examples of similar bowls from Egypt.

BYZANTINE IVORY RELIEF

Along the east side of the main area (at point X, Fig. 5) was discovered a fragment of a carved ivory pyxis¹ (Fig. 82, A.M. 230). Below the rounded lip is a raised moulding made on the lathe, and a small piece of the base moulding is preserved at the lower edge of the fragment. If we assume that the two mouldings were of the same width, the total height of the pyxis may be calculated at *ca.* 0.117 m.

A raised, curving line, indicating the ground, divides the picture into an upper and a lower half. In the centre of the upper part is the figure of a man dressed in short tunic and cloak, which hangs from his shoulder and flutters in the wind. He is swinging a heavy stick or club, which he grasps with both hands, and seems to be engaged in rousing to action an animal of uncertain identity, sitting calmly in front of him. Only the hind part is preserved, but the nature of the break at the right edge seems to indicate that the animal was looking back at him. At the left edge of the upper zone are preserved the hind legs and tail of a lion, hurrying away to the left. Above the lion in the upper left corner there is a peculiar basket-like object, which appears to be suspended from the moulding, and below it are five slightly curving lines incised in the background of the picture.

In the lower zone parts of four animals are preserved. A hare looking up at the man with the club is running fast toward the right, and at the very edge of the break is the tail of another animal, apparently running in the same direction. It differs somewhat from the tails of the lions, but the identity of the animal cannot be determined. A male lion to left fills most of the left half of the lower zone. The front



Fig. 82. Fragment of Ivory Pyxis

¹ Height of fragment, 0.103 m.; width, 0.056 m.

part of his head and his paws are lost. He, too, is making off with great speed. Below is the fore part of a dog, barking at the other animals. He seems to be tied to some object behind him, or possibly he is held by a leash.

What is the meaning of this picture? At first glance it appears like a hunting scene, such as are often found on ivories of this kind, but grave difficulties arise from this interpretation. A stick, even a large one, is not the proper weapon for a lion hunt, and the speed with which the beasts rush away, seems out of keeping with the hunter's equipment. The only animal not in a hurry to depart is the one about to receive the blow. It would be difficult indeed to find a parallel for such a hunting scene in early Christian art, or in the art of any period. The common weapon used by lion hunters in such scenes is the spear, and usually the lions are represented as turning against the hunter, not fleeing from him.¹ Are we to assume that the lions are rushing to attack a second hunter more suitably armed for the chase, leaving the man at the top of the picture to swing his inoffensive weapon in the air? And what is the meaning of the curious object at the upper edge? These questions find no answer on the assumption that the relief represents the hunt.

Suggestions have been made that we are dealing with a scene from the arena,² another type of picture very common on early Byzantine ivories. But this seems even less likely. What has a hare and a dog on leash to do in such a picture, and again what of the basket-like object in the upper left corner?

There is a third explanation, through which most of these difficulties will be removed. It seems to me highly probable that the fragment belongs to a relief representing the story of Noah at the moment when the last animals were being rounded up and driven into the Ark.³ The man swinging the stick is one of the sons of Noah hastening on the animals that lag behind. The Ark would have been represented on the opposite side of the pyxis. On the preserved piece the animals run in both directions, approaching the ark from opposite sides. The object in the upper left corner can now be explained as a cloud from which the rain has begun to pour down.⁴

¹ A typical example is the lively hunting scene on a somewhat earlier ivory carving in R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen*, pl. 60, but similar scenes are very numerous.

² This suggestion was first made by Miss Berta Segall.

³ This unorthodox view is not quite in keeping with the Bible story, where the animals are represented as coming to the ark of their own volition, but Byzantine artists may have been less well versed in details of the Old Testament stories than in the tradition of their craft.

⁴ I know of no exact parallel in early Christian art to this way of indicating a cloud in the sky, but analogous figures are found. The cloud with the downpour of rain at the beginning of the flood is somewhat similarly indicated in mediaeval miniatures (Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque Grec de Smyrne*, pl. 12, no. 32); likewise the fire from heaven consuming Sodom (*ibid.*, pl. 23, no. 67). In scenes representing the sacrifice of Isaac the hand of God protruding from a cloud is similarly shown at the upper border of the picture (see especially the ivory pyxis in Berlin, Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, p. 160, Abb. 2, zu no. 37; and compare A. M. Smith, *A.J.A.*, XXVI, 1922, pp. 159 ff.; *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, no. 1468, where references to other such scenes are given). Similarly, the hand of God projecting from a cloud appears at the top of pictures showing the announcement of the coming of the flood as in the mosaics of the narthex of St. Mark's in Venice (Ch. Diehl, *La Peinture Byz.*, pl. XXXIII; cf. Peirce and Tyler, *L'Art Byz.*, I, pl. 189). Prof. Valentine Müller has kindly called my attention to a somewhat similar representation of clouds on a wall-painting from Assur (*Jahrb.*, XLII, 1927, p. 11, fig. 7).

This is the artist's way of indicating the exact moment which his picture is intended to portray.¹

It is possible, however, that certain elements in the picture were borrowed from hunting scenes. That, being by far a more common subject for reliefs of this kind, might well have served the ambitious artist as a model from which to choose his figures. The dog on the leash seems less appropriate among the animals going into the ark, but the artist, finding the dog in the hunting scene together with the running lion, copied the whole group without reflecting on the appropriateness of such a combination. Or possibly he conceived of the dog as belonging to the family of Noah, doing the same duty as a shepherd dog in a flock of sheep and goats. However that may be, the difficulties involved in this interpretation are less serious than those arising from any of the other explanations.²

The type of pyxis to which our fragment belongs was common in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. A somewhat earlier example than ours, reputed to have come from Athens and now in the Louvre, is published by Hans Graeven in *Mon. Piot*, VI, 1899, pp. 159 ff., pl. XV,³ and a list of fifteen similar pyxides is given on p. 160. To these should be added a pyxis of Coptic origin in the Bliss collection,⁴ dating from the sixth century A.D.⁵

The date of our fragment can be fixed within narrow limits. A close parallel, stylistically, is offered by an ivory pyxis in the Bargello at Florence, which has been dated at the end of the fifth century.⁶ On one side it represents a chase. Three mounted

¹ The story of Noah is not frequently portrayed in early Christian art, but neither is it entirely lacking (see *Br. Mus. Guide to Early Christian and Byz. Antiquities*, p. 21; O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, I, nos. 17, 21, 1224). The epitaph of Pontia in the Lateran Museum, which originally was interpreted as containing a scene from Noah's ark (Garucci, *Storia*, VI, 1880, pl. 482, 2) is, so far as I know, the earliest. According to this interpretation Noah is seated in front of a gabled structure, intended to represent the ark, while one of his sons, whip in hand, is driving some animals toward him. This is one of five scenes in the picture, the central one representing Adam and Eve. To the right of this scene is a man plowing, presumably Abel, engaged, according to the Bible account, in husbandry. At the extreme left and right are figures of the Good Shepherd and of Daniel among the lions. Leclercq (Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dict.*, I¹, 1924, col. 1034, fig. 245; III¹, 1913, col. 873, fig. 2665; cf. *Röm. Quart.*, II, 1888, p. 287, *Bull. Arch. Christ.*, VI, 1888-9, p. 74) interprets the seated figure in front of the gabled structure as a woman spinning wool, and the corresponding figure on the other side as a farmer plowing his field. It is difficult to see why these secular groups should be inserted between the Old Testament scenes in the picture.

² Miss Alison Frantz, with whom I have discussed the problems connected with the interpretation of the ivory, is of the opinion that the relief represents a hunting scene, and that the object in the upper left corner is part of an architectural background. She would interpret the "cloud" as the capital of a column and the incised lines as the fluted shaft.

³ This article was called to my attention by Prof. Edward Capps, Jr., who will publish in the near future a new study of Early Christian ivories. For a more detailed study of our fragment reference should be made to his publication where it will be discussed in connection with other pyxides of the same type.

⁴ *The Dark Ages*, Worcester Art Museum, 1937, no. 57.

⁵ Excellent illustrations of ivory pyxides are found in Peirce and Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 98, 160, 163; II, pls. 9, a-e, 11, b, 12, b, 158, c, 159, b, 160, a and b; and Louis Bréhier, *La Sculpture et les Arts Mineurs Byzantins*, pl. XXV.

⁶ Peirce and Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 163, c.

hunters are charging against several lions, bears and other animals. One lion has turned against the only hunter on foot, who thrusts his spear into the beast. The mounted hunters, on the other hand, are pursuing the fleeing animals. The lions are very similar to those on our fragment, but the pyxis in Florence seems to be slightly earlier in date. Another pyxis in the Cathedral of Sens,¹ also decorated with hunting scenes, is somewhat earlier than the Florence pyxis. Here, too, is a lion being speared by a hunter and underneath is a barking dog. The composition of this group is so similar to that of the lion and the dog in the lower left corner of our fragment that they may well go back to a common prototype.

But a definite dating of these pyxides will depend on the consular diptychs, many of which can be assigned to the year in which they were made. By comparison with these the fragment from our excavation must be dated in the first quarter of the sixth century. Two diptychs from the year of Anastasios (517)² with scenes from the arena



Fig. 83 a. Coin of Justinian II.
Obverse



Fig. 83 b. Coin of Justinian II.
Reverse

have many features in common with our fragment and with the pyxis in Florence. The peculiar rendering of the large bushy hair with vertical striations, the deep drill holes used for the eyes of both men and beasts, and the poorly modeled, cherubic faces of the gladiators are characteristic of the figures on our fragment. On the diptychs from the year of Aerobindus (506), of which there are many,³ the faces are more carefully modeled, the hair is commonly rendered with cross hatchings, although the striated hairdress occurs often enough, and the animals are carved with far greater accuracy and feeling for anatomical details. The pyxis in Florence is more closely related to this group of diptychs.

The pyxis fragment from our excavation, though small, will fill an important place in the history of early Christian ivories. Rarely are such ivories found in modern excavations, and antiquities which have passed through dealers' hands have lost much of their archaeological importance. Moreover, the scene—whatever interpretation we follow—is unique in the art of this period.

¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 160, d.

² R. Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, pls. 20, 21.

³ See especially Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, pls. 9, 13, 12.

The ivory was discovered in a section of the excavation which had suffered less from modern intrusion than any other part of the main area. In the same context was discovered a Byzantine coin (Fig. 83) which would help to fix the date of the destruction of the pyxis, and, consequently, serve as a convenient *terminus ante quem* for the date of the carving. The following description of the coin was prepared by Dr. Josephine M. Harris, Fellow in Archaeology for the year 1937-1938.

JUSTINIAN II (SECOND REIGN) 705-711

Æ 16 mm.

Obv.

Bust of Justinian II on l., bearded, of Tiberius, his son, on r., beardless; each wears crown with cross; Justinian with mantle and robe; Tiberius with dress of lozenge pattern; between them supported with their r. hands a cross potent; whole within circle of dots.

Rev.

X

⊥ X on l., X

X . X on r.; below B. Circle of dots. Evidence either of restriking or overstriking. Any symbol above K obliterated.

B.M.C. *Byz.*, II, p. 356, 10.

This coin, while agreeing in its general form with known types of Justinian, varies remarkably from them in its details. On the obverse Justinian and Tiberius support between them a cross potent, while on the bronze coin of the same denomination listed in the B.M.C.¹ they hold a patriarchal cross on a globe, and only on the gold coin of the same period² does the cross potent on steps appear. Whether the cross potent in the present coin rests on a globe or steps cannot be determined as the lower part of the coin has been clipped. The dress of Tiberius is here of lozenge pattern, whereas on every coin of Justinian's second reign, as described in the B.M.C.,³ he wears a mantle and robe. Furthermore there is no evidence of any obverse inscription on the coin and indeed there is no room for one between the figures and the circle of dots. Although this lack of inscription is an unusual feature and is not found on the coins in the B.M.C.,⁴ it is mentioned by de Sauley⁵ who describes a similar coin without inscription.

The reverse of this coin presents a peculiarity which is perhaps unique in Byzantine coinage: the numeral is to the left of the K and the year to the right, while on every coin of this type listed in the B.M.C. and Sabatier the opposite is found: the year is left and the numeral right. The coin presumably belongs to the year 710⁶ and is probably a new type, at least insofar as can be determined from available evidence.

¹ B.M.C., *Byz.*, II, p. 356, 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 354, 1.

³ Pp. 354-356.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ F. de Sauley, *Essai de Classification de Suites Monétaires Byzantines*, p. 124.

⁶ Following B.M.C., II, p. 356, which dates coins with XXV in 705. Cf. de Sauley, p. 123.



Fig. 84 a. Lead Seal of Tomasso Mocenigo. Obverse



Fig. 84 b. Lead Seal of Tomasso Mocenigo. Reverse

VENETIAN LEAD SEAL

A lead seal (Fig. 84) of Tomasso Mocenigo, Doge of Venice 1413–1423, is of especial significance for the history of Athens in the early part of the fifteenth century A.D. It is well preserved with the exception of a slight corrosion on the left side of the obverse and on the right side of the reverse. On the obverse is the figure of St. Mark with nimbus and mitre, holding the Book of Gospels in his left hand and a tall standard in his right. He wears a mantle with a row of crosses on the border round the shoulders and down the front. Although he appears to be standing, the throne behind and the position of his feet show that the engraver intended to represent him in a sitting position. On his right stands the figure of the Doge, wearing his crown and an embroidered mantle over a tunic. With his right hand he also is holding the standard between him and St. Mark, and in his left hand is a mappa. The legend reads: TOMAS [MOCENIG] O DVX S. MARCVS. On the reverse is the legend THOMAS | MOCENIGO | DEI GRADV | VENETIAR | ET C. There are five pellets in a quincunx above the inscription and a similar group, with one pellet missing, in the lower exergue. At the beginning of the last line is a group of four pellets; of the corresponding group at the other end of the line only one pellet is preserved.

Tomasso Mocenigo was a contemporary of Antonio Acciajuoli, Duke of Athens from 1402 to 1435, whose chancery was in the northwest wing of the Mnesekleian Propylaia. The intimate—if not always cordial—relations between Athens and Venice at this time created the necessity for a lively correspondence between the two rulers,¹ and it is likely that the lead seal from our excavations was affixed to one of the letters of state sent by Mocenigo to Acciajuoli.

POTTERY

Very little Byzantine pottery has been discovered in the excavations on the North Slope, with the exception of coarse household ware and extremely late glazed ware without decoration. But in the last campaign a few pieces were brought to light which deserve to be mentioned.

The two vases of sgraffito ware, shown in Fig. 85, came from the fill of a small pit (Fig. 5, P) at the north edge of the main area. A.P. 938 is a plate² with high, almost vertical, rim and a low base-ring (see profile, Fig. 86). The clay is hard and well fired, of a brick red color. Only the inside is glazed in a creamy white with a tinge of brown, whereas the reverse is covered with a thin white wash. The decoration consists of a small central medallion with a palmette, surrounded by a plain band and a border of pointed leaves and circular blobs, all against an imbricated ground. On the outside of the border are three incised lines made by a compass which has left a small depression in the centre of the medallion.

¹ See William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, pp. 359–362, who cites the contemporary literature.

² Height, 0.045 m.; diam., 0.223 m.

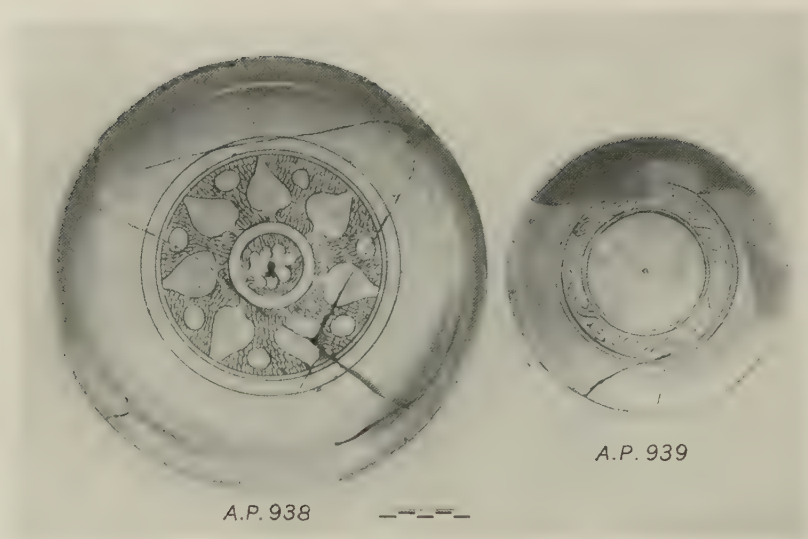


Fig. 85. Two Byzantine Vases

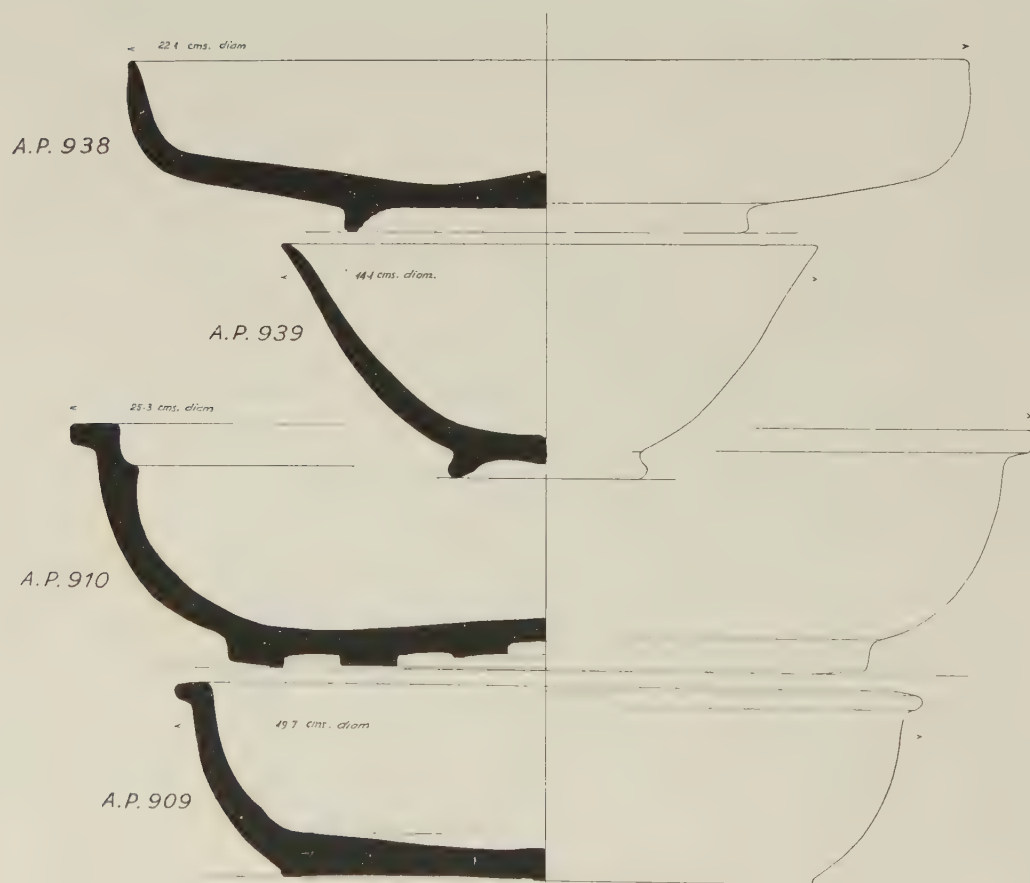


Fig. 86. Profiles of Byzantine Pottery

The smaller vase¹ in figure 85 (A.P. 939) is a deep cup on a low base-ring (Fig. 86). The clay is of a reddish buff color, and the glaze, covering the inside only, is yellow with a green tinge. The decoration, consisting of a decadent rinceau between double lines, is less carefully executed than in the plate. In the centre is a mark of the compass with which the lines were drawn in.

The two vases were discovered together in a small storage pit at the north edge of the main area (Fig. 5, P). Since they came from a closed deposit with no visible intrusion

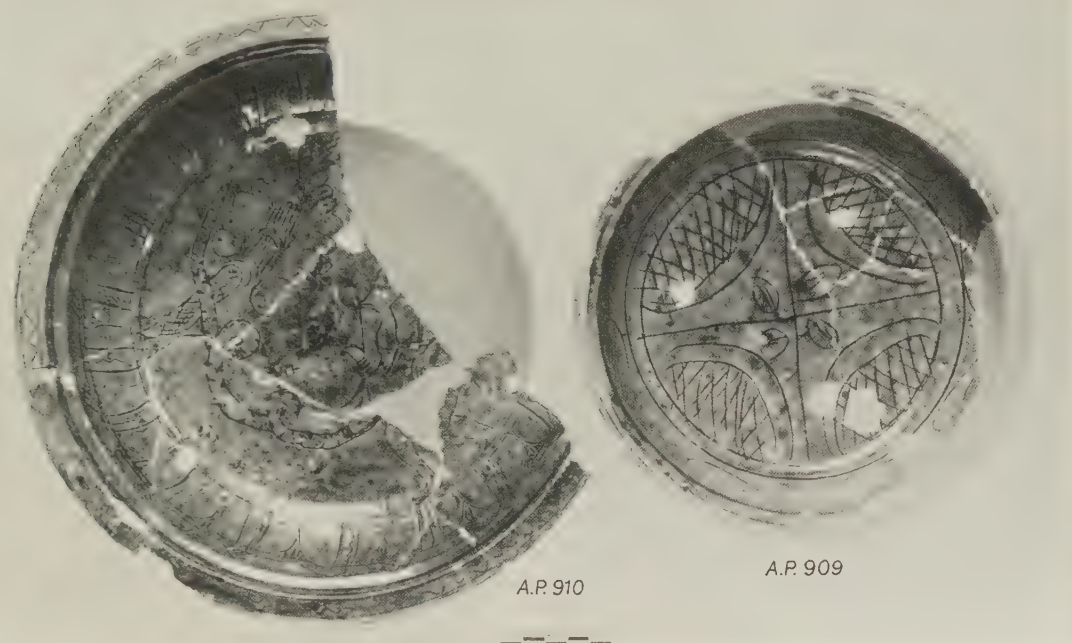


Fig. 87. Two Bowls of Turkish Times

from without, it is obvious that they cannot be far apart in date. Two well preserved coins² of John II (1118–1143 A.D.), discovered in pit P together with the vases, give the date of the fill.

Two flat bowls (Fig. 87), decorated with designs in the same technique, were found in the fill close to the Church of the Savior. A.P. 910³ is a chafing dish with broad flat rim, projecting on the outside, and below it a slight flange (see profile, Fig. 86). Although the shape seems to call for a lid, it is unlikely that one was used, since there are no signs of wear along the edge where the lid would fit into the flange. On the reverse are three broad base-rings, separated by sunk bands of the same width as the rings.

¹ Height, 0.06 m.; diam., 0.14 m.

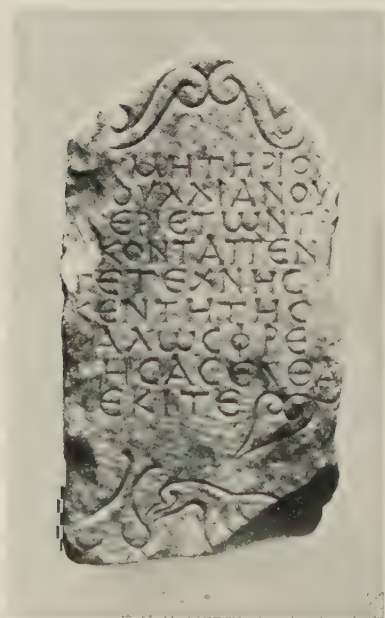
² B.M.C., II, p. 565, 71.

³ Height, 0.062 m.; diam., 0.254 m.

The clay is light brown, of good quality. The outside is unglazed, but the inside is covered with a thick coat of dark green glaze. Marks of the tripod used for stacking the vases in the furnace are clearly visible on the inside.

The decorations, executed in sgraffito technique, stand out in black lines against the green background. On the rim is a wavy line, and on the side below the flange is a series of cross-hatched triangles above a broad border divided by straight and wavy lines into units of about equal width. In the centre of each unit is a pendent triangle, from the lower corner of which a straight line extends to the bottom of the border. The triangles are filled with carelessly drawn patterns of no special character. The design of the whole border gives the effect of an arcade, and it is not unlikely that it originated from some architectural motif. In the central panel a man to left is forcing open the jaws of a gigantic dragon. The upper part of the figure is lost. He wears knee breeches and a jacket, held in at the waist with a girdle. The effect of the struggle is shown by two coils on the long, snake-like body of the dragon. On the left is the figure of a palm tree. The decoration is unusual for the late period to which the plate obviously belongs, *ca.* fifteenth century A.D.

The second bowl¹ in figure 87 (A.P. 909), found with the preceding, is decorated with simple designs in the same technique. The clay is reddish buff, and the glaze, covering the inside, is green of a somewhat lighter shade than that of the preceding. The rim is flat and projects toward the outside, and at one point it is pierced with two small holes for suspension. The central medallion is divided by a cross into four equal parts, each of which is occupied by a segment filled in with cross-hatchings. On the border is a row of loose spirals.



BYZANTINE GRAVE STELE

Among the inscribed marbles of early Christian times there is only one sufficiently well preserved to be of any interest. This is a grave stele,² found April 16, 1937, built into a wall of one of the modern houses. The inscription is cut on a piece of ancient white marble, with a beveled edge on the right side and roughly tooled back. The top of the block is gabled and decorated with double spirals. Below the inscription is the figure of a bird pecking at a large leaf, and another leaf is carved at the end of the last line. The inscription reads:

¹ Height, 0.05 m.; diam., 0.20 m.

² Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.; height of letters, 0.015–0.025 m.

Fig. 88. Grave Stele of Julianos

	[κ]υμητήριον	
	[ʼΙ]ουλλιανοῦ	
	[π]ερὶ ἔτων τε-	Translation:
	[ι]άκοντα πέν-	The grave of Julianos, who lived
5	τε τέχνης	ca. thirty-five years, a man well skilled
	κεντητῆς	in the art of mosaics (or embroidery).
	[κ]αλῶς φρε-	Here he lies buried.
	[ρ]ήσας ἐνθά-	
	[δ]ε κίτε	

The misspellings found in the text are common in early Christian inscriptions.

Line 1, *upsilon* instead of *omikron iota*.

Line 2, double *lambda* in the name Julianos.

Line 7, *epsilon* instead of *omikron* in *φρονήσας*, probably a mere spelling mistake, although the *epsilon* is in the stem of the word.

Line 9, *κίτε* instead of *κεῖται*, is merely phonetic spelling.

The phrase *τέχνης κεντητῆς* should probably be construed as governed by *καλῶς φρονήσας*, although *κεντητῆς* might conceivably have been used as a noun, with *τέχνης* dependent upon it. The adjective *κεντητός*, literally pricked or pierced, is used in connection with any kind of needle work or embroidery, but the noun *κέντησις* occurs also in late inscriptions in the sense of having to do with mosaics.¹ The change of case from the genitive to the nominative in ll. 2 and 8 is not uncommon in inscriptions of this kind.

¹ *I. G. Rom.*, IV, 1417.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS¹

The Decree Concerning Salamis, *I.G.*, I², 1

1. Small fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the base only, found May 18, 1937 in late fill east of the Church of the Savior.

Height, 0.043 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

E.M. 12936. (Fig. 1.)

The new fragment joins E.M. 6798, part of the decree concerning the cleruchs sent to the island of Salamis (*I.G.*, I², 1), and yields the following text:

$\begin{array}{l} \text{ho}[\pi\lambda\iota\tilde{\zeta}\epsilon] \\ \nu \delta\epsilon [\tau]\delta\nu \tilde{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau[\alpha : \tau\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau^{\circ}\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\chi\sigma] \\ \epsilon\nu : [\epsilon\pi]\tilde{\iota} \tau\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma \beta[o]\lambda\tilde{\epsilon}[\varsigma \tau\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma \pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\varsigma] \end{array}$

It will be noted that the restoration $[\epsilon\pi]\tilde{\iota} \tau\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma \beta[o\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma]$, or a personal name of any kind, as suggested by Luria (see *S.E.G.*, III, 1, line 12) is to be rejected. After the word $\beta\omicron\lambda\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma$ are at most nine letter-spaces. Since this phrase undoubtedly dates the decree, a numeral is most suitable. I have retained, therefore, the restoration proposed in the *Editio Minor*. This phrase is well in accord with the period of the reforms of Kleisthenes.

The Accounts of the Statue of Athena Promachos, *I.G.*, I², 338

2. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found June 1, 1937 in the modern fill at the western entrance to the underground passage. The fragment is broken all around. It is inscribed in a kind of modified *stoichedon*; i.e., there are irregularities, which find a parallel in the other fragments of the same inscription.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.078 m.

Height of letters, 0.010 m.

E.M. 12926. (Fig. 2.)

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge the generosity of Professor Oscar Broneer, who entrusted to him the publication of the inscriptions found in the excavations conducted on the North Slope in the season of 1937. He wishes also to thank Professor T. Leslie Shear, Director of the American Excavations in the Agora, for granting permission to devote part of his time as a member of the Agora to the study of these inscriptions.

The texts are arranged in approximately chronological order.

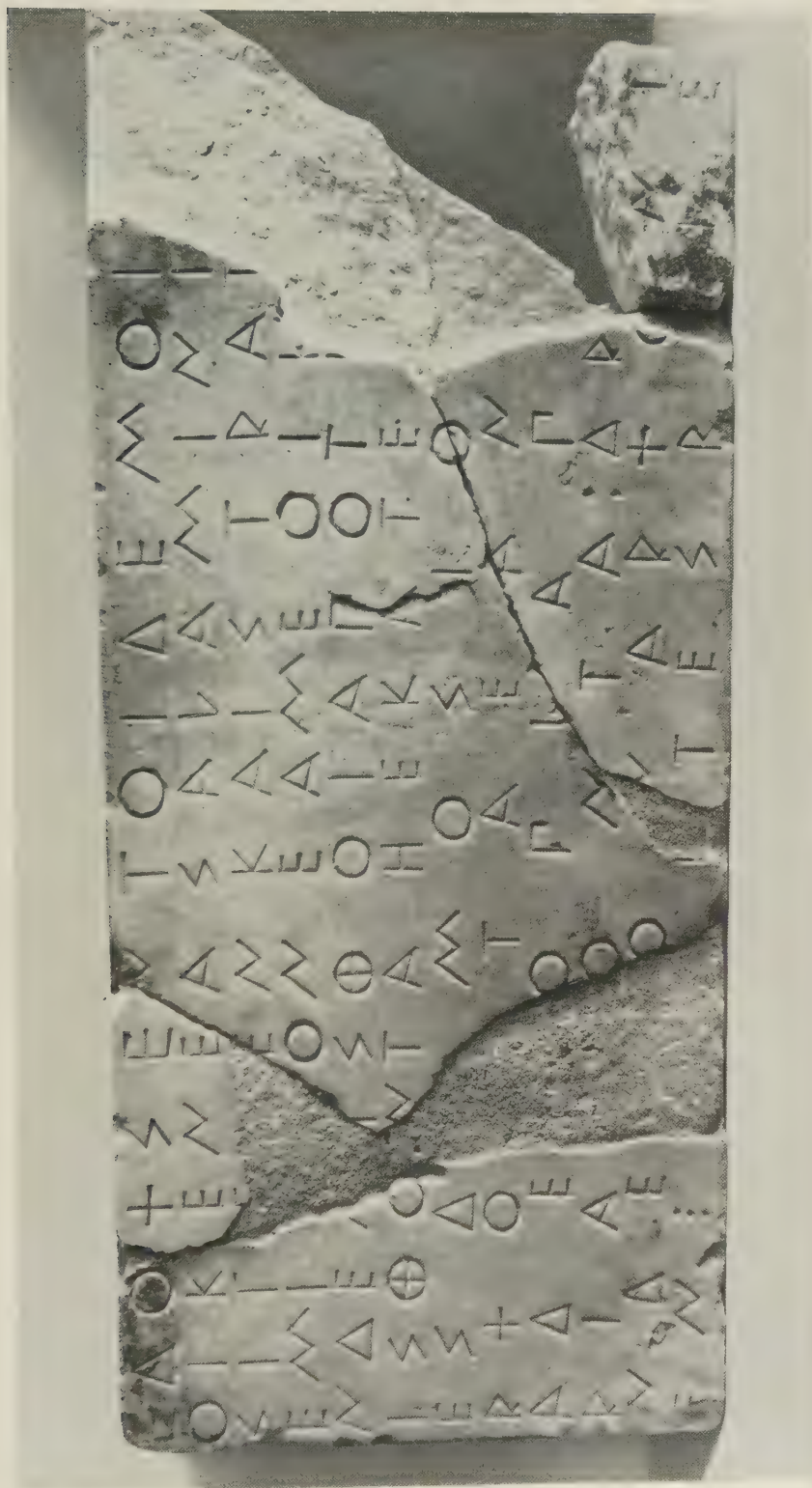


Fig. 1

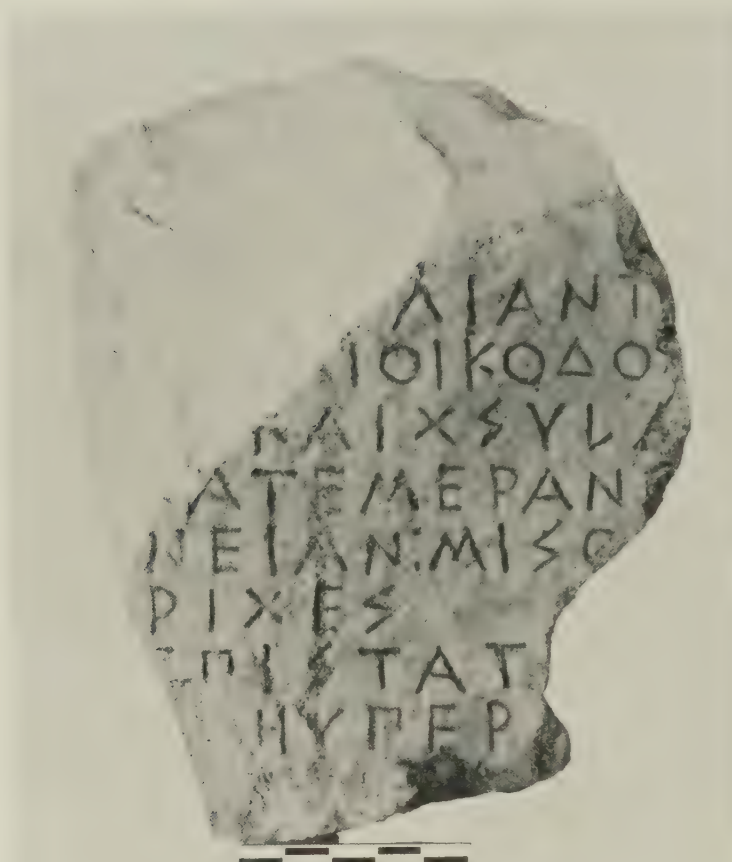


Fig. 2

- 1 [τιμὲ τοῦτο] *vacat*
 [.¹⁰.] ῥγίαν τ[ῶι ἔργοι]
 [.⁸. κ]αὶ οἰκοδομ[ίαν καμίνον]
 [ἄνθρωποι] καὶ χσύλα [καύσιμα]
 5 [μισθοὶ] κατ' ἐμέραν [μισθοὶ κατὰ]
 [. πρυτα]νείαν: μισθ[οὶ ἀπόπαχς]
 [αἰγὸς τ]ρίχες *vacat*
 [μισθοὶ] ἐπιστάτ[εσι καὶ γραμ]
 [ματεῖ καὶ] ἡνπερ[έτει]

This inscription is an interesting addition to the extant pieces of the accounts of the statue of Athena Promachos.¹ It cannot be assigned to the portion of the text that

¹ All references have been made according to the text recently published by Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 362-378. The author had the advantage of notes on the new piece which were given to him by Meritt. These are specifically acknowledged in the text.

is preserved; and in all probability it belongs in a preceding column. The new text is to be compared with similar passages in columns II and III (col. II, 13–18; 37–46; 64–73; column III, 23–25; 52–57). Two of Meritt's proposed restorations have been confirmed. In line 6 the letters *νειαν* prove that here as well as in the corresponding lines (col. II, 15; 43; 67–68; col. III, 53–54) the proper restoration is [*μισθοὶ κατὰ πρῶτα*]*νείαν*. The custom of the lapidary seems to have been to divide his lines syllabically. At the close of line 5 there is more than enough space for the complete word *κατὰ*; but six letter-spaces clearly exist in line 6 before the *nu*. It is unlikely that the phrase was divided into *κατ*[*ὰ πρῶτα*]*νείαν*, for the rule of syllabification would thus be violated. I have assumed, therefore, that a numeral of the preceding column was of such length that it extended partly into the column of items.

In line 7 the preserved letters suggest only the word *τρίχες*. Meritt had proposed the same restoration for line 16 of column II. In both places there are only five letter-spaces before the *tau*, and in the corresponding line 69 the initial letter of the line seems to be **A**. The explanation may be that goat's hair (*αἶγός τρίχες*) was used (see Meritt, *ibid.*, 372–373).

From a comparison of the following passages:

col. II, 17–18	[μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσι - - -] [.]αι h[- - -]
col. II, 45–46	[μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσι κ]αὶ γρα[μ] [ματεῖ ἐν τῷ ἐτει]
col. II, 72–73	μ[ισθοὶ ἐπιστ]άτεσι κα[ι γραμμα] τ[εῖ τῷ ἐν τῷ] ἔτει
col. III, 24–25	[μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτε]σι καὶ γρα[μ] [ματεῖ ἐν τῷ ἔτ]ει [ἔτει]
col. III, 56–57	[μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσ]ι καὶ γραμμ[α] [τεῖ ἐν τῷ ἔτει]

with the new fragment Meritt deduced that in each case the full formula was *μισθοὶ ἐπιστάτεσι καὶ γραμματεῖ καὶ ὑπερέτει*. The formula is identical in each passage and occupies regularly two lines. The daily rate of pay for all these officials was 31 obols (see Meritt, *ibid.*, p. 376). It is difficult to say how this sum was divided; but it may be assumed that each *epistates* received a drachm and a half, and that the residue was allocated on a graduated scale between the secretary and the general factotum.

Lines 2–3 remain a *locus difficillimus*, and the solution, perhaps, must await the discovery of a fragment preserving the beginning of these lines. The corresponding passages are:

col. II, 37–39	[. ^{ca. 14} ν τῷ ἔργ]οι vacat [. ^{ca. 12} καὶ οἰκο]δομίαν
col. II, 64–65	[. ¹⁴] ν τῷ ἔργο[ι . . . ⁵ . .] [. . . ⁷ . . . καὶ οἰκ]οδομίαν κα[μίνον]

With the exception of the phrase $\tau\tilde{\omega}\iota \xi\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$, in which the article has demonstrative effect, the article seems to have been omitted in this brief, concise record (cf. col. II, 70, $\acute{\alpha}[\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu \xi\varsigma \pi\omicron\iota[\chi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\nu]]$; otherwise one might have suggested $[\xi\varsigma \tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron]\rho\gamma\iota\alpha\nu$ $\tau[\tilde{\omega}\iota \xi\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$ for line 2; or another compound of $\xi\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$, which would suit the material requirements of the statue (i.e., with $\chi\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$, $\lambda\iota\theta\omicron\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$, etc.).¹ It may be that this phrase did not begin with the preposition $\xi\varsigma$ or a similar preposition, but with a noun, as in the item $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu \xi\varsigma \pi\omicron\iota\chi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\nu$. No suitable restoration, however, has occurred to me. The restoration in line 1 has been made on analogy with col. II, 63.

A Fragment of the Accounts of the Erechtheum

3. Small fragment of Pentelic marble found March 8, 1937 in the late fill northwest of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. No original side is preserved.

Height, 0.04 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.005–0.006 m.

E.M. 12910. (Fig. 3.)

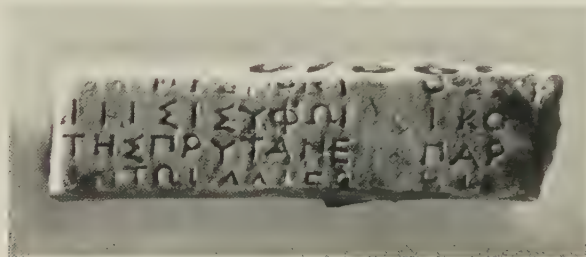


Fig. 3

	405/4 B. C. (?)			CTOIX.
	<i>a</i>		<i>b</i>	
1	[- - - - ^{name} - - - -] III Πρέποντ		οἱ[χῶντι ? - - - - - ο]	
	[^ι - ^{numeral} - ^{name} - - -] III Σισύφωι		ἐκδ[ντι - - - - -]	
	[- - ^{numeral} - ^{day} - - -] τῆς πενταε		Παρμ[έροντι Αδόσσο - - -]	
	[^ι ^{ας} - - - ^{name} - - -] στωι ΔΔΙ Ερ		κι[- - - - -]	
5	[- - - - - ^{name} - - - - -]			

This inscription is part of the record of the accounts of the Erechtheum, *I.G.*, II², 1654 (re-published by Caskey, *The Erechtheum*, 416–422). It does not join the preserved fragments, but the distinctive letter-forms and the identical measurements (i.e., the *stoichedon* arrangement and the alignment) together with the appearance of the marble make the

¹ Meritt suggested:

$[\xi\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\omicron]\rho\gamma\iota\alpha\nu \tau[\tilde{\omega}\iota \xi\rho\gamma\omicron\iota \chi\alpha\lambda]$
 $[\chi\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\tilde{\iota}\sigma\iota \kappa]\alpha\iota \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\iota[\lambda\alpha\nu \kappa\alpha\mu\iota\nu\omicron\nu]$

but $\tau\tilde{\omega} \xi\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$ is only the equivalent of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\gamma\iota\alpha$, and therefore redundant.

attribution certain. Like the records of previous years, this was divided into two columns. Three of the names are familiar to the accounts. *Πρέπων* (line 1, col. a) was a metiec stone-cutter, who lived in Agryle (*I.G.*, I², 374, 63, 72, 78); *Σίσυφος*, a gold-smith by trade, was a metiec living in Melite (*I.G.*, I², 374, 103–107), and *Παριμένων* is mentioned in *I.G.*, I², 374, lines 227, 297. Usually in these records the workmen are carefully designated either by their demotics or by the phrase ἐν – – –^{δεμ} – – οὐκῶν; but in this passage, as in *I.G.*, I², 374, 148 ff., the name alone appears (cf., line 4, col. a [– – –]στωι ΔΔ).

The form of the date by prytany in line 3 has been restored as in the related fragments, *I.G.*, II², 1654, 25, 36. In line 4 the final letters are ΕΡ, and the last may be either Ρ or Β. If it is a *rho*, it belongs to the name of a workman; and if it is a *beta*, it is probably part of ἐξ [δόμηι τῆς πρυτανείας]. In the latter case the restoration of line 3, col. a should be ἐκτῇ] τῆς πρυτανε[ίας].

I have adopted the date assigned to *I.G.*, II², 1654 by Dinsmoor, who restores in line 24 $[\epsilon\pi] \iota [\lambda\epsilon\varsigma\iota\omicron] \delta\rho\chi\omicron\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (see *The Erechtheum*, p. 420, 416), a date which is not only epigraphically possible, but more suitable than $[\epsilon\pi\iota \mathcal{A}] \iota[\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron] \delta\rho\chi\omicron\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (395/4). The new fragment clearly belongs to the lower part of II², 1654, for it betrays the same tendency toward crowding the letters that is discernible in fragment *b*. In fragment *a* the distance between letter-columns is slightly greater than in the new piece or in fragment *b* (see facsimile, Caskey, *loc.cit.*, p. 417). The letter-forms of these fragments are much more suitable in 405/4 than 395/4 B.C. The new fragment also removes any lingering doubt that *I.G.*, II², 1654 belongs in the series of accounts of the Erechtheum.

A Fragmentary Honorary Decree

4. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found April 12, 1937 in the late fill to the northwest of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, broken all around.

Height, 0.07 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.02 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

E.M. 12948. (Fig. 4.)

Last quarter of fifth cent. B.C.

CIX. 42

1 [.....¹⁸.....] ! [.....²³.....]
 [.....¹⁵..... τὲ] γ βολ[ἐν¹⁹.....]
 [.....¹⁴..... τὸ] δ(ἐ) φσέ[φρισμα τόδ' ἀναγράφαι τὸ γ'
 [γραμμαιτέα τῆς βολ]ῆς ἐν στ[έλει λιθίνει καὶ θῆναι ἐμ
 5 [πόλει, ἀπομισθῶσα]ι δὲ τὸς [πολετὰς τὸ ἀργύριον ...]

Lacuna

τι επα[.....²⁶..... προχσένος κα]
 ἰ εὐεργέτας, εἰ[ναι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς κευρέσθαι ἡὼν ἂν δέ]
 ονται παρὰ Ἀθην[αίον, ἀναγράφσαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν σιτέ]
 λει εὐεργέτας Ἀθ[εναίων δέμο τὸν γραμματέα τὸν τέξ]
 10 βολῆς ∴ vacat



Fig. 4

The above inscription belongs to a fifth-century fragment already published as *I.G.*, I², 156 (E.M. 6847). The letters are carefully and beautifully cut for the most part with the exception of the **E** in *δέ* of line 3, which lacks the middle horizontal bar through oversight on the part of the stonecutter. The decree grants the honor of *ἐλεργασία* to certain foreigners. The date of the inscription falls in the period 425–405 B.C.

Fragments of a Fifth Century B.C. Honorary Decree

5. Two fragments of blue-veined marble, found June 10, 1937 in the main area; broken all around.

Frag. *a*:

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

E.M. 12949.

Frag. *b*:

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.04 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

E.M. 12900. (Fig. 5.)



Fig. 5

These fragments belong to *I.G.*, I², 67, the decree in honor of Telemachos and certain other Oeniadae; but they cannot be assigned to a definite place in the preserved portion of the decree.

A Fragmentary Decree

6. A fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the right side and back, found June 5, 1937 in modern fill of the middle area.

Height, 0.225 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

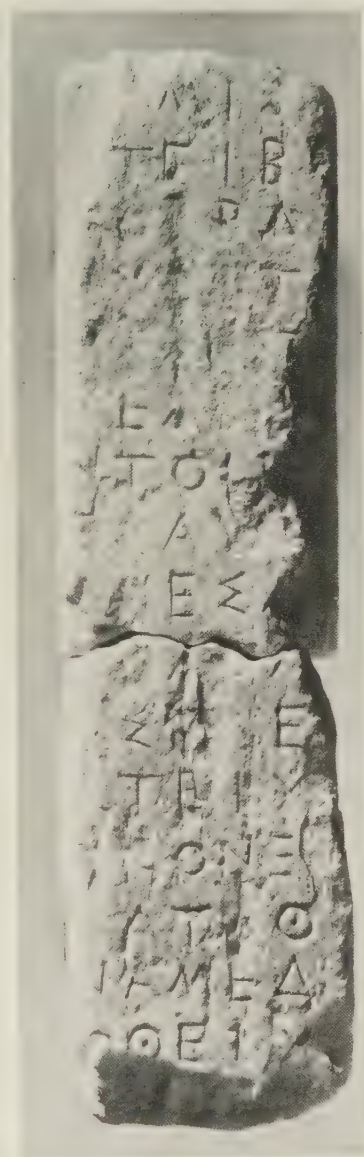
E.M. 12930. (Figs. 6 and 7.)

This fragment joins E.M. 6685 published as *I.G.*, I², 158. To these pieces still another, E.M. 2456, is to be assigned (E.M. 12930 = frag. *a*; E.M. 6685 = frag. *b*; E.M. 2456 = frag. *c*).

CTOIX.

- | | | |
|---|---------------------|----------|
| 1 | [-----]μς | <i>a</i> |
| | [-----]τξι β | |
| | [ολξι -----]ξ [.]ρα | |
| | [-----]ξ [.]τ | |
| 5 | [-----]... ζτ | |
| | [-----] . ἐαν . | |
| | [-----]ντοι ! | |
| | [-----] ἐς αὐ[τ] | |
| | [-----]ανες . | |

Frag. <i>a</i>	Frag. <i>b</i>	CTOIX.
.Λ.	! ENΔ	
ΟΙΞ	ΟΞΙΗ	
ΤΟΝ	! [.]ΝΔ	
ΤΑΓ	.Μ..	
..Ρ		

Fig. 6. Fragments *a* and *b*

10 [- - - - -] αχα b
 [- - - - -]ς εγε
 [- - - - -]ιτι χ
 [- - - - -]χορ ε
 [- - - - -] κατ[α]θ
 15 [- - - - -] hi]να μεδ'
 [hυφ' ἐρὸς ἀδιν(?) - - - - -]οθειχ

Frag. c

1 [- - - - -] A
 [γα]θοκ[λ - - - - -]
 [ι κα] [- - - - -]
 οντε [- - - - -]
 5 σεκ [- - - - -]
 ε[ς] [- - - - -]



Fig. 7. Fragment c

The new fragment is part of *I.G.*, I², 158 which it joins. Lines 15–16 indicate that it concerns foreigners, and it was probably honorary.

A Fragment of the Inventory of the Opisthodomus

7. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found March 26, 1937 built in a wall of one of the refugee houses by the road.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

E.M. 12392. (Fig. 8.)

The fragment is broken all around.

CTOIX.

1 [- - - σφραγι]δ[ε]ς λιθι[ναι - - -]
 [- - - . . .] σφραγιδες λ[ιθιναι - - -]
 [- - - π]έμπτης θήκης ἀπ[- - -]
 [- - -]ος ἀργυρῶς ἐν κοί[τῃ]
 5 [- - ἀρ]γυρῶς σταθμὸν ταύ[της - - -]
 [- - . .] ἀργυρῶν ἐπὶ ὁξυλο[ν - - - - -]
 [- - . .]το ΧΜΠΗΗ ἑκτης θ[ύρης - - -]

The letter-forms of this fragment are so similar to those of the fragment now published as *I.G.*, II², 1399, an inventory of the Opisthodomus, that there can be no doubt that it was inscribed by the same hand. It cannot be assigned, however, to that document

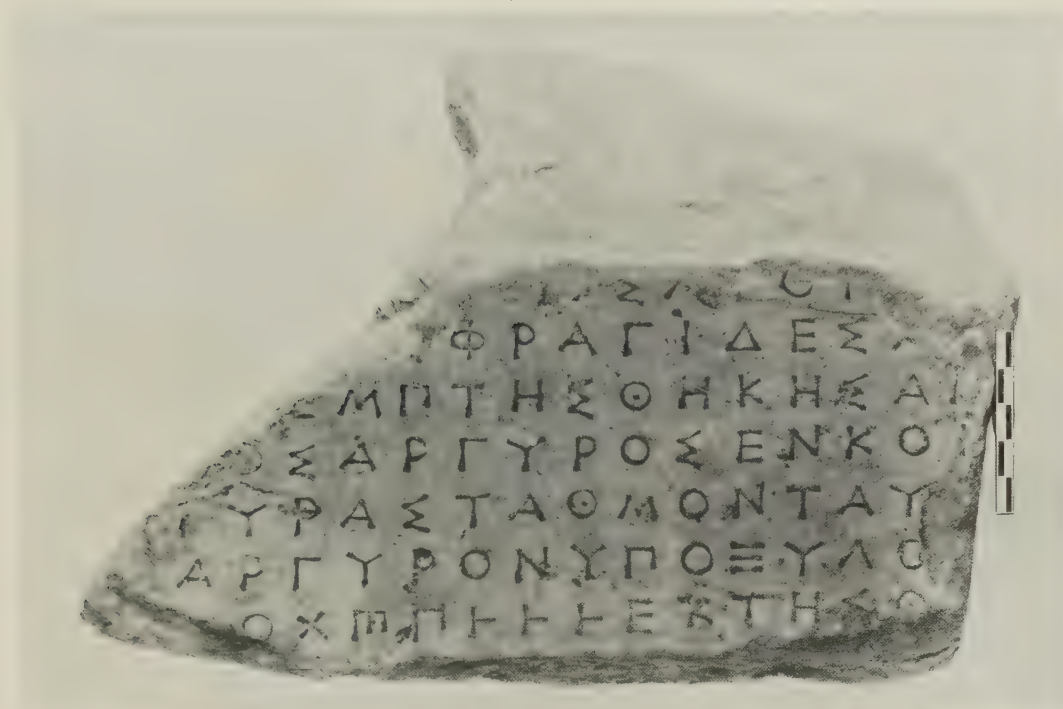


Fig. 8

because the marble, the workmanship, and the measurements are different; but the form of the inventory is similar (cf., *I.G.*, II², 1399, 4 ἐκ τῆς ἐβδόμης θήκ[ης]), and the objects are clearly those of the Opisthodomus. Compare *I.G.*, II², 1396, 21–25: σφραγίδες λίθινα[ι] ψ[ι]λαὶ ΔΙ: σφραγὶς λιθίνη χρυσ[ὸν] δακτύλιον ἔχουσα: σφραγίδες λίθι[ν]αι χρυσῶς δακτυλῖος ἔχουσαι ἐπτά. The new fragment cannot be restored, however, with exactly the same order as *I.G.*, II², 1396–1398, for there are differences in arrangement as well as intrusive objects. But the following restoration is suggested tentatively:

CTOIX. 33

- 1 [.¹¹ σφραγίδ[ε]ς λίθι[ναι] ψιλαὶ Δ]
 [I σφραγὶς λιθίνη I] σφραγίδες λ[ιθί]ναι Π I]
 [I σφραγίδες II π] ἐμπτης θήκης ἀπ[. . . ? . . .]
 [.¹²] ος ἀργυρῶς ἐν κοί[τῃ]
 5 [. . οἰνοχόη? ἀρ]γυρῶς σταθμὸν ταύ[της] ΧΠΗΠΗΠ
 [θυμιατήριον] ἀργυρῶν ὑπόξυλο[ν] ἵνα ἡ Νίκ
 [ῇ] σταθμὸν τοῦ]το ΧΠΗΠΗΠ ἔκτης θ[ήκης]

I have abbreviated the phrases used with regard to the σφραγίδες of *I.G.*, II², 1396, 21–26. In line 5 the οἰνοχόη may be the same as *I.G.*, II², 1396, 9–10. The figure ΧΠΗΠΗΠ, so far as I am aware, does not occur in the other extant records of the

Opisthodomus, but a comparable figure $\text{X}^{\text{M}}\Delta\Pi$ may be derived by adding $\text{XHHHH}\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\Pi\Pi\Pi$, the weight of the *θυμιατήριον ἀργυρῶν* of *I. G.*, II², 1396, 28–30, and $\text{P}\Delta\Pi\Pi\Pi$, the weight of the *καλύπτρα* belonging to this *θυμιατήριον* (cf., lines 30–33).

The date of this fragment is probably to be placed in the very last years of the fifth century B.C.

A Fragment of a Decree

8. Small fragment of Pentelic marble, found June 4, 1937 in a late wall close to the modern road, broken all around.

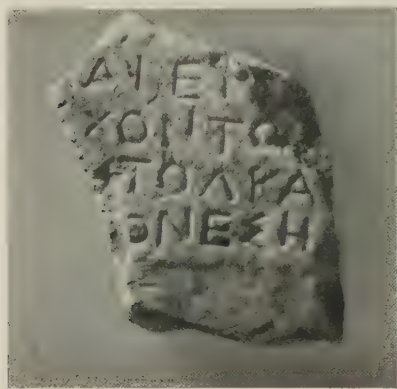


Fig. 9

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

E.M. 12904. (Fig. 9.)

CTOIX.

- 1 [.¹¹] γ [- - - - -]
 [.⁹] καὶ εἰ [- - - - -]
 [.⁹] ἔρχοντο [- - - - -]
 [καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ τὸ πρυτανεῖον]
 5 [ἐξ αὐτοῦ - - - - -] οὐδὲ ἄλλο [- - - - -]

rasura

The letter-forms belong to the well-developed style of the fifth century B.C. Below line 5 the surface of the stone has the appearance of an erasure. This fragment seems to belong to an honorary decree.

A Fragment of an Inventory

9. A fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found April 14, 1937 in the main area.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.038 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

E.M. 12951. (Fig. 10.)

400/399 B.C.

CTOIX. 26(?)

- 1 [.¹⁹] σταθμὸν
 [τούτῳ] [.¹⁴] ἔκτος ὃ
 [ἑμὸς] γιὰ [λαι - - -] σταθμὸν τοῦτῳ - - -
 [. . .] ἑβδό[μος ἑμὸς φιάλαι . . .] στ
 5 [αθμὸν] το[ύτων⁹] ὄγδοος

[ῥυμὸ]ς φι[άλαι¹⁵]
 [. . στα]θμ[ὸν τούτων¹¹]
 [. . .⁵ . . .]αιὸ[.¹⁸]
 [. . .⁵ . . .]φισ[.¹⁸]



Fig. 10. *I.G.*, II², 1375 with No. 9

The new piece seems to belong to *I.G.*, II², 1375, the partially preserved inventory of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods of the year 400/399 B.C. It has been restored, therefore, with a line of 26 letters. For the restoration compare *I.G.*, II², 1401.

A Fragmentary Honorary Decree

10. Two contiguous fragments of Pentelic marble, found April 12, 1937 in the late fill in widely separated parts of the excavations. Another small fragment found October 20, 1933 on the North Slope joins fragment *b* (see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 161, no. 18).

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

E.M. 12890, 12774. (Fig. 11.)

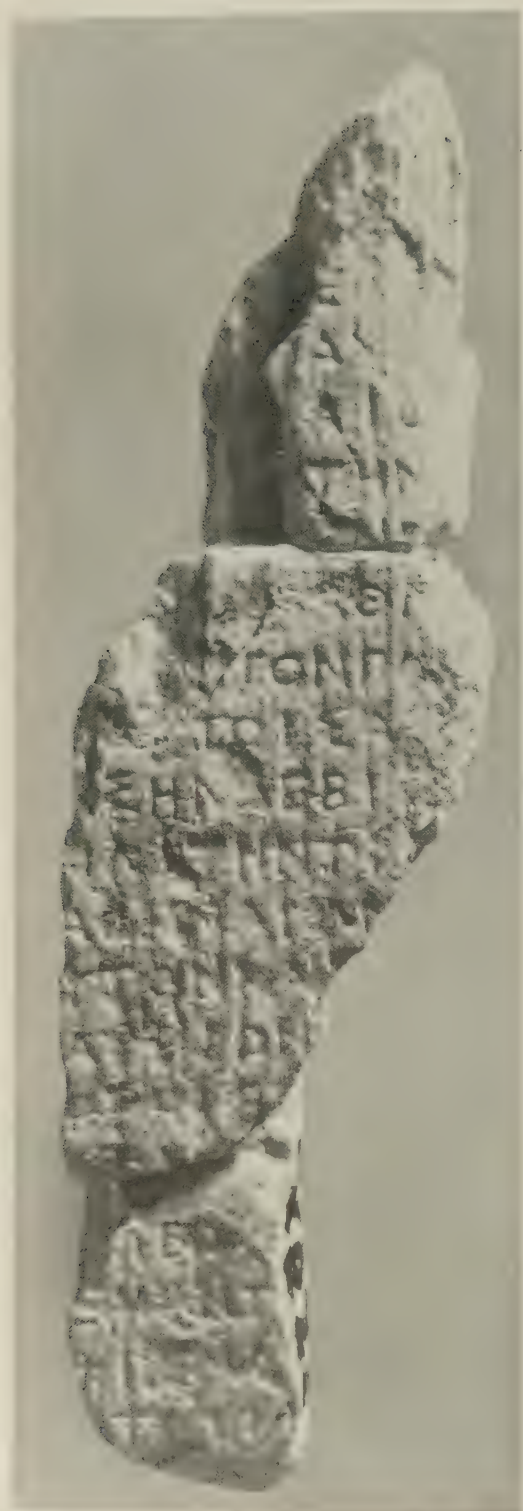


Fig. 11

CTOIX. 31(?)

1	[..... ¹⁸]ελ[..... ¹¹]	a
	[..... ¹⁵]αι[..... ¹¹]	
	[..... ¹⁸]αιο[..... ¹⁰]	
	[..... ¹⁸]την[..... ¹⁰]	
5	[..... ¹⁹]ρε[..... ¹⁰]	
	[..... ¹⁷]ν'Αθη[ραίων.....]	b
	[..... ¹⁶]τὸν πυ[..... ¹⁰]	
	[..... ¹⁵]τοῖς α[..... ¹¹]	
	[..... ¹³]ς· ἣν δὲ βια[ίῳ θανάτῳ]	
10	[πω ἀποθάνη, εἶ]ναι τὴν τι[μωρίαν αὐτῷ]	
	[καθάπερ ἣν τις] Ἀθηναίων [τοιούτον πάθ]	
	[ηι, καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὸ]	
	[πρυτανεῖον ἐς] αἴριον. [... ⁶ ...εἵπε· τὰ μ]	
	[ἐν ἄλλα καθάπερ] τῇ β[ολῇ..... ¹⁰]	
15	[..... ¹³]η[..... ¹⁷]	
	[..... ¹¹]τῇ μ βο[λῇ..... ¹²]	c
	[..... ¹¹]δ]ε Μαντ[?..... ¹⁴]	
	[..... ¹⁰]ψή[φισμα..... ¹⁴]	
	[..... ¹³]τοῖς[..... ¹⁴]	

This inscription is unfortunately too battered to be susceptible of much restoration; but enough remains to show that it was an honorary decree for a foreigner. The phrase [καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ [ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς] αἴριον is common enough in such decrees. For lines 10–12 compare *I.G.*, II², 32 (385/4), lines 12–14: [τὴν τιμωρίαν] [εἶν]αι αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἐάν τις Ἀθηναίων τοιοῦτό[ν] τι [πάθῃ]. The form ἦν for ἐάν is foreign to Attic inscriptions; and yet in line 9 there seems to be no other interpretation of σηνδεβία, except as]ς ἦν δὲ βία[ίωι etc. The letter-forms place the fragments in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.

A Fragmentary Record

11. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found April 14, 1937 in the main area.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

E.M. 12916. (Fig. 12.)

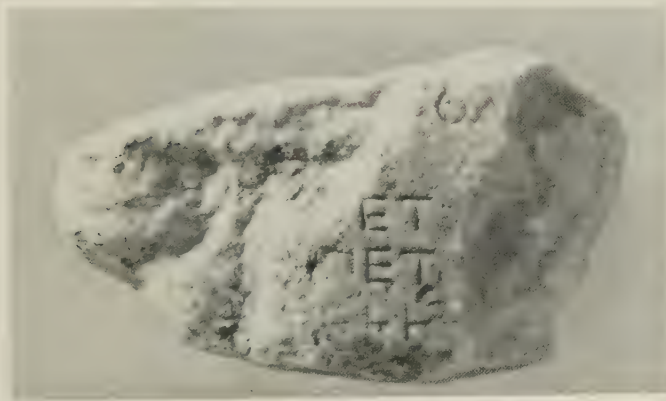


Fig. 12

CTOIX.

]ΑΟΑ[
vacat
Γ]ΕΤ[
]ΓΕΤ[
]ΤΤΤ[

The above fragment is part of a record of the early fourth century B.C.

A new Fragment of the List of Substitutes, *I.G.*, II², 1929

12. A fragment of Pentelic marble found April 15, 1937 to the northwest of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite. Only the right side is preserved. It belongs to, but does not join, *I.G.*, II², 1929.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

E.M. 12920. (Fig. 13.)



Fig. 13

- 1 [- - - - - ἀντὶ - - - - - Λαμπ]τρ(έως)
 [- - - - - ἀντὶ - - - - - Λαμπ]τρ(έως)
 [- - - - - ἀντὶ - - - - - Θορίασιό vacat
 [- - - - - ἀντὶ - - - - - Ἀιζωνέως
 5 [- - - - - ἀντὶ - - - - -]δο: Ἰκαρο[έ](ως)

The above fragment is a part of a list of Athenians who were compelled by law to undertake a liturgy in the place of less wealthy citizens (*I.G.*, II², 1929). It belongs in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C.

Fragmentary List of Names

13. Fragment of Pentelic marble found June 8, 1937 in the main area. The left side and back are preserved.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m. (lines 1-4); 0.006 m.

E.M. 12929. (Fig. 14.)

	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	CTOIX.
1	[- - - - - ¹¹⁺ - - - - -]ν ἀριστ[- - ⁵⁺ - - -]	εν [- - - - - ¹² - - - - -]	
	[- - - - - ⁹⁺ - - - - -]δ[μ]ωι οἶδ[ε - ³⁺ - - -]	ικλ[ε]ι [- - - - - ¹⁰ - - - - -]	
A	[. . . ⁷ . . .]δ[- - -]σνμβ[ο]λ[α]ίων [- ³⁺ - - -]	δεδ[ό]χ[θαι τῶι δῆμῳ?]	
	[έ]πανέσα[ι - ³⁺ - - -]	δῶναι α[- ³⁺ - - -]	αχο[- - - - - ¹³ - - - - -]
5	[ο]ἶδε τὸν εὐνομίας [- - ¹⁰⁺ - - -]	δι]καιουσύνην ῥα[- ⁴⁺ - - -]	δικαιι I[. . . . ⁹]
	αἶδε [- - ¹⁰ - - -]	αἶδε [- - ¹⁰ - - -]	
	πάρσαντες νείκη [- - - ¹⁵⁺ - - -]	κι]μαται το[- ³⁺ - - -]	ήμεις κα[. . . ⁷ . . . δ]όξαν ἀλη[θῆ]
Col. I	Col. II	Col. III	
[.]ρατι[- - - ^{ca. 25} - - -]	[- - - - - ^{ca. 30} - - - - -]	[. . . ⁶ . . .]ατος [A]ντιλόχο Σκαμβ[ωνίδ](ης)	
		[Τίμασ]ίθεος [A]μινέτο ἐκ Κερ[αμέ](ων)	
		[. . . ⁷ . . .]εοκλέος Αἰζωνεύς	
		[. . . . ⁸ . . .]τρος [N]ανσισθένης Αἰζω[ν](εύς)	
		[. ¹¹]ο[ς] Αἰζων[εύς]	
		[. ¹³]Θο[ρίκιος]	
		[. ¹⁴]Στ[παλήτιος]	

(For the rest of the text see *I.G.*, II², 143.)



Fig. 14

The new fragment is part of *I.G.*, II², 143, an unusual inscription preserving part of a decree(?), and two lines of verses in dactylic hexameter beneath which are listed in three columns the names of the men honored therein. It was inscribed in perfect *stoichedon* order, the letters of lines 1-4 being so disposed as to fall over each second letter of lines 5-6. The names in each of the columns are inscribed in the *stoichedon* order established by lines 5-6. The fragments do not join; and between fragments *A* and *B* space for at least 10 letters in line 5 must be allowed. Likewise between fragments *B* and *C* at least 4 letter-spaces intervene in line 5.

Lines 5-6 are written in dactylic hexameter verses of two to each line. The number of letters per line can only be estimated roughly. Line 6 preserves a minimum of 64 letter-

spaces. The maximum can be estimated from the width of the columns of names. In column III only twenty-seven letter-spaces were allowed for the names, and therefore a longer name had to be abbreviated. The stonecutter perhaps had to crowd his letters closely in the last column for lack of space. One would suppose that a more normal amount of thirty spaces was permitted in columns I and II. Between each column was an intervening space of about two letters. The maximum number of letter-spaces available in lines 5–6 may then be estimated at about 90. An ordinary dactylic hexameter verse contains about 35–40 letters. There was, then, ample space for two dactylic hexameters per line; and one dactylic hexameter verse would have fallen far short of the minimum of 64 letters per line.

The words $\delta]όξαν ἀλη[θη$ bring the last dactylic hexameter to a close. After $ἀληθη$ came a *vacat* of seven letter-spaces. One may conjecture from the words $πάνσαντες νείκη$ that the men listed below were $διαιτηταί$ or arbitrators. The document may be dated in the period 375–360 B.C. on the basis of its letter-forms and in view of what is known of some of the men in column III. After $δεδ[ό]χ[θαι$ in line 3 there is space for only seven letters; but the phrase $δεδοχθαι τῶι δήμῳ$ is so suitable in consideration of the infinitives $ἐπαυέσαι$ and $δῶναι$ that I have restored it and supposed that the *iota* filled one letter-space with the *omega*.

A Fragment of a Degree

14. A fragment of Pentelic marble, found May 8, 1937 in the underground passage. It preserves only the left edge, and the inscribed surface is considerably damaged.



Fig. 15

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters in lines 1–3, 0.010 m.

Height of letters in line 5, 0.007 m.

E.M. 12895. (Fig. 15.)

ca. 370–360 B.C.

CTOIX.

- 1 [Ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνα ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς - - - - - δ]
 [ε]κάτης π[ρ]οταναίᾳς ἡ - - - - - ε]
 [γ]ραμμῶν ἐν - - - - - ε]
 [π]ροστ[ά]τ[ε]ι - - - - -]
 5 - - - - -]
 λεφθῇ [- - - - -]

The letter-forms assign this fragment closely to the period 370–360 B.C. The mention of the ἐπιστάτης in line 3 dates it, as far as the form of the prescript is concerned, before 343/2 B.C., the year when this formula last occurs (*I.G.*, II², 225, lines 3–4). There is room for only one letter before the first preserved letter of each line.

A Fragmentary Decree

15. A small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found June 5, 1937 in the main area.



Fig. 16

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

E.M. 12914. (Fig. 16.)

CTOIX. 38

- 1 [. τὸ δὲ ψ] ἡ [φισμα τόδε ἀναγράφαι ἐν στήλῃ]
 [ἡι λιθίνῃ καὶ] θεῖ [ραι εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν]
 [ἀναγραφὴν τῆς] στήλ [ης δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δή]
 [μου " Δ Δ Δ " δραχμ] ἄς ἐ [κ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλ]
 5 [σκομένων τῶι δή] μω [ι 22]
 [. 14] μ [. 23]

The above fragment is to be assigned to the period ca. 370–360 B.C. on the basis of its letter-forms. It resembles closely *I.G.*, II², 112 (362/1 B.C.).

An Inventory of the Treasurers of Athena, *I.G.*, II², 1438

16. An opisthographic fragment, found May 26, 1937 in a late wall in the underground passage. It is part of the inventory now published as *I.G.*, II², 1438. (Figs. 17 and 18.)

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.255 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Height of letters, 0.003–0.004 m.

E.M. 12931.

The right edge of face B (E.M. 386) is bevelled and lessens the number of letters per line by one.



Fig. 17. Face A: I.G., II², 1438 with No. 16

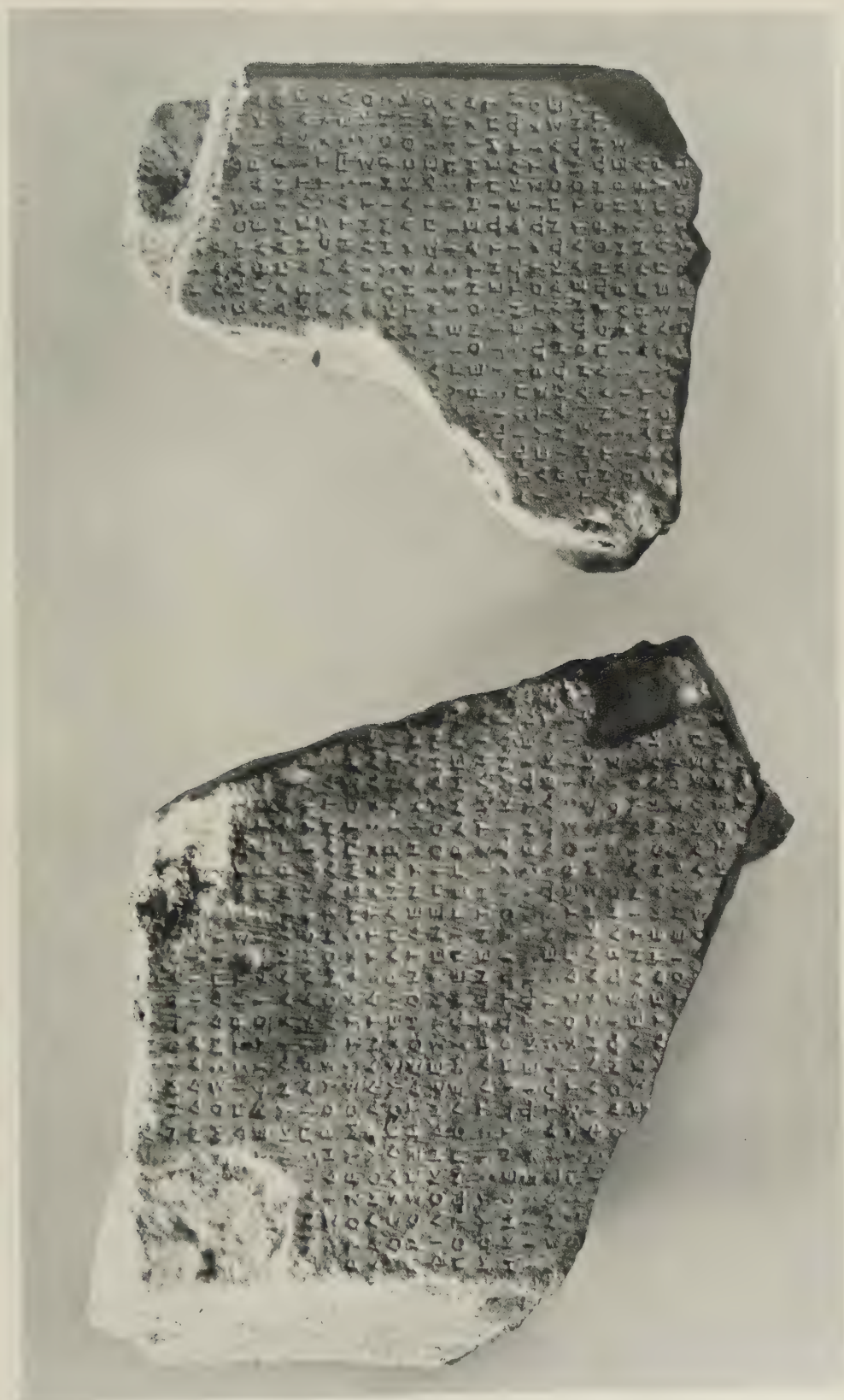


Fig 18. Face B

[illegible]

The new opisthographic fragment, which belongs to *I.G.*, II², 1438, is an important addition to the extant inventories of the treasurers of Athena. It is now possible to restore almost completely face *A* of 1438, in addition to giving a much fuller text of face *B*, in which are inventoried the objects in the Chalkotheke and its opisthodomos.

With regard to the inventories of the Chalkotheke the importance of lines 13–14 and 16–17 can hardly be over-estimated, for they make it possible to date exactly the decree which authorizes the making of a new inventory of the Chalkotheke. This decree (*I.G.*, II², 120) is partially preserved, and has been dated either in 358/7 or 354/3 (*I.G.*, II², 120, note of Kirchner, Ferguson, *Treasurers*, p. 119). In lines 13–14 the following provision is to be found: [τάδε] προσεξ(η)τάσθη ὄντα ἐν τῇ χαλκο[θήκῃ πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ λιθίνῃ γεγραμμένα ἔμπροσθεν τῆς χαλκοθήκ[ης ἢν] Φιλοκίδης ἔστησεν ἐπὶ Θουδήμ[ου ἄρχοντος]. On the stele to which reference is made in this passage was recorded the decree providing for the revised inventory of the Chalkotheke together with the inventory itself (*I.G.*, II², 120). It was designated apparently ἡ στήλη λιθίνη ἔμπροσθεν τῆς χαλκοθήκης, and the purpose, as the decree states, was to make this inventory the model of all successive inventories to ensure that no objects disappeared which existed at the time when it was made (cf., *I.G.*, II², 120, 26 *sqq.*; above face *B*, lines 16–17).

The Philokedes of line 14 is none other than the γραμματεὺς δὲ κατὰ πρυτανείαν of the year of Thoudemos (353/2), and his name is to be restored in the prescripts of two extant decrees dated ἐπὶ Θουδήμῳ. In *I.G.*, II², 138, lines 2–3 restore [Φιλοκ]ίδης Δωροθέο Παλληγεὺς ἐγραμμάτευσεν, and in *I.G.*, II², 139, line 3, of the same year, restore [Φιλοκίδης Δωρο]θέο Παλληγεὺς. No proof is needed that the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν is the same official as the secretary whose name appears at the head of decrees (see page 294). The above decrees (*I.G.*, II², 138; 139) prove that Philokedes was γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν in 353/2. The decree published as *I.G.*, II², 120 contains this provision: ἀντιγράφεσθαι δὲ τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ [πρ]υτανείαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους γραμμα(τε)εᾶς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις γράμμασιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐξετασθῇ πάντα κ[αὶ] ἀναγραφῇ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς ἀναγράφαντα [ἐν] στήλῃ λιθίνῃ στήσαι ἔμπροσθεν τῆς χαλκοθήκης. Philokedes, the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν, together with the other secretaries ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις supervised the making of the inventory. It must be dated, therefore, in 353/2 B.C., the year after the Great Panathenaea.

The problem as to whether the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν and the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς were identical officials has been debated for years (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 353; Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 160, n. 1). Dow has presented evidence recently which proves that these officials were distinct (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 1, *Prytaneis*, 34–36). Had this proof not appeared, one would have decided from a comparison between *I.G.*, II², 120 lines 18–19, and lines 13–14 of face *B* that these two offices were identical; for in the former decree it is provided that the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς supervise the inscribing and erection of the stele, but in the latter it is stated that Philokedes (the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν) “erected” it (ἔστησεν). These facts seem contradictory. The reason for the divergence of facts may be explained thus. The decree *I.G.*, II², 120 appeared

at the top of the stele, and above the text of the decree was inscribed, as often, *Φιλοκῆδης Δωροθέο Παλλήνεις ἐγραμμάτευσεν*. It was then referred to in careless usage as "the stele which Philokedes erected."

The objects of face A are the gold crowns listed in approximately chronological order.

COMMENTARY ON FACE A

Lines 1–2: This gold crown, an *ἀριστεῖον* or prize from the Greater Panathenaea, was dedicated in the archonship of Nausimikos (378/7 B.C.); see *I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 29–31; *I.G.*, II², 1436, lines 11–12; *Κυπρίστου, Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, 1927–1928, stele A, lines 34–36 where the weight is ΗΡΔΔΔΔΓΤΤΙΙΙΙ . In *I.G.*, II², 1436 the weight is ΗΡΔΔΔΔΓΤΤΙΙΙΙ .

Line 3: For this crown see *I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 64–66; *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, stele A, lines 64–66. In *I.G.*, II², 1436, line 9 the name of the archon has been incorrectly restored as [*Φρασι-κλείδ*]ον. The gold crown, an *ἀριστεῖον*, is identical with the crown of this inventory. By the year 352/1, the probable date of the present inventory, all the gold crowns including the *ἀριστεῖα* of the Greater Panathenaea, had been melted down with the exception of those preserved in this record.

Lines 3–4: The evidence for the *ἀριστεῖον* of the year of Dynniketes lies in *I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 121–122; *I.G.*, II², 1436, lines 13–14. For the crown dedicated in 369/8, the year of Lysistratos, see *I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 128–130; *I.G.*, II², 1436, line 15.

Line 5: In the year of Nausigenes *ὁ δῆμος συλλογέων* dedicated this gold crown; see *I.G.*, II², 1425, lines 224–226; *I.G.*, II², 1436, line 16.

Lines 6–10: The crowns of these years (367/6–362/1) are attested by *I.G.*, II², 1436, lines 17–24.

Lines 10–11: For these crowns compare *I.G.*, II², 1436, lines 25–26. The second crown was omitted from *I.G.*, II², 1436.

Lines 12–13: See *I.G.*, II², 1436, lines 27–29.

Line 14: See *I.G.*, II², 1436, lines 30–32; *I.G.*, II², 1437, lines 4–5.

Line 15: See *I.G.*, II², 1436, line 33; *I.G.*, II², 1437, line 7.

Line 16: See *I.G.*, II², 1436, line 34; *I.G.*, II², 1437, lines 8–9. For the crown dedicated *ἐπὶ Διονίμου* see *I.G.*, II², 1436, lines 35–36; *I.G.*, II², 1437, lines 10–12; *I.G.*, II², 1441, lines 14–15.

Line 17: For the dedication of Aristophon compare *I.G.*, II², 1436, lines 37–38; *I.G.*, II², 1437, lines 30–31.

Line 18: See *I.G.*, II², 1436, lines 39–40; *I.G.*, II², 1437, lines 32–33.

Lines 19–21: See *I.G.*, II², 1437, lines 12–17.

Line 22: The *ἀριστεῖον* was dedicated *ἐπὶ Θουδήμου*. In line 28 of *I.G.*, II², 1437 restore [*ἐπὶ Θουδήμου ἄ*]ρχον[ος], and in line 29 the name is . . .⁶ . . .

For lines 23–27 compare *I.G.*, II², 1437, lines 18–37.

The commentary on face *A* proves that the inventory preserved in *I.G.*, II², 1436 is identical with *I.G.*, II², 1438, *A*. On the other hand, although the objects inventoried in *I.G.*, II², 1437, col. I are the same as those of 1436 and 1438, the form of the inventory is different. It is exactly chronological, but *I.G.*, II², 1436 and 1438 preserve only an approximately chronological order of gold crowns. In line 22 of 1438 the gold crown dedicated ἐπὶ Θουδήμου (353/2) interrupts the list of gold crowns dedicated ἐπὶ Διοτίμου (354/3). Also, the crowns on which no archon's name had been written were grouped arbitrarily with the crowns dedicated ἐπὶ Διοτίμου, while in *I.G.*, II², 1437 they were re-grouped under the name of Thoudemos (see note on line 22). In lines 35 and 37 of 1437 restore [ἄρχων οὐκ ἐπεγέγραπτο]. All the crowns, therefore, which bear the tag ἄρχων οὐκ ἐπεγέγραπτο were grouped ἐπὶ Θουδήμου. The fact that the inventories *I.G.*, II², 1436 and *I.G.*, II², 1438, face *A* were identical, while *I.G.*, II², 1437, col. I is different, has a significance with regard to their relative dates. The date of the revised inventory of the Chalkotheke (*I.G.*, II², 120) has now been definitely placed in 353/2. Since *I.G.*, II², 1438 and *I.G.*, II², 1436 (350/49) were modelled upon this decree, and since they are different from *I.G.*, II², 1437, they precede it in time. The date of 1436 is certain (350/49), and 1437 must fall after 350/49, but not many years later. *I.G.*, II², 1438 probably precedes *I.G.*, II², 1436, and has been assigned tentatively to 352/1 B.C. or 351/50 B.C.

For the objects inventoried on face *B* of *I.G.*, II², 1438 one must consult *I.G.*, II², 1425, 336 ff.; *I.G.*, II², 120; *I.G.*, II², 1440, *B*; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, st. *A*, 125 ff.; *I.G.*, II², 1469; 1471. Mention of specific objects is made below.

Line 20: Compare *I.G.*, II², 120, line 42.

Line 22: Compare Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, 1927–1928, st. *A*, 115–122.

Line 23: Compare *loc. cit.* line 117; *I.G.*, II², 1467, *A*, 25–26.

Line 24: Compare *I.G.*, II², 1469, line 108; 1471, line 56; Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, st. *A*, 120.

In line 17 there seems to be too little space for both the phrases ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ and ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ. The former phrase was reserved for special treatment (lines 19 ff.). Therefore in line 17 I have restored only ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ.

There is a small fragment (Fig. 17, frag. *c*), broken on all sides, which seems to belong to this inventory. The weathering of the marble and the spacing of letters and lines assign it to face *A*. It yields the following text:

. . .]ΔΙ[
 . . .]ομπει[
 . . .]υκεν τε[
 . . .]ται ετε[
 ἐν] μὲν δὲ κοιτ[

5 This fragment (E.M. 12931 b) cannot be assigned to a definite place in the inventory.

The importance of the new fragment may be briefly recapitulated: it enables us to date *I.G.*, II², 120, the revised inventory of the Chalkotheke, in 353/2 B.C.; it makes it possible to restore the name Philokedes as the secretary of the year 353/2 (*I.G.*, II²,

138; 139); it demonstrates that the form of the inventories *I.G.*, II², 1436, col. I and *I.G.*, II², 1438, A is identical, and that *I.G.*, II², 1437, col. I is strictly chronological; and it adds numerous items to the inventories of this period.

A Decree, 340/39 B.C.

17. Fragment of Hymettian marble, preserving the left side only, found April 13, 1937 in the late fill to the northwest of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

E.M. 12908.

The new fragment joins E.M. 12719. To these fragments still another must be assigned, *c*, E.M. 2472, which shows that the line had 31 letters. (Fig. 19.)

		ca. 340/39 B.C.	CTOIX. 31	
a	1	εἶπεν' [τύχηι ἀγαθῇ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηνῶν] αἰών' (δ)πως [ὅν εἰδῶσιν ἅπαντες οἱ Ἕλλη ^v] νες διτι δ δῆ[μος δ Ἀθηναίων ἐπίσταται ^v] χάριτας ἀπ[οδιδόναι τοῖς εὐεργετήσας] 5 σιν αὐτὸν ἀ[ξίας τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ^v δεδῶ] [[ο]]χθαί τῶι δῆ[μωι ἐπειδὴ ¹⁴] [... λῶ ... ^v ²⁵] ος διατελε[ῖ ἔθνος ὃν τῶι δήμωι καὶ π ^v] ρά[ο]ιτων διτι δύναται ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἐν Βυ] 10 ζαντίωι πο[λιορκουμένοις καὶ ποιεῖ τὰ] συνφέρουσι [α τῶι δήμωι (?) ... ⁷ ... κοινῇ] καὶ ἰδί(αι) Ἀθη[ναίων ¹⁶ε] <i>b</i> . ἰς Ἕλλη[σπο]ν[το]ν ¹⁸] το καὶ ἐπὲρ Ἕλ[λήνων ¹⁴ δ] 15 ιετέλει (δ)πω[ς ²⁰] οι...εον[..... ²⁰Ἕλλη ^v ?] σπο[ν]τ ²⁶] εν[..... ²⁹] ι[..... ²⁹] lacuna		
c	20	[..... ¹¹] γ[..... ¹³ἀναγρά] [ψαι δὲ τόδε τ]ὸ ψή[φισμα τὸν γραμματέα τ] [ῆς βολῆς ἐν σ]τήλ[ῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι] [ἐν ἀκροπόλ]ει, εἰς [δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς] [στήλης δοῦν]αι τὸν [ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου ^v Δ] 25 [ΔΔ ^v δραχμὰς] ἐκ τῶ[ν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσμα] [τ' ἀναλίσκοι] ἔγνω[ν τῶι δήμωι]		

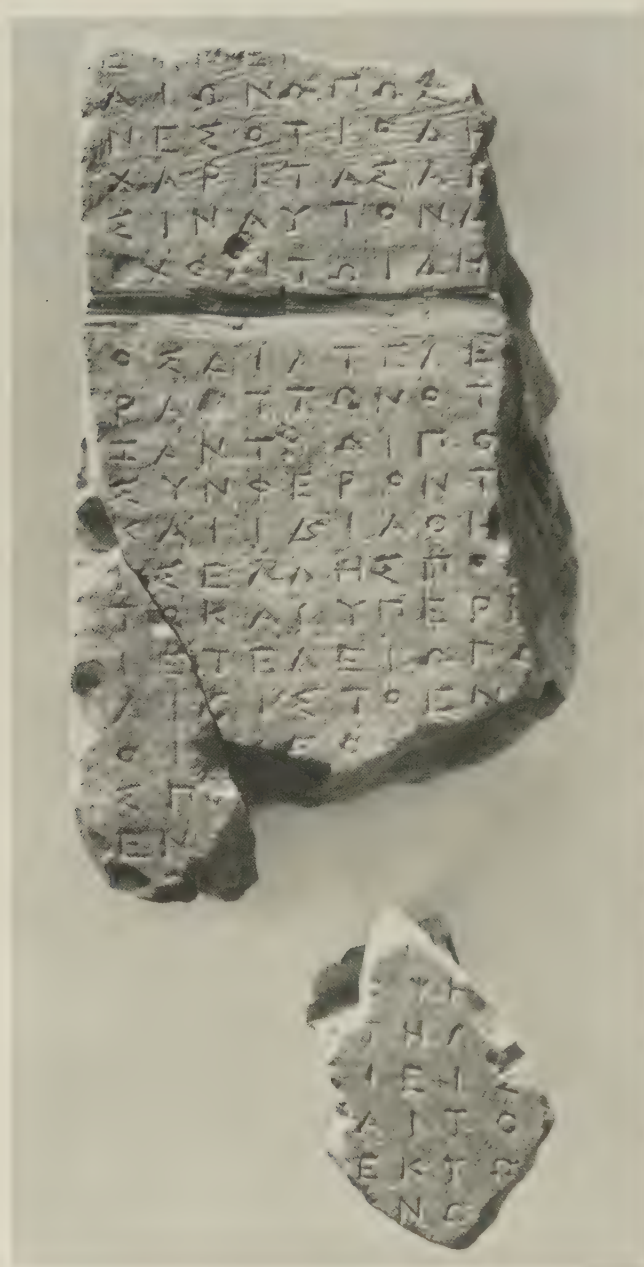


Fig. 19

The new pieces add little of importance with regard to the decree. In his publication of E.M. 12719 (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 395–396), Broneer suggested that the event referred to in lines 9–10 was the siege of Byzantium by Philip (340/39). Several minor points yield certain confirmation of this date. In line 22 the *γραμματεὺς τῆς βολῆς* supervised

the publication of the decree. He last appears in this rôle in the year 318/17 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 448), and the spelling of his title (*o* for *ov*) last occurs in the decade 340–330 B.C.

A Fragmentary Decree, 339/8 B.C.

18. A fragment from the upper left corner of a stele, found May 6, 1937 on the North Slope below the west entrance to the underground passage.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

E.M. 12891.

The left side is preserved together with a piece of the moulding above the inscribed face. Owing to the severe weathering which the fragment has undergone, the surface and letters are badly preserved. (Fig. 20.)

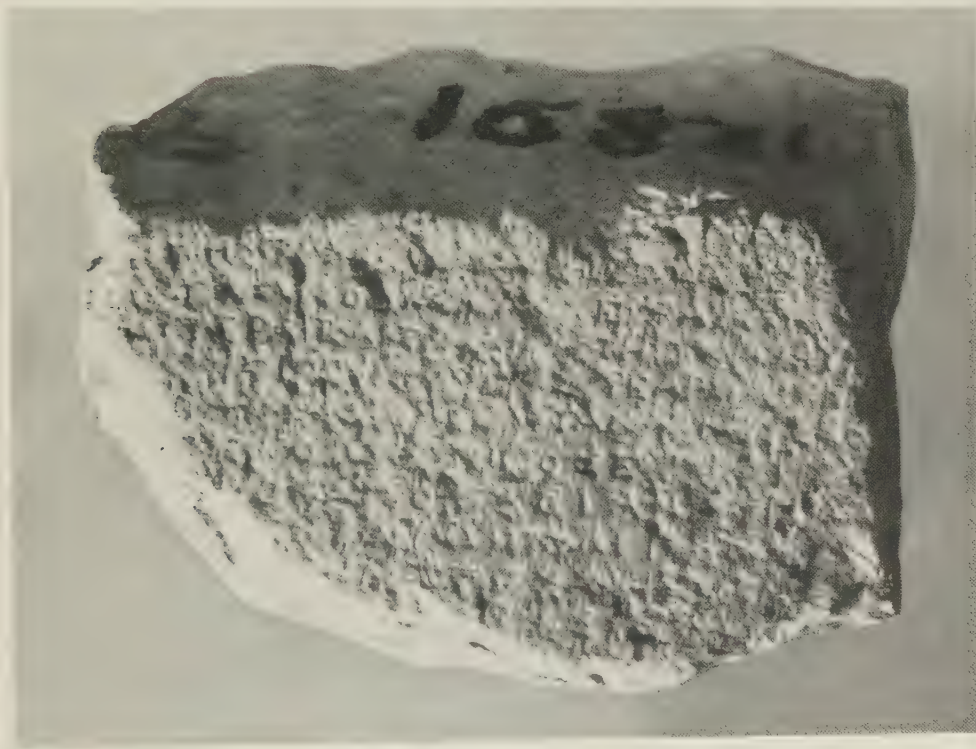


Fig. 20.

339/8 B.C.

- 1 [ἐπ]ὶ τῆς Πα[ρδ]ισιῶδος δ[ε]κ[α]τέρας [πρυτανείας ἤμ - ^{ca. 5} -]
[^{ca. 5} -]ῶρος Χ[ο]λ[λ]ῆ ἐγγραμμά[τευσ· Σχιροφοριῶρος?]
[δε]υτέραι καὶ τριακοστῇ τῆς πρυ[τανείας· τῶν προέδρ]

[ων ἐπεψ]ήφιζεν Καλλίης Φρεάρο[ρι]ος· ἔ[δοξεν τῷ δήμῳ]
 5 [Τηλ]έμαχος Θ[εα]γγέλου Ἀχαρνέος ε[ἵπεν ^{vvvv} περὶ ᾧ]
 [ν λῆ]γει Θ . . ἀγίος ἐψηφίσ[θαι τῇ βουλῇ τ]
 [οὺς πε]ρόεθρους οἳ ἄν [τ]εγ[χάνωσι προεδρεύ]
 [οντες ἔ]ν τῷ δήμῳ προσ[αγαγῆν ἐς τὸν δῆμ]
 [ον καὶ χορ]ματίσαι γ[νώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθ]
 10 [αὶ τῆς βουλῆς ε]ἰς τὸ [ν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ κτλ.]

The present decree was passed in the tenth prytàny of the year 339/8 B.C. Lines 1–5 are *non-stoichedon*, and the letters are crowded; but lines 6–10 are inscribed *stoichedon* with thirty-three letters per line. In all its characteristics this fragment resembles preserved decrees of the period 345–335. Its letter-forms and crowded prescript recall *I.G.*, II², 225 (343/2 B.C.). The position of the secretary's name in its abbreviated form has good parallels in *I.G.*, II², 233 (340/39), line 4, ἐγραμμάτενεν Ἀσπετος [Δημοσιγράτου Κυθήρ], and in *I.G.*, II², 332 (335/4), line 3; and in *I.G.*, II², 336 (334/3), line 1. The orator Telemachos of Acharnae is well-known. In the year 342/1 B.C. he was involved in a case concerning confiscated property (Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 10, lines 151–152); and in the year 330/29 he was orator of a decree in honor of Herakleides (*I.G.*, II², 360, line 28). His career, then, spans the years 342–329 B.C. For Kallias of Phrearrhoi see P.A. 7896.

The demotic Χολλεί(δης) assigns the decree definitely to the year 339/8, for there is no other possible year. It thus gives us a new secretary's demotic.

A Decree in Honor of Chairestratos of Acharnai, 337/6 B.C.

19. Fragment of Pentelie marble, found June 3, 1937 in the main area.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

E.M. 12893.

The right side of the stone is preserved, the back, top, bottom, and left side are broken away. (Fig. 21.)

337/6 B.C. CTOIX. 40
 1 [Ἐπὶ Φρυνίχου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος δ]εκά
 [της πρυτανείας· Χαιρέστρατος Ἀχαρνέος ἐγρ]αμμά
 [τενεν· Σκροφοριῶνος ἔκτις ἐπὶ δέκα, δευτέρ]αι κ[α]
 [ὶ εἰκοσιτῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπ]εψήφ[ι]
 5 [ζεν ²⁰ ἔδοξεν τῷ δή]μῳ[ι] ^{vvv}
 [----- not more than 29 letters ----- εἶπεν] vacat
 [ἐπειδὴ Χαιρέστρατος ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ κατ]ὰ πρυταν
 [εἶαν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμῳ]ς ἄρχει τ

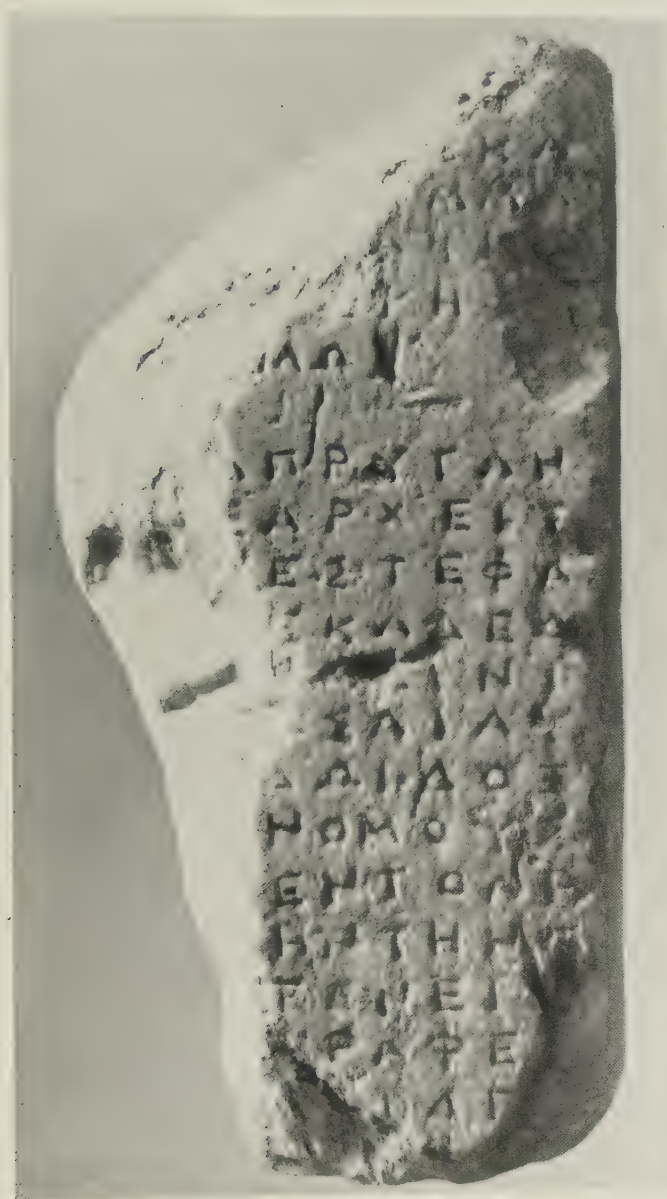


Fig. 21

[ἤν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἐπηγίνεσέ τε καὶ] ἐστεφά
 10 [νωσεν αὐτὸν¹⁵ ἐννοίας ἐν]εκα δεδ
 [όχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι Χαιρέστρατον] Ἀ[μ]ερινί
 [ου Ἀχαρνέα δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκα καὶ στεφαν]ῶσαι αὐ
 [τὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐπειδὴν τὰς εὐθύνας] δῶι δόξ
 [αὐτ' ἄρξαι τὴν ἀρχὴν δικαίως καὶ κατὰ τοῖς] νόμους
 15 [.³⁴]εντοαθ
 [.³⁴]ἡν τὴν π
 [.³⁴]ε ἐν ἔλ[.]
 [.³⁴]γραφε[.]
 [.²⁸]ἀναγράφει δὲ [τ]
 20 [όδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεῖα τὸν κατὰ πρυταν]ε[ί]α
 [ν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ κτλ.]

This decree was passed in honor of Chairestratos, son of Ameinias, of Acharnai, who was γραμματεὺς ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν in the year 337/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 239–243). Two clues to the solution of this fragment were supplied in lines 7 and 11. Analysis of the fragment disclosed that it was an honorary decree (lines 9–12), that the prescript proper ended with line 5 (δή]μω[ι]), and that, therefore, the name of the orator must have appeared in line 6 or 7. The letters απρυταν can only be divided logically into κατ]ὰ πρυταν[είαν or ἐπὶ τ]ὰ πρυταν[εῖα. In line 8 ἄρχει, the third singular, indicates that a singular subject appeared in lines 7–8, who was also mentioned by name in lines 11–12. Since Ἀμενίας was the father of Χαιρέστρατος, the well-known secretary (γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν), the connection in meaning between line 7 and lines 9–12 became clear.

The new decree adds proof to the already accepted theory that the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν was the same as the secretary whose name and title appeared at the head of decrees. (*I.G.*, II², 223 [343/2 B.C.], C, 1–2; 224; 225; 1700; Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 54.3; see also page 286). The new text confirms the restorations and the form of the prescript of *I.G.*, II², 242, lines 1–7.

A Fragmentary Decree

20. Fragment of Hymettian marble from upper right corner of a stele preserving the original top, right side, and back, found May 26, 1937 in a late wall in the underground passage. (Fig. 22.)

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.; 0.004 m.

E.M. 12896.



Fig. 22

[ΘΕ]Ο[Ι?]

(ΤΟΙΛ).

- 1 [-]εγραμμάτεν.
 [-]τ]ήν στήλην τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς
 [ήρης(?) - - - - - τέ]θριππα, ποεῖν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα
 [-]τοῦ] τρίτου ἔτους μουσικὸν π
 5 [-]ν ἀπὸ πέντε ταλάντων τι(θ)
 [ἐναι - - - - -] ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐν ᾧ Ἄντα
 [-]τιθέν]αι δὲ τὴν πανήγυριν περ
 [-]ι πύλας, ἐκεχειρίαν δὲ
 [-] ἐκεχειρίαν τοῖς ἀφικνουμέν[ο]
 10 [ις Ἀθήναζε - - - - -] τὴν πανήγυριν ὅ[...]
 [-]ι ΔΕΚΑΜΕΝΙΟΥ[...⁵...]
 [-]ινι[...⁷...]

This fragment appears to be part of a decree or law concerning the management of a major festival; but, so far as I am aware, it does not belong to any known inscription. The letter-forms are early Lycurgan and resemble *I.G.*, II², 333 and 334 closely, the former a law moved by Lycurgus concerning the repair and replacement of sacred vessels, and the other concerning the management of the Lesser Panathenaea. If the word in lines 2–3 is correctly restored as *εἰρ[ήνης]*, it must refer to the peace with Philip, 338/7 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 236; see [Dem.], XVII, 10); but the *ἐκχειρία* of lines 8–9 points to a period of war or instability unless it be used loosely for *μυστηριώτιδες σπονδαί*, the regularly proclaimed sacred truce. The festival may be the Greater Panathenaea in which there was a musical contest as well as the gymnastic (line 4).

A Fragmentary Honorary Decree

21. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found May 8, 1937 in the underground passage.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.052 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

E.M. 12918. (Fig. 23.)



Fig. 23

ca. 330–320 B.C. CTOIX. 21

1 [.....¹⁰.....]ι[.....¹⁰.....]
 [.....¹⁰.....]ντ[.....⁹.....]
 [.....⁹.....]απω[.....⁹.....]
 [.....⁸.....]τοις [δεδοχθαι τ]
 5 [ὦι δήμωι] ^v ἐπαι[ρέσαι]
 [.....⁷.....]οδημο[.....⁸.....]
 [.....⁶.....]στρατο[.....⁹.....]
 [.....⁶.....]ον κ[α]ὶ σ[τεφανῶσαι]
 [ἀντιοῖς . . .⁷ . . .] τ[.....⁹.....]

This piece belongs to *I.G.*, II², 414, fragments *b*, *c*, and *d*; but fragment *a* is clearly part of another inscription. It seems to be a decree in honor of certain Athenian officials. The date is close to 325 B.C.

An Honorary Decree, 304/3 B.C.

22. Fragment of Pentelic marble found May 28, 1937 in a late wall in the underground passage. The top, right side, and back are preserved.

Height, 0.45 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.115 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m. (in heading).

Height of letters, 0.006 m. (in text).

E.M. 12952. (Fig. 24.)

	304/3 B.C.	CTOIX. 29
1	[. ^{ca} . ⁵ .] ορος	
	[Θ ε] ο ι	
	[Ἐπὶ Φερεκλέους ἀ]ρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰ	
	[ἀντίδος δωδεκάτ]ης πρυτανείας ἦι Ἐ	
5	[πιχαρῖνος Αἰμο]χάρους Γαργήτιος	
	[ἐγραμμάτευσεν· Σ]κροφοριῶνος ἐνε	
	[καὶ νέαι προτέρ]αι ἐνάτηι καὶ εἰκοσ	
	[τῇ τῆς πρυτανεί]ας· ἐκκλησίᾳ· τῶν πε	
	[σέδρων ἐπεψήφισ]εν Εὐχθόσιος (Ἐ)πιμ	
10	[ηδείδου Κυδαθη]ναίων καὶ συμπρόε	
	[δροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δ]ήμῳ· " Στρατοκλῆς	
	[Εὐθυδήμου Διομε]νὸς εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν τ	
	[ιμῶνται οἱ ἀπὸ Αἰ]μητρίου τοῦ βασιλ	
	[έως ἐξαποστελλό]μενοι πρὸς τὴν πόλ	
15	[ιν καὶ πρᾶττοντε]ς τὰ συμφέρον[τα τῶ]	
	[ι δήμῳι κα]ὶ [Ἀ]ν[τι]μ[η]τ[ρί]ου[δ]ος [.]	
	[. ¹⁴] ἰδὼς [. ¹¹]	
	[. ¹⁴] Ἀ. Η. Ξ [. ¹¹]	

The above decree was passed in the twelfth prytany of 304/3 B.C. on the same day as two other known decrees, *I.G.*, II², 486 and 597 (=Addenda to 597, page 662). In line one the letters *ορος* are so spaced that, to maintain a symmetrical arrangement, one must assume that there are five letter-spaces before the *Ο*. I have adopted in lines 13–14 a restoration made by Broneer. Although the phraseology is unusual, it appears plausible and fitting in consideration of the nature of the decree. In lines 16 ff. were the names of those who received the honors accorded in this decree (probably on the recommendation of King Demetrius). For Antimedes see Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*; *I.G.*, I², Index Nominum, p. 308.

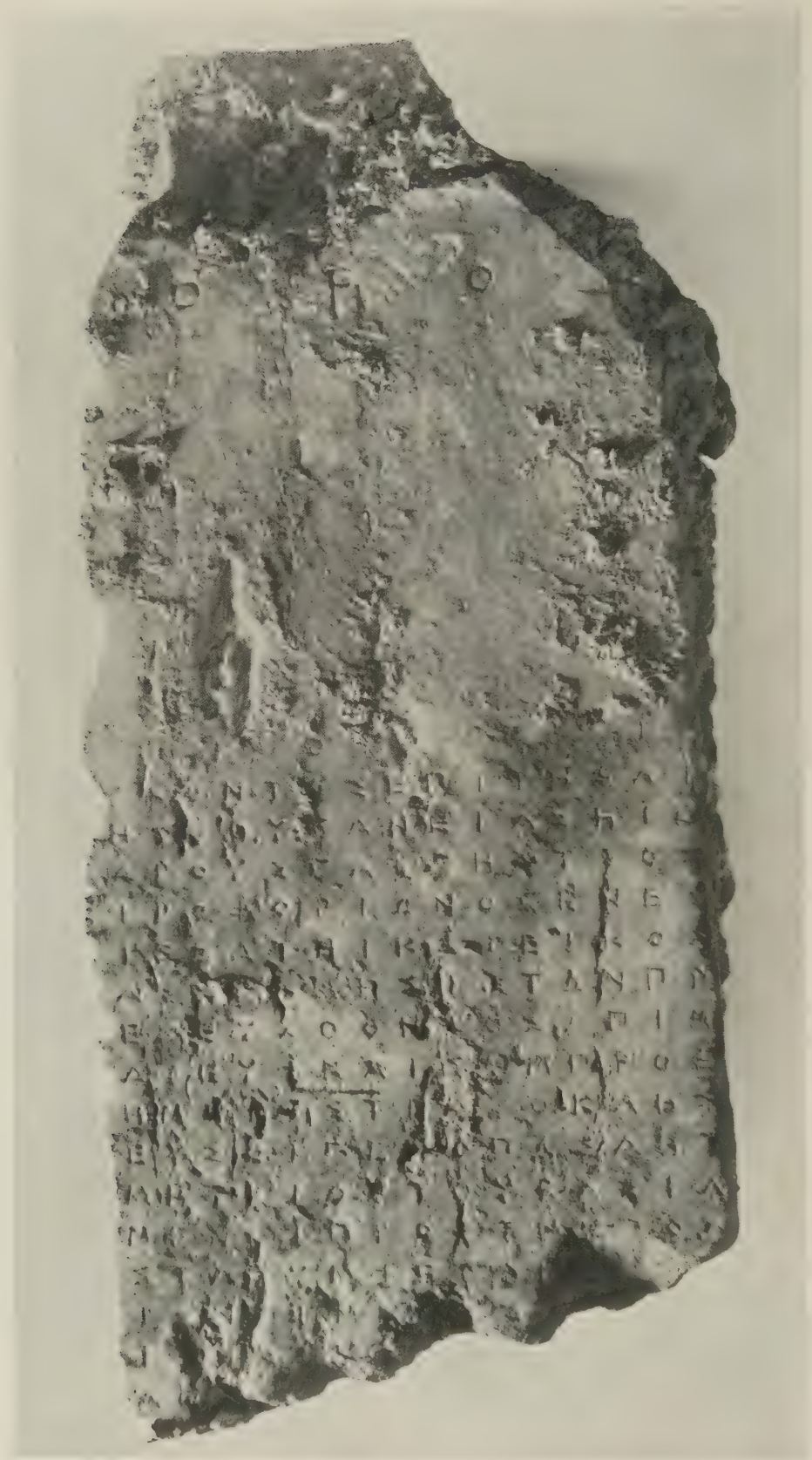


Fig. 21

A Fragmentary Decree

23. Fragment of Pentelie marble, found March 13, 1937 in a modern wall. The right side of the stone is preserved.

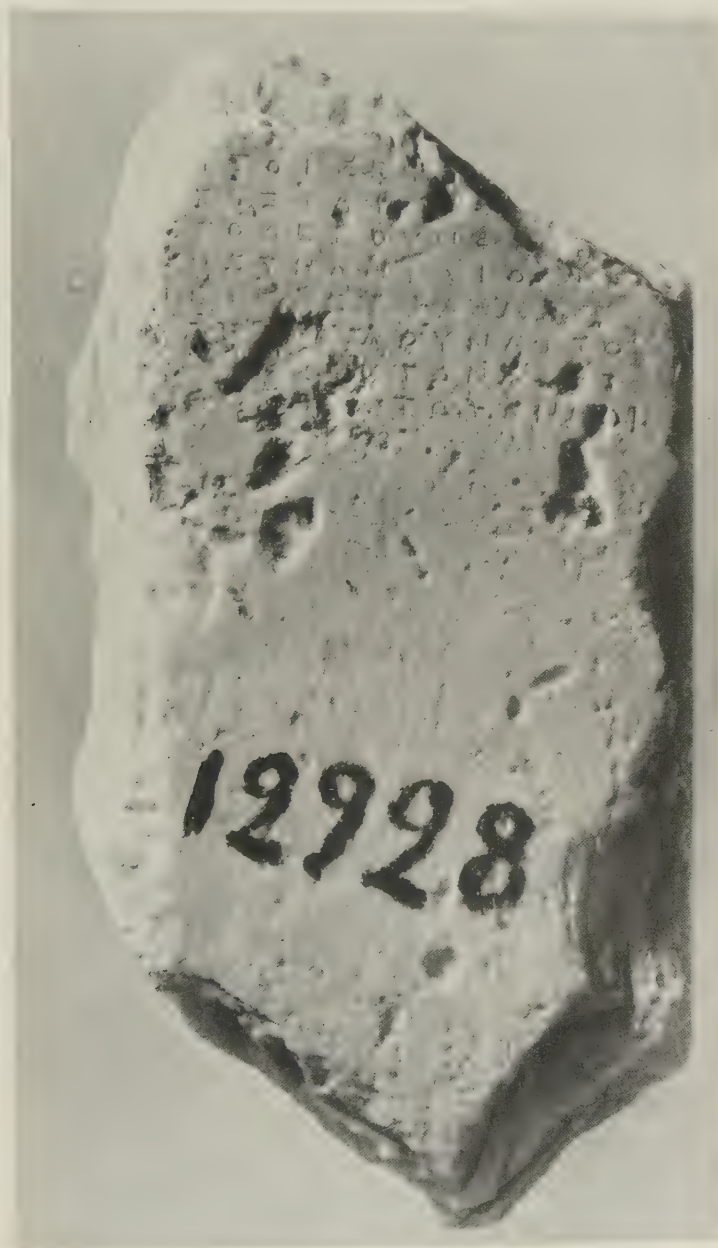


Fig. 25

Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

E.M. 12928. (Fig. 25.)

CTOIX. 34

1 [.....²¹.....]ι τοῖς εἰ[...⁶...]
 [.....¹⁵..... χάριτα]ς ἀξία[[ι]]ς [τῶν εἰς]
 [ῥετημάτων ἀναγράφαι δ]ὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφι[σμα]
 [τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου] ἐν στήλῃ λιθίν[η]
 5 [ι καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀγορῇ]ι εἰς [δ]ὲ τὴν ἀναγο
 [εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς] στή[λης] δοῦναι τὸ
 [ν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου . . . δε]ρχ[μὰ]ς [ἐ]κ τῶν εἰς[ς] τ
 [ὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκ]ο[μένων] τῷ δήμῳ.
vacat

This fragment belongs in the last decade of the fourth century B.C. The last instance of payment by the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* for the publication of a decree falls in the year 302/1 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 505, 63). The *γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου* began supervising the publication of decrees in this decade (*I.G.*, II², 507, lines 22–23, 302/1 B.C.). Through oversight the stonecutter appears to have inscribed the phrase *εἰς [δ]ὲ τὴν ἀναγο* in part, and then in the next line (6) wrote in full the same phrase. Subsequently he erased the unfinished phrase.

A Fragmentary Honorary Decree

24. Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in upper section of the main area. It belongs to *I.G.*, II², 433 (frag. *b* in the text).

Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.005–0.006 m.

E.M. 12919. (Fig. 26.)

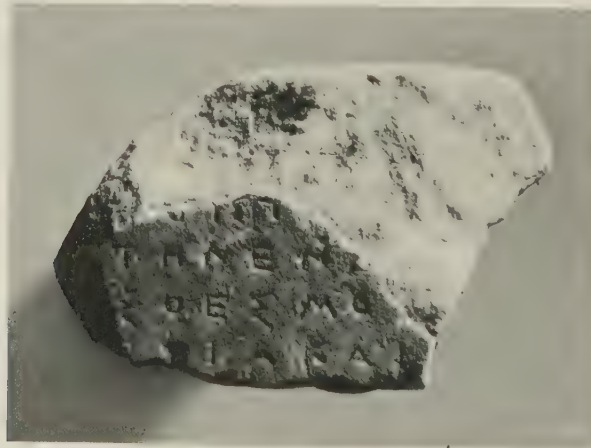


Fig. 26

α

CTOIX. 34

1 [.....¹³..... τ] οὐδ[υτάνεις⁹.....]
 [.....¹³.....] τήν ἐνφ[εἰξιν?¹⁰.....]
 [.....¹⁰..... ιοδ]ς θεσμοῖς[.....¹³.....]
 [.....¹³.....] τ[.] ια καὶ [.....¹⁴.....]

b

5 [.....¹¹.....] ες ν[.....²⁰.....]
 [ἐθεσμο]θέτησαν ε[.....¹⁵..... στεφα]
 [ῥῶσα]ι χρυσῶι στε[φάνωι¹⁵.....]
 [δο]αχμῶν ἐπαινέσ[αι δὲ¹⁴..... κα]
 [ι σ]τεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνωι⁹.....
 10 [ἀν]αγράφαι δὲ τόδ[ε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματ]
 [έα] τὸν κατὰ πρυτ[ανείαν ἐστήλει λιθίνῃ κ]
 [αὶ στῆσ]αι ἐν ᾧ[κροπόλει]

The new piece adds little to the meaning of the preserved parts of this honorary decree for certain thesmothetai. It should be dated in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.

A Fragmentary Decree

25. Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble, found May 8, 1937 in the underground passage. The right side and back are preserved.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.75 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

E.M. 12897. (Fig. 27.)

CTOIX. 30(?)

1 [-.....²⁹.....-] I
 [-.....²⁸.....-] Λ.
 [-.....²⁷.....-] ΤΑΥ
 [.....¹⁶..... τοῦ δήμο]υ τοῦ Ἀθη
 5 [ναίων⁶..... πρὸς τοὺς β]ασιλεῖς καὶ
 [τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων(?) δ]εδόχθαι τῷ
 [δῆμωι ἐπαινέσαι¹⁰.....] χι [.....]
 [.....²⁵.....] ν [.....]
 [.....²⁵.....] Η [.....]
 10 [.....²⁵.....] δη[μ . .]
 [.....²⁶.....] ω [.....]

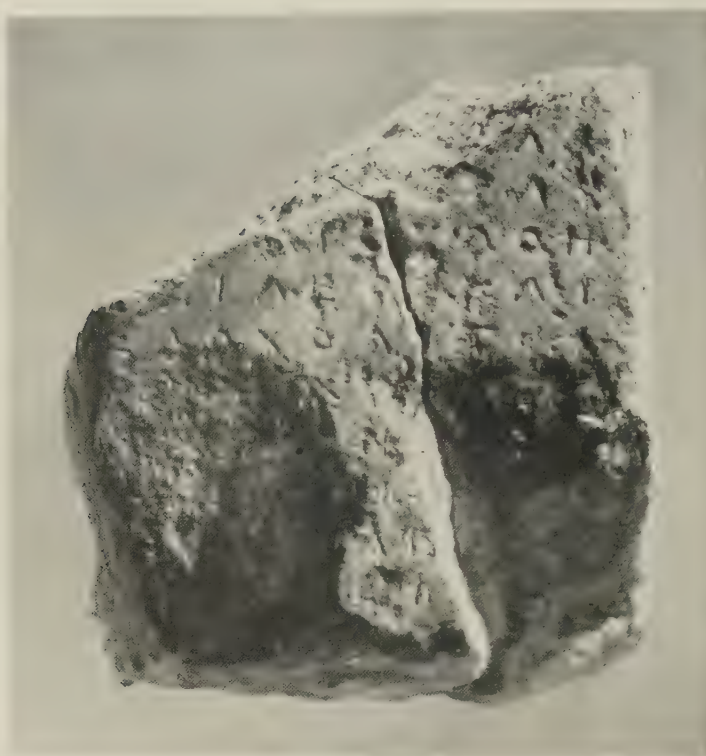


Fig. 27

The letter-forms date this fragmentary honorary decree in the last decade of the fourth century B.C. In line 5 the βασιλεῖς are Antigonos and Demetrius.

A Fragment of a Decree

26. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found April 19, 1937 in the late fill of the main area. Only the back is preserved.

Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

E.M. 12899. (Fig. 28.)

CTOIX.

1	... ⁵ ...]	!	[
	... ⁶ ...]	νην	ε	[-	-	-	-	-
	... ⁵ ...δ]	ήμου	ε	ι	ς	τ	ή	ν	[
	... ⁶ ...]	τος	ε	ι	ς	τ	α	ῦ	τα
5	... ⁶ ...]	υ	δ	ώ	σ	ε	ι	ν	τοῖς

ἐνδείκν[υ]σθαι προαίρε[σιν] - - - -
 . . . ? . . .] ὀφειλόμενον [- - - - -
 . . . ⁵ . . . τῇ π[ρ]όλει καὶ ν[- - - - -
 . . . ¹⁰ . . .]στιαί χρ[- - - - -
 10 . . . ⁵ . . . ἐκκλήσ[ι]σαν εἰ[- - - - -
 ¹¹]να [- - - - -



Fig. 28

This fragmentary decree should be dated at the close of the fourth century B.C.

A Fragmentary Decree

27. Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble found May 8 in the underground passage. The right side and back are preserved.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

E.M. 12892. (Fig. 29.)

CTOIX.

1 [. . . . ¹⁰] η λ [. .] ι [.] χοστ
 [. . . . ¹⁰] ο γ [. .] ος τὸν τ
 [. ¹³] ρον διει



Fig. 29

[ἐλετ εἰνονς] ὦ[ρ] ιῶ[ι] δ(ίμ)ων
 5 [ιῶι Ἀθηναίων.] α[.] τῶν ἐκ τ
 [.⁸ δφε] ιλόντων πο
 [.¹²] τῶν ἐχομι
 [.¹⁰ ὦφ] εἰλεν Ἀθ[η]
 [ρατ¹³] ο[. . .]
 10 [.²⁰] ινι[. . .]
 [.¹⁷] ιι[. . .]
 [.¹² Ἀθ] η[ρατ] ὦν
 [.¹⁴] ἐ[ρ] ι[ι] γγ
 [.¹² ιῶι] δ(ίμ)ων
 15 [.¹⁴] χα[. . .] ζ[. . .]
 [.¹⁵] εἰαν[. . .]
 [.¹⁵] σεγ[. . .]
 [.¹⁵] ορε[. . .]

This fragment is part of a decree. The letter-forms date it at the close of the fourth century B.C.

A Fragment of a Decree

28. Small piece of Hymettian marble, found March 31, 1937 in late fill below one of the modern houses, preserving part of the right side and the frame above the inscribed face.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

E.M. 12912. (Fig. 30.)



Fig. 30

CTOIX.

1 [-----] εἰπεν' ἐ[πε]
 [ιδὴ] ----- name ----- patronymic ----- κλέον[ς .]
 [-] -----] ρατ[. . .]

The above piece is part of a decree passed by a deme, tribe, genos, or religious organization of the late fourth century B.C.

A List of Names

29. A small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken all around, found April 10, 1937 in the main area.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.06 m.

E.M. 12923. (Fig. 31.)

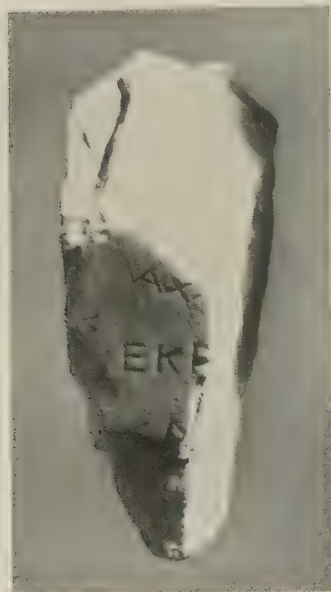


Fig. 31

1 [- - - - -] Ἀρχ[ιός?]
 [- - - - -] ⚭ vacat [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] Κεκο[ονίς]
 [- - - - -] / Π [- - - - -]

A Fragment of a Decree

30. Small fragment of white marble, found April 12, 1937 in the main area. The right side is preserved.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.055 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

E.M. 12950. (Fig. 32.)

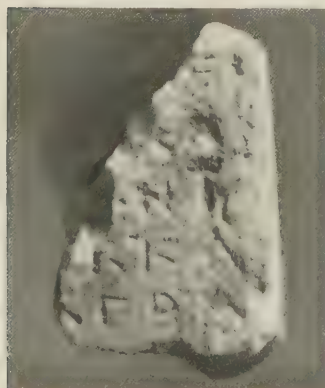


Fig. 32

CTOIX.
 1 [- - - - -] ε
 [- - - - -]] δ
 [- - - - -]] εντ
 [- - - - -] τήν ε] κκλ
 5 [ησίαν - - - - -] αργρά
 [ψαι κτλ.]

The fragment seems to belong to the conclusion of a decree from the end of the fourth century B.C.

A Fragment of a Decree

31. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken all around, found March 29, 1937 north of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.08 m.

E.M. 12906. (Fig. 33.)

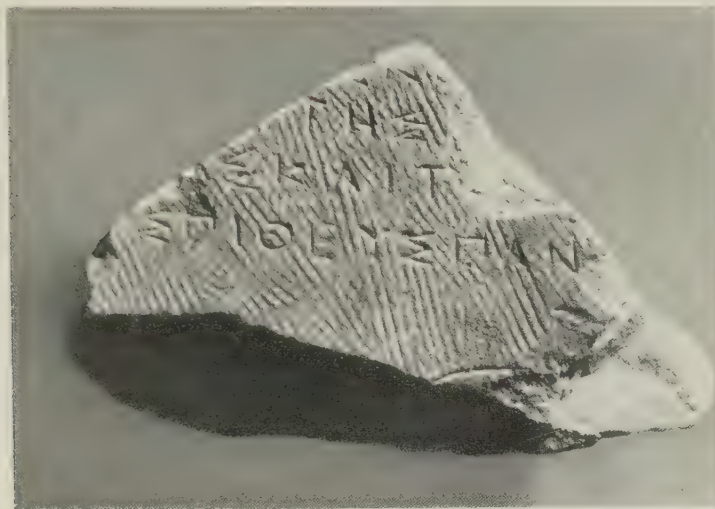


Fig. 33

non-CTOIX.

--]σχο[--

--]της[--

--]ς καὶ ι[--

--]ς Πιθεὺς Παν[--

vacat

corona

This piece seems to be part of a decree. The letter-forms place it *ca.* 300 B.C.

A Fragmentary Decree

32. Two non-joining fragments of Pentelic marble; fragment *a*, broken all around, found April 13, 1937 in late fill northwest of the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite; fragment *b*, preserving the right side and back, found April 22, 1937 in a late wall in the main area. (Fig. 34.)

Frag. *a*:

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.005–0.006 m.

E.M. 12909.

Frag. *b*:

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

E.M. 12925.



Fig. 34

a

CTOIX.

- 1 . .]ς Δελφι[-----
 Ἀθ]ηναίων [-----
 . .] τῶν τη[-----
 . .] καὶ [.-----
 5 ἐσ]τλ[μεν? --

b

- [-----] \AIA..
 [-----]ος εα
 [-----]έον Ἀ
 [-----]τον δ] ἡμογ
 10 [-----] α] ἐτιῶι
 [-----] ἄν]αγο
 [ἀψαι -----]στ
 [- - - - -]ι

These fragments are part of a decree of the early third century B.C. In line 1 we may read Ἀπολλωνο]ς Δελφι[νίου.

A Decree, 256/5 B.C.

33. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found April 7, 1937 in the modern fill of the main area.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.132 m.; thickness, 0.051 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

E.M. 12907. (Fig. 35.)



Fig. 35

256/5 B.C.

CTOIX. 34

- 1 [Ἐπὶ Κλεομάχου ἄρχοντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Δ[ημητριά]
[δος οὐδόης προτανείας ἢ Ἀφθόν[ητος Ἀρχ]
[ῖνον Κήτιος ἐγραμμάτευεν Ἀνθε[στηριῶν]
[ος κτλ.]

The decree of which this fragmentary prescript is a part was passed in the year of Kleomachos, 256/5 B.C. (Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 135). Like *I.G.*, II², 770 of the same year, this fragment preserves the epigraphic peculiarity of leaving one letter-space uninscribed after *πρυτανείας*. The numeral *ἑβδόμης*, which exactly fills the space, should not be restored, since it does not suit the calendar requirements of the year, and would conflict with the evidence of *I.G.*, II², 798, line 1, which Meritt has assigned recently to this year (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 583).

EUGENE SCHWEIGERT

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1937

The seventh campaign of the excavations in the Athenian Agora conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens covered a period of twenty weeks, extending from January 25 to the middle of June. Prior to the beginning of the actual work of excavation the modern houses on the site were expropriated by the Business Office under the efficient direction of A. Adossides, and were demolished under the supervision of the experienced foreman, Sophokles Lekkas, and under the eyes of the archaeologists of the staff who must recognize and salvage any ancient stones which may have been built into comparatively modern walls. The area then was surrounded, as usual, by a board fence and was laid out in metre squares, corresponding to the architectural ground-plan, for the facilitation of the accurate keeping of records. Following the excavation season considerable tidying of the area is always necessary and by the time this has been completed the work of demolition of additional modern houses can be begun in preparation of the terrain for the excavations of the succeeding year.

Emphasis is again laid on the fact that this report of the results of the current campaign is tentative in character and is subject to revision after further study and investigation.¹ It is a pleasant duty to record the continued hearty support and coöperation received from the authorities of the American School and from the officials of the Greek Government. Professor Edward Capps, Chairman of the Agora Commission, closely follows the progress of the work with unflinching enthusiasm and constantly assists it with his wise counsel. Especial appreciation for helpful support is due to His Excellency Mr. K. Georgakopoulos, Minister of Education and Cults, and to Professor G. P. Oikonomos, Director General of Antiquities in the Ministry. The American Minister in Athens, Honorable Lincoln MacVeagh, has also been of frequent assistance with sympathetic advice and with influential support. But this great project could never have been realized had it not been for the vision and generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to whom the resurrection of the buildings of the ancient Agora of Athens will be an abiding memorial.

Part of the area excavated during the present season is located south of the Agora itself, lying on the steep slopes of the north side of the Areopagus. Here the deposit of accumulated earth was shallow, some of the cellars of modern houses being actually cut in the living rock, and consequently the total amount of earth removed was less than in the

¹ Brief accounts of the work have been published by me in *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 11, 1937, pp. 430-432, 460; *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 177-189; XLII, 1938, pp. 1-16; by H. Riemann in *Arch. Anz.*, 1937, cols. 95-114.



preceding year, about 30,000 tons compared with 50,000. Since much of the area still to be cleared lies on this hillside the amount of earth removed will steadily decrease in the future campaigns. The total area that has been uncovered by this large scale excavation is well revealed in its relation to the neighboring landmarks in a photograph taken from the air on July 26, 1937 by the courtesy of the Topographical Service of the Ministry of Communications (Fig. 1). The American Zone, most of which has been excavated, is shown



Fig. 2. Northern Part of Excavated Area

to be limited on the north by the curving line of the Athens–Peiraeus railway, on the east by the Stoa of Attalos, on the south by the Acropolis and the Areopagus, and on the west by the Kolonos Agoraios with the Hephaisteion on its summit. The blocks of houses directly east of the American Zone, surrounding the cleared section of the Roman Agora, are designated for excavation by the Greek Archaeological Society.

The appearance of the excavated area at the close of the season is shown in three successive views (Figs. 2–4) which taken together give a panorama of the entire field of ex-

cavation, extending from the Acropolis and Areopagus on the south to the Athens-Peiraeus railway on the north. The photographs were taken from the roof of the Hephaisteion, visible in the lower right corner of Figure 4, and the only part of the excavated terrain omitted from the panorama is that lying north, south and west of that temple. The uncovering of this great area has clearly revealed the limits of the Greek Agora except on the north side where it has been proved that the railway forming the northern boundary of the American Zone is not coterminous with the northern limit of the Agora. The site of the Stoa Poikile must be sought north of the railway, but investigation there is not at present practicable. When the special law was drafted that specifies the terms of the American concession the railway was fixed as the northern limit of the Zone for purely practical reasons. The land north of it cannot, therefore, be expropriated under the terms of that law and, moreover, as it is close to one of the more important streets its value is much greater than that of the property located farther south in the Zone. It is thus necessary to hypothecate the northern closure of the ancient Agora on the combined evidence of the topographical discoveries and of the descriptions given in classical literature.

It has frequently been emphasized in these annual Reports that an excavation on this great scale in the heart of the most important Greek city of antiquity must be conducted with the utmost care and thoroughness. Detailed evidence of the many strata of successive occupations from the prehistoric age down to modern times must be accurately observed and recorded, for thus only can the complete history of the site be reconstructed. In order to secure this result it is essential that the members of the staff should be highly experienced and efficient scholars in the many branches of archaeological science and technique. By the system of Fellowships supported by the Rockefeller Foundation it has been possible to secure promising men and women, to train them in the specialized technique of excavation, and to retain their services in successive years as they have become increasingly valuable through cumulative field experience. Thus the excavators of the present season are all veterans in the field. The senior member of the group, Homer A. Thompson, has been with the Agora since the beginning of the work, for though holding an Assistant Professorship in the University of Toronto he is regularly granted a leave of absence from his University for the period of the excavation season.

The system of Fellowships has been notably successful in accomplishing the two purposes for which they were planned, that is the provision of competent assistance for the prosecution of the work, and the adequate training of young scholars for future careers at home. One of the former Fellows, F. O. Waagé, is now on the faculty of Cornell, another, J. H. Oliver, felt it to be his duty to accept an appointment as Assistant Professor in Columbia at the close of last season. But in his case the association with the Agora is not severed since his specialty is epigraphy, and inscriptions can be satisfactorily studied from photographs, squeezes, and copies. But in view of the many inscriptions that are currently found in the excavations, it is necessary to have an epigraphist present during the season and, therefore, the vacancy caused by Oliver's departure was filled by the appointment of

Eugene Schweigert of Cincinnati, who has satisfactorily maintained the high standard of epigraphical efficiency sponsored by Meritt and his assistants.

Equally important with the recording of progress in the field is the handling of the individual objects discovered when they are delivered to the workrooms at the close of each day. Miss Talcott, who has been in charge of the Catalogue Department since the beginning of the excavations, has developed a system of identifying, cataloguing and filing



Fig. 3. Central Part of Excavated Area

that functions as smoothly and efficiently as the method of handling books employed in our great libraries. As each object is found it is given by the excavator a serial sectional number and is entered in the field notebook with details of the place and circumstances of discovery. On the following morning the sectional number is checked and the object is cleaned so far as may be necessary. It is then assigned a permanent inventory number with a sub-number indicating its archaeological group, is fully catalogued on a card of a special group color, is photographed, and is placed on a shelf in a position appropriate to its class

and period. The practical result of this system is that any one of the 32,000 catalogued objects can be produced as readily as any book in a library stack.

One class of objects presents a particularly difficult problem because of the large number found and because of the generally poor state of preservation. These are the coins, of which 70,325 have so far been found in the Agora. Mrs. Shear has developed such an admirable technique in handling this mass of material that all the 10,325 coins secured



Fig. 4. Southern Part of Excavated Area

during the current campaign were cleaned, identified, catalogued, and listed in the field notebooks by the end of the season. Since the evidence supplied by the coins is of the utmost value to the excavator for determining the chronology of stratified deposits, it is obvious that promptness and accuracy in supplying this evidence are essential for the correct interpretation of archaeological remains. The coins are handled like other groups of objects. Each when found is enclosed in an envelope that bears the data of discovery: section, square, depth, date, and size. Every morning they are checked by the Coin Depart-

ment and are entered in a sectional serial list. Since they are usually badly corroded because of the moisture of the Agora soil they are cleaned by the electrolytic process and are carefully polished with felt brushes attached to a dental polishing machine. The coins are then identified and each is placed for permanent filing in a new envelope which bears a description of the coin as well as the data of discovery, and a corresponding catalogue card is prepared. The highly satisfactory result achieved during the past season was effected with the efficient assistance of a new appointee in the Department, Miss Margaret Thompson.

Two other Departments of the work are in charge of masters in their respective fields. The artist, Piet de Jong, makes immediate record of any preserved colors on objects as they are found, for these colors are often very fugitive and quickly fade through exposure to the light. Experienced through many years of specialization in painting Greek pottery de Jong makes water-colors of the vases, several of which will be illustrated later in this Report, which give a more accurate impression of the originals, by means of the use of light and shade, than can be secured from photographs with their two-dimensional limitations. The architect, an indispensable member of any excavation staff, is J. Travlos, who was attached to the staff in an emergency and has been retained because of his excellent work in the specialized field of archaeological architecture. He surveys the field of work, lays out the areas in metre squares, records on plans any late walls which must be removed to permit the excavation of deeper deposits, makes drawings of individual stones, studies and draws stone by stone the remains of ancient buildings, and makes reconstructions of them based on surviving architectural members. His work, of which an illustration is the ground plan of the area that will be shown later, is characterized by technical accuracy and by remarkable astuteness in interpreting scanty remains of buildings which are often confusing in type and age.

A new Department was added to the staff this season through the coöperation of Princeton University and of the American Philosophical Society. A grant from the Society made possible the establishment of a simple chemical laboratory on the site of excavation, and the University gave leave of absence for the second term to Professor E. R. Caley of the Department of Chemistry so that he could organize and direct the new branch of work. Caley had already had considerable experience in studying and analyzing ancient objects so that he was well equipped to cope with the many and varied problems daily arising in the course of practical work. The results have been of the greatest value both for the specific work in the Agora and for the science of Archaeology in general.

The type of chemical investigation that is required in field work is concerned with the cleaning and preserving of corroded metals, with the analysis of many kinds of materials to determine their quality and sometimes even to make possible their identification. An illustration may be given of one of the interesting results of such an investigation. Some terracotta jars were found to have their interior walls coated with a black substance, which was proved by analysis to be mastic from the Island of Chios. Since this substance

is soluble in oil but not in alcohol, it is clear that the jars were used to contain wine which was kept by the mastic coating from absorption by the porous terracotta. The coating was carelessly brushed on the walls and a residuum of the mastic usually settled in the bottom of the jars, which would have given some slight flavor to the wine. It is possible that this practice of waterproofing the interiors of wine-jars is the origin of the taste for resined wine that still is universal in Greece.

An analysis of a metal object disclosed a composition and treatment of ancient metal such as have not previously been anywhere observed. A band of repoussé work is composed of a thin inner strip of pure copper which is plated on both sides with a white metal. The appearance of the surface was that of silver, except for the unusual absence of corrosion, but analysis proved that it was a metal composition consisting of 53% copper, 33% tin, and 14% lead. The large percentage of tin would guarantee a permanent non-corrosive surface which would be specially suitable for objects exposed to the elements. Quantitative analysis of many bronze Athenian coins is providing information that, it is hoped, will permit a more accurate chronological arrangement of the series than has hitherto been possible, because of the progressive increase of the proportion of lead in the alloy.

The work of the present season was conducted in the following Sections, designated by letters of the Greek alphabet on the City Plan of the American Zone published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335, fig. 2; Rho (Ρ), at the northern edge of the Zone; Sigma (Σ), in the north-eastern corner; Upsilon (Υ), Phi (Φ) and Chi (Χ), on the southern side; Theta Theta (ΘΘ) and Iota Iota (ΙΙ), in the southeastern corner; Omicron Alpha (ΟΑ), on the slope of the Acropolis south of Iota Iota (not included in the City Plan); Lambda Lambda (ΛΛ), in the northwestern corner, north of the Hephaisteion. Additional work was also done in Pi Theta (ΠΘ), south of the Hephaisteion, and about the Tholos in Sections Beta (Β) and Zeta (Ζ). The account of the progress of the work, which will be presented under the captions of the various Sections, is largely based on the reports of the excavators in charge of the specified Sections.

SECTION RHO

Section Rho was excavated in 1936 down to the level of the Roman period, but the walls of a Byzantine settlement in the area were left in place. The adjoining Section on the west, Eta, had been similarly excavated in 1933. These two Sections were separated by a modern street (Eponymon). Since the streets must be available for traffic as long as residents remain in their neighborhood, it is necessary to postpone their excavation until the surrounding areas have been cleared. Since the streets then furnish but a narrow working area their removal proceeds slowly. Clearance of the northern half of Eponymon Street was begun last season and it was continued this year under the supervision of R. H. Howland. It proved to be the course of an ancient street which had been in use since early Byzantine times serving the houses on either side. The view from the north given in

Figure 5 shows a bit of the northern end of the street in the lower left corner, with the Byzantine remains to the right and to the left, while the southern half of the street is visible in the centre background.

The strata of successive deposits were clearly marked. Below modern level came a layer containing early Turkish and late Byzantine pottery and coins, and below this was a deposit with objects of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Still lower came the main deposit with



Fig. 5. Byzantine Walls at North End of Area

a depth of about two metres which is dated by its potsherds and Vandal coins in the fifth and sixth centuries. This filling was not stratified and it is clear that the site was not used for a street until after its accumulation. Previously the site had been an open area, with occasional monuments set up in it, in front of a large building of which the east end partially underlay the later street levels.

THE TEMPLE OF ARES

The building here found was the most important discovery of the season from the point of view of the topography of the Agora. In the excavation of Section Eta in 1933 some heavy foundation blocks were revealed in place, which were identified from their type as belonging to a building of the fifth century B.C. At that time further exploration was impossible because of the presence of the modern street. Now with the removal of the street and the overlying Byzantine walls the plan of the building in its entirety has been disclosed, as it appears in Figure 6, a photograph taken from about the same point as was that reproduced in Figure 5. The building is a large rectangular structure of which the poros foundation stones are preserved in some places, at the east end, to a height of five courses; in other places the blocks are missing but the cuttings in the bedrock show clearly where they had been placed. Both the cuttings and the preserved stones are seen distinctly in the illustration.

The building, oriented east and west, measures 36.36 by 16.76 m. on the course below the euthynteria. The foundation blocks had been carelessly laid throughout the area and many had been removed, probably in late Roman times. They were not set on bedrock but on a thin layer of small stones. Many of them have anathyrosis, drawn edges, and lewis-holes which are not set in places suitable to their present position, an indication that these blocks have been re-used. This view is confirmed by the late type of mason's marks cut on some of them. The ground level, which is partly preserved against the highest blocks on the northern and eastern sides, is of the early Roman period, and to this age may be assigned the construction of the present building. But the appearance of the blocks themselves and the style of the surviving pieces of the superstructure point to the fifth century B.C. as the time of their original fabrication. The architectural pieces include fragments of triglyphs, of a ceiling beam, and of a cornice with mutules from which it is possible to estimate the intercolumniation as 2.80 m. This will permit a restoration on the existing foundations of a Doric temple slightly larger than the Hephaisteion, with six columns on the ends and thirteen on the sides. The temple was originally constructed in the second half of the fifth century B.C. and was entirely rebuilt in the Augustan period, the blocks being carefully lettered and numbered to guarantee their correct placement in the reconstruction. Can this temple be identified with any one mentioned in the ancient records?

The only temple in this general area of the Agora which has not been accounted for by the discoveries already made by the excavations is the Temple of Ares. Pausanias coming from the Dipylon entered the Agora in the northwest corner and described the buildings on the west side of the street as far as the Tholos. These buildings have been safely identified. Then proceeding Pausanias (I, 8, 4) says that "higher up" are the statues of the Eponymous Heroes and various other statues including one of Demosthenes,

and that near the statue of Demosthenes was the Temple of Ares. Not far from the temple stood the statues of the Tyrannicides, from which he passed to the Odeion, and this building he says was near the Enneakrounos. When the rock above the Tholos was uncovered it was clear that the Eponymous Heroes and the other statues had not been placed there since no cuttings for bases existed. It thus became apparent that the statement of Pausanias had been misinterpreted. A clue to the correct explanation had been secured when the Altar



Fig. 6. Foundations of Temple of Ares after Removal of Byzantine Walls

of the Twelve Gods was definitely identified at the very north edge of the American Zone, for pseudo-Plutarch (847 A) states that the statue of Demosthenes stood by that altar. Since at the same time it stood near the Temple of Ares this large temple situated just south of the Altar must be identified as the Temple of Ares.

The proposed identification is also supported by the sequence of the monuments south of the temple. Nearby were the Tyrannicides who, according to Arrian (*Anab.* III, 16, 8) stood opposite the Metroön. The space between the temple and the Odeion has not yet been thoroughly investigated but that area is opposite the Metroön and must be the site of

the Orchestra, and there in fact the fragment of the base of the statues was discovered in 1936. The next building in order, the Odeion, has been uncovered and identified, and the Enneakrounos is the partially excavated Fountain House situated farther to



Fig. 7. Seated Figure of Philosopher or Statesman

the southwest. Supplementary confirmation of the identification of the temple is provided by the position of another statue, the poet Pindar, which stood by the temple according to Pausanias (I, 8, 4), but is located by pseudo-Aeschines (*Epis.* 4, 3) in front of the Stoa Basileios. For although the problem of the identification of that stoa is not yet solved the building was certainly situated in the northwest corner of the Agora.

The discovery of this temple has thus provided topographical evidence of the utmost value, which confirms the identification of buildings previously uncovered in the excavations and clarifies the description of Pausanias. It is now evident that the word "higher up" (*ἄνωτέρω*) used by Pausanias means higher up the street, and that the traveler after describing the buildings on the west side of the street as far as the Tholos retraced his steps and described in order the buildings on the east side.

SECTION SIGMA

The northern part of this Section, which lies in the northeast corner of the Zone, was excavated in 1936 under the supervision of R. H. Howland, who continued the work in it during the present year. No additional buildings appeared in the area but a road was

found to extend through it in a general direction from north to south. East of the road was a large open space between it and the Stoa of Attalos. This road is part of the main thoroughfare leading from the Agora to the Acropolis, stretches of which had already been exposed in previous years; it can now be traced with reasonable accuracy from its entrance into the Agora at the northwest corner to its terminus at the approach to the Propylaea. The history of the road indicates a long period of use extending from modern times to the early Roman age. Beneath the level of the modern street was a shallow deposit of the Byzantine-Turkish epoch, below which came a deep stratum of gravelly earth which contained a few fragments of pottery and a great many coins. This deposit, which has a depth of more than two metres, was evidently washed down by heavy rains from the slopes of the Acropolis; it is dated by the coins in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Below it traces appeared of a late Roman deposit of the third and fourth centuries and still deeper came the hard packed surface of the early Roman road.

On the east side of the road a well preserved wall was uncovered which extends through the area for a distance of more than one hundred metres, and separates the open area on the east from the buildings on the west. It was built in the latter part of the fourth century A.D. and was partially destroyed in the sixth century. Early Byzantine remains were not found east of the wall but they extend up to it on the west side. Adjoining the wall on the west and running parallel to it is another wall which supports a great drain that is a continuation of the water-channel providing the outlet from the mill-race in Section Iota to the south.

A series of five life-sized marble statues, three standing and two seated figures of men, was uncovered just west of the wall. They were lying packed close against the wall at



Fig. 8. Standing Figure of Togatus

intervals of about seven metres, and apparently they were originally placed in a line facing toward the west with their backs to the wall. The figures represent men clad in voluminous cloaks. All the heads, which were made separately and inset in sockets, are missing, and more or less damage otherwise has been suffered by the statues. The two seated figures are similar in type but they differ in some details. The throne on which the less well preserved figure is seated has a high curved back and has the forepart of a lion forming the front of each of its sides. The other figure, which is shown in Figure 7, is seated on a heavy marble stool without a back but with its sides elaborately decorated with the foreparts of griffins, of which the large wings are carefully carved on the side walls of the stool.

The three standing figures are very similar in pose and costume (Fig. 8). All wear large cloaks which enwrap the bodies and arms, leaving only the hands free. In each case the right forearm is raised with the hand resting in a fold of the garment at the breast. The left forearm is extended forward horizontally and supports the folds of the cloak. Slight differences are noticeable in the position of the legs and in the quality of the workmanship, but the figures are undoubtedly about contemporaneous and they represent a familiar type of Roman Togatus. It seems probable that a row of statues of philosophers or statesmen was set up along the wall in late Roman times.

Apart from some small monument bases the only structure found east of the wall is a large rectangular foundation which lies just in front of the central part of the Stoa of Attalos. Since we know from Athenaeus (V, 212 f) that a bema existed in front of the stoa from which the demagogue Athenion addressed the populace just before the Mithradatic War (87-86 B.C.), this structure measuring 8.50 by 5.95 m. may be safely identified as the bema. It was built after the stoa with which it is aligned and it was destroyed in the third century A.D. In front of the bema was the broad open assembly place of the Agora as described by Athenaeus, and in this area remains of buildings are lacking.

SECTION UPSILON

This Section, on the south side of the area, is located on the slope of the Areopagus, of which the rock has been cut for the construction of the cellars of modern houses. Consequently no structural remains of antiquity are preserved except some light foundations for Byzantine walls, but the clearance of the area under the direction of R. S. Young revealed the presence of eight wells and two cisterns which contained vases, pieces of sculpture, and other objects of various periods from the seventh century B.C. to Turkish times.

SECTION PHI

Section Phi, excavated under the supervision of Eugene Vanderpool, lies northeast of Upsilon and like Upsilon is located on the rocky slope of the Areopagus south of the actual

limits of the Agora. It was occupied in antiquity by private houses and other small buildings, but ancient and modern habitation failed to delete all traces of a more ancient use of the site as a cemetery, for several graves of the Protogeometric period (*ca.* 1000 B.C.), cut in the living rock, had never been disturbed. One grave is that of an adult whose body measures 1.65 m. in length. It was oriented north and south with the head at the south end. The head and upper part of the body were covered by a stone slab on which were pieces of a large round pail-like vessel made of coarse clay and burned at the bottom. The grave contained only one vase, a one-handled Protogeometric jug which has the characteristic decoration of its period, a series of concentric semicircles on the shoulder and a black-glazed body with reserved horizontal bands.

An infant's grave of the same period was found close to that of the adult. The tiny bones lay, with the skull again at the south end, in a cutting in the rock 0.50 m. long. The grave contained no offerings but over it was a large round terracotta pail like that found on the first grave. The pot was broken when it was placed on the grave, but it is completely preserved except for one small piece.

A third Protogeometric burial was of the cremation type with the remains of the bones deposited in a large urn which was set in a hole cut for it in the bedrock. Its top had been sheared off in later times but it was probably an amphora, a shape of vase commonly used for urn burials. On one side of it the rock had been further cut away to allow just sufficient space for placing beside it a goblet, which was lying on its side with the rim pressed close against the side of the large vase. The goblet is preserved in perfect condition and its surface has the hard smooth fine finish of the well baked specimens of the early Geometric pottery. Other remains of the same period were found in the area, and it is clear that this entire hillside of the Areopagus was used as a cemetery in the Geometric age.

The scanty remains of the Greek period in the area include black-figured pottery of the sixth century secured from pockets in the bedrock and from a well, and a small rectangular building with polygonal limestone walls which seems to have been constructed in the early years of the fourth century. The Roman age is represented by a house in the southwest corner of the area which was destroyed in the late third century A.D., and by a large building which was constructed later and may have survived until the sixth century. A well with a deposit of Roman objects beginning late in the first century A.D. proved to be the deepest that had so far been dug in the Agora, extending down to a depth of 35.30 m. Since the deposit is stratified it furnishes definite evidence for the chronological sequence of Roman pottery.

SECTION CHI

This Section, which was supervised by Miss Crosby, lies on the slope of the Areopagus, east of Upsilon and south of Phi. Because of the steepness of the slope the rock had been cut away, as in Upsilon, for the cellars of modern houses and few traces of ancient habitation have survived. The area, being outside of the Agora, was probably used only

for private houses and small shops, and numerous wells and cisterns which had served such houses contained deposits uncontaminated by modern intrusions. Two children's graves with unimportant pottery of the late sixth century B.C. probably represent burials made beneath the floors of houses since this part of the town was not officially available for burial purposes at the late period indicated. A pit near the graves, dated about 480 B.C. by the pottery in it, contained a great quantity of animal bones which were examined



Fig. 9. Paved Street beside Valerian Wall. View from the North

by N. Gejvall, a visiting student of zoology from the University of Lund. He identified them as belonging to cattle, pigs, goats, sheep, a hen, a dog, and several kinds of fish. The various wells yielded contents of both the Greek and Roman periods.

SECTION THETA THETA

This Section, also excavated under the direction of Miss Crosby, is located in the southeastern part of the Zone on the slope leading up to the northwestern end of the

Acropolis. It lies just south of Section Eta Eta, excavated last year, and is about 130 m. distant from the south end of the Stoa of Attalos. At its southwest edge is the small church of Hypapanti which has been left standing. The Valerian Wall, which had previously been uncovered in the Sections to the north, extends through this area dividing it into a narrow western strip and a wider area on the east. Directly west of the wall a stretch of the broad street leading up to the Acropolis was uncovered. It was paved with large blocks,



Fig. 10. Typical Section of Valerian Wall

most of which are still in place as may be seen in the view looking south shown in Figure 9. Part of the same street was found beside the wall in the northern Sections and the evidence there secured indicates a date in the early Roman period for the laying of the pavement. The street itself served from early times as the main route from the Agora to the Acropolis.

The wall here as elsewhere in its course was constructed of re-used blocks of marble and poros, many of them of very large size. At one point an inscribed marble stele firmly fixed in its poros base had been left in its original position and had been incorporated into

the wall. The face of the stele is badly weathered and the inscription has not been entirely deciphered, but it is apparently an Imperial letter dating from the first half of the second century A.D. Adjoining the base

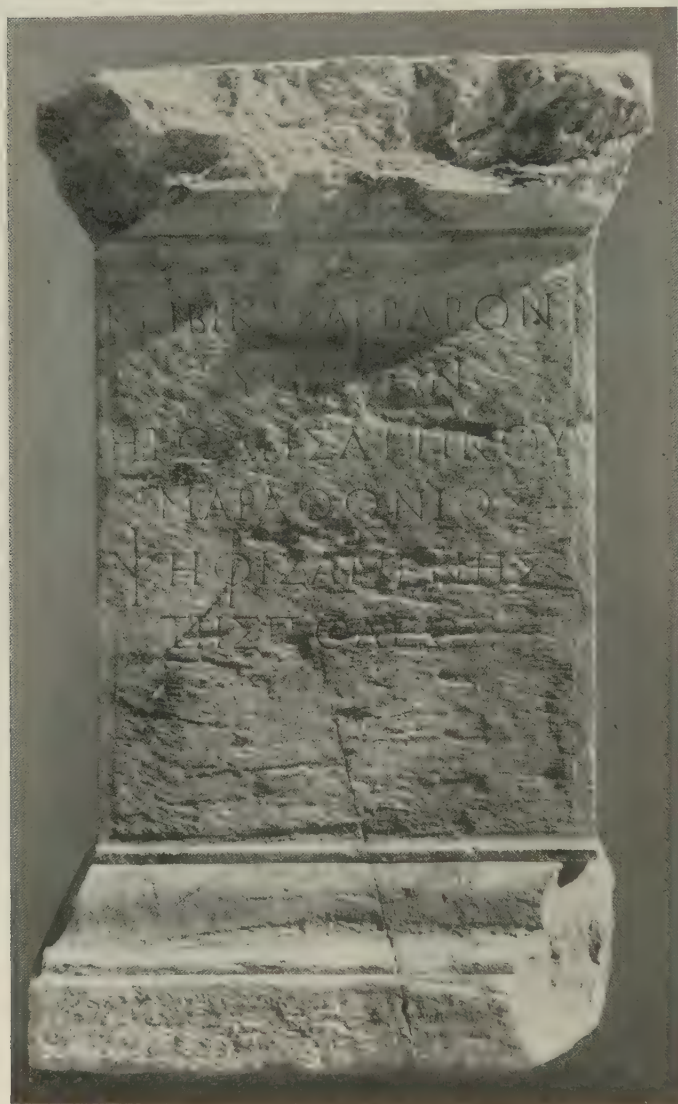


Fig. 11. Base of Statue dedicated by Herodes Atticus

consul in Rome in 157 A.D., but little else is known about him. Perhaps it was the unimportance of the man that led Herodes to justify the erection of his statue by designating him specifically as his friend.

The most important topographical discovery in this Section is a building that dates from the end of the sixth century B.C., of which the north wall was uncovered last year in

on the north a large block of Pentelic marble had been placed transversely in the wall. This and the erect stele beside it are shown in Figure 10. Only the square bottom of the block appeared in the side of the wall but a little scraping of the rubble packing beneath it revealed traces of letters on its face. It was thereupon removed from the wall and proved to be the base for a bronze statue dedicated by Herodes Atticus (Fig. 11). The footprints of the statue are outlined in the top of the base and the ends of the iron dowels that supported the heels are still fastened in place by lead. The dedication, written in handsome letters on the front of the base, states that on the vote of the city Herodes Atticus of the Deme Marathon dedicated the statue of his friend the consul, Civica Barbarus. The word "friend" seems to have been added as an afterthought since it is written in much smaller letters than the rest of the inscription and is crowded between two of its lines. M. Ceionius Civica Barbarus was

Section Eta Eta on the north. In its original plan the building measured 15.60 by 8.70 m. with its long axis north and south, but not much later it was enlarged by an addition 2.40 m. wide on the east and south sides, so that the measurements of the building in its final form are 18 by 11.10 m. The walls are built of carefully joined polygonal blocks, most of which are of Kara stone, but the highest preserved course, that above the euthynteria in the west wall, is constructed of rectangular blocks of various materials, poros, Kara and Acropolis limestone. The natural slope of the hill is so great that the lowest course of the north wall is nine courses (about 3.15 m.) lower than the remaining block of the south wall, which seems to be a step foundation. Since the bedrock here has been cut and scraped frequently for modern houses little evidence for the history of the building was secured. Some of the blocks were removed in early Byzantine times but in general Turkish and modern filling rested directly on the foundations.

No clue was found to assist in the identification of this small building and all that is now possible is a conjecture based on its size, type, and location. It is situated high up on the hillside southeast of the Agora and not too far from the steep place on the north side of the Acropolis where the Medes ascended. In this general area Pausanias (I, 18, 1—3) places three buildings, the sanctuary of the Dioscuri, the precinct of Aglauros, and the Prytaneion. The new building could not well be either of the first two for they must be located still higher up the slope and closer to the base of the Acropolis, since Lucian (*Piscator*, 42) describes the hungry philosophers as clambering up to the Acropolis on ladders placed in the Anakeion. But the Prytaneion must have been lower down since it is the last building mentioned by Pausanias before he descends to the lower parts of the city. The antiquity of the new building, its size, and shape would favor the interpretation of it as the Prytaneion, and this identification may be tentatively suggested.

SECTION IOTA IOTA

This Section, excavated under the supervision of A. W. Parsons, adjoins Section Theta Theta on the south. Through its entire length from north to south the course of the Valerian Wall is continued, which is preserved in places to a height of nearly three metres but has been much repaired in modern times. The position of the Section falls on the line along the north base of the Acropolis which separates the upper slopes that were too steep for convenience in building from the lower gentler slopes where structures of considerable size could be located. Only scanty remains of ancient buildings were revealed. Some evidence was secured indicating the presence of a sanctuary of the fifth century B.C., and other structures include a small circular building of early Roman date, a vaulted brick drain of good Roman workmanship, and house walls of a Byzantine settlement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.

One of the Byzantine walls contained a large statue base of Pentelic marble which bears an inscribed dedication and the signature of the sculptor Praxiteles (Fig. 12). The base,

which is 0.737 m. high, has mouldings at the top and the bottom but no cuttings on the top surface. Presumably, therefore, it was constructed to support a marble statue. The inscription records that a statue of Archippe, daughter of Kleogenes of the Deme

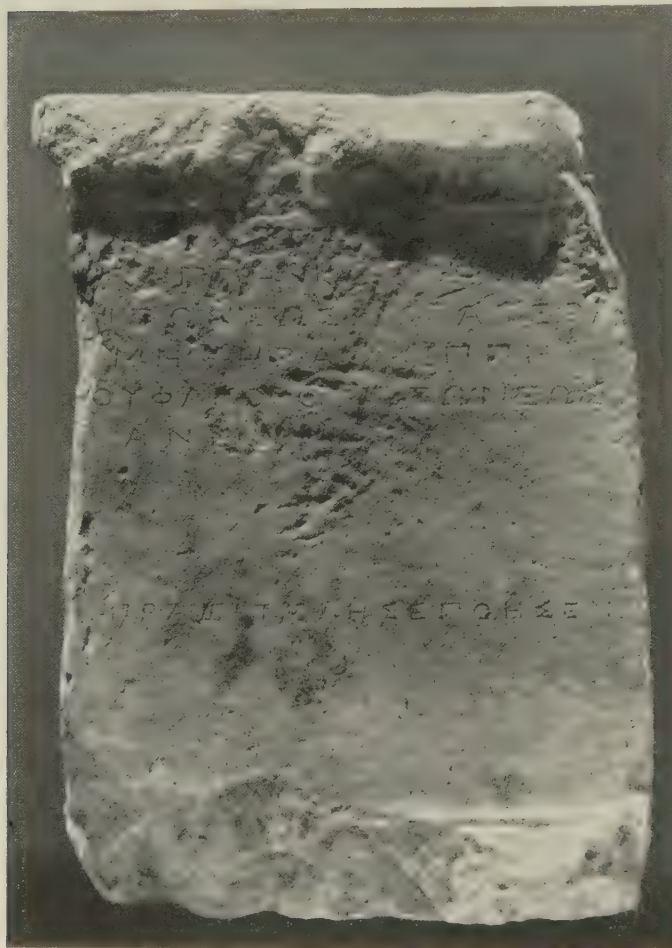


Fig. 12. Statue Base with the Signature of Praxiteles

woman honored. Kouphagoras is a rare name which is recorded only in a reference by Herodotus to an Athenian who was father of a combatant at Marathon.

Aixone, was dedicated by her mother Archippe, wife or daughter of Kouphagoras of Aixone. The letters of the inscription are not made in the best style but their shapes in general are similar to those on the base signed by Praxiteles found in 1936 (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 339-342), and they are appropriate for a date in the third quarter of the fourth century. This is evidently, then, the base of a marble statue of a woman that was made by the great Praxiteles. This Archippe cannot be identified with any other known woman of this name, and it is impossible to conjecture why she was honored with a statue made by Praxiteles. The statement of her family relationship is not clear. The genitive of the name Kouphagoras after the mother's name allows the mother to be either wife or daughter of Kouphagoras. In the former case he was her second husband, in the latter he was grandfather of the

SECTION OMICRON ALPHA

Just south of Section Iota Iota an unimproved road passes along a terrace on the hillside. This year the government decided to make this into a permanent surfaced highway

to be part of an automobile road encircling the Acropolis. Since the Valerian Wall ran beneath this road it was important that the area should be investigated before the reconstruction work was begun, and permission to undertake this was sought and received by the



Fig. 13. Section of Valerian Wall uncovered in Acropolis Street

Agora administration. The area is included within the limits of the American Zone but as it lies entirely on the rocky slope of the Acropolis it had not previously been assigned a sectional title. For the purposes of record of this investigation the Section was, therefore, called Omicron Alpha (*Ὁδὸς Ἀκροπόλεως*). The filling of the road proved to be entirely modern but the wall was found in a fairly good state of preservation (Fig. 13). After the

area had been cleared down to bedrock it was refilled with earth and returned in its original condition to the Ministry of Communications for the construction of the highway.

In following the course of the wall up the slope to the south the appearance of some prehistoric remains led to a general investigation of the hillside over an area about 100 m. long and from 15 to 40 m. wide, which resulted in several important discoveries. The line of the wall was traced for its entire extent to the terminus against the bastion at the north-west corner of the Acropolis. Over much of the course the preservation is poor but at the



Fig. 14. Building in Front of Klepsydra

south end it was preserved to a height of seven courses (about 3.70 m.) over an earlier paved building beside the Klepsydra. When a stretch of nine metres of the wall was removed in order to disclose the building beneath important confirmatory evidence for its date was secured. Sixteen coins were found under the wall in a thin layer of mortar on the floor of the paved building on which the wall was set. They were lying in a space of less than one square metre and could have fallen there only at the time of the building of the wall. The coins are classified as follows: Aurelian (270–275 A.D.), 10; Severina, 2; Tacitus (275–276), 2; Florian (276), 1; Probus (276–282), 1. They thus form a small compact hoard of coins which may have been dropped by a careless workman, and they furnish valuable confirmation of the bits of evidence secured in Section Iota for placing the construction of the wall

in the last quarter of the third century after Christ. It was mainly built of re-used blocks which were evidently put together hastily, perhaps for the purpose of providing the city with some means of defense after the walls and buildings had been destroyed by the Herulians in 267.



Fig. 15. Interior of the Klepsydra

Another important discovery made in this area is a monumental stairway ten metres wide which extends from the south end of Section Iota Iota up the slope to a point opposite the Klepsydra, whence its course is continued in the form of a ramp around the Acropolis to its entrance at the west end. The side walls are set in deeply cut trenches in the rock. The east wall, built of blocks of poros, on part of which the Valerian Wall was later con-

structed, is the better preserved, standing in places to a height of two courses. The date of the construction of the stairway has not been definitely determined but the evidence so far available suggests a time about the middle of the first century A.D. The possibility has been suggested that this is the stair leading up the northwest side of the Acropolis which is depicted on Athenian Imperial coins beginning with the reign of Claudius, and that this construction is to be associated with the laying of the marble stairs leading to the Propylaea which has been attributed to the initiative of that Emperor.



Fig. 16. Vase of Polished Red Ware of Sub-Neolithic Period

The paved building situated just below the cave of Pan and the Klepsydra has been entirely exposed by the removal of the section of the Valerian Wall which concealed its west end (Fig. 14). This further clearance emphasizes its curious irregular shape, formed by sides with the following approximate measurements: north, 18 m.; east, 11 m.; south, 25 m.; west, 6 m. It is difficult to conjecture the purpose for which the building was used, unless it was planned as a large water basin. It is probable that its construction was contemporaneous with that of the monumental stairway.

The interior of the Klepsydra was cleared and studied by A. W. Parsons during the Summer when accumulations of water in Athens are at the lowest stage. After the removal of 2.50 m. of water and 0.50-0.75 m. of modern filling the chamber was entirely revealed,

measuring 4.50 by 2.25 m., with its walls and floor constructed of carefully cut and jointed blocks of poros (Fig. 15). Water is conveyed to the chamber by three inlets set low in its east wall, the flow in the dry season being at the rate of 100 litres per hour as indicated by measurements taken over a period of a few days beginning on July 30. Three periods of construction were noted: the earliest in the fifth or fourth century B.C., the second in the



Fig. 17. Jar of Polished Black Ware. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

early Roman period, and the third in later Roman times but before the date of the building of the Valerian Wall.

Only a thin deposit of earth remained on the upper slopes of the hillside of the Acropolis where groves of small pines and cypresses are now growing, but when this had been scraped away with great care so as not to injure the trees the surprising discovery was made of a number of wells of the prehistoric period. The twelve wells cleared were located, with one exception, near the Klepsydra, the reason for such grouping being that there the water table was high and it was necessary to dig only a short distance through the rock in order to get an adequate supply. With the primitive tools at the disposal of the prehistoric peoples it must have been a difficult undertaking to excavate the living rock and in fact the shafts are poorly cut and extend only to depths varying from 1.80 to 8.80 m.

Two periods of the prehistoric age are represented by the wells, four of them having contents of the late Neolithic and of the Early Helladic type, and eight having a Middle Helladic deposit. The deposits of the two periods were distinctive in their respective wells, so that it is evident that the later peoples did not use the wells of their predecessors but cut new shafts through the rock. In general the shafts of the Middle Helladic wells are deeper



Fig. 18. Middle Helladic Matt-Painted Vase. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

than those of the Neolithic but they are not made with any greater care. The wells produced a great quantity of pottery including several handsome vases which are preserved in almost perfect condition. Chips of obsidian were present in each well, and mortars of gray volcanic stone used for the grinding of grain were found in wells of both periods. Some human bones and a skull were taken from the earlier shafts and animal bones were found in both groups. The latter were examined by N. Gejvall who reported the presence of remains of bones of the following: cow, pig, goat, sheep, stag, red deer, dog, bird, turtle, fish, with which were shells of the murex. Supplementing the wells a few pockets in the rock containing undisturbed prehistoric filling prove that the early settlement here must have been one of considerable size although no trace of house walls of the period has yet been found.

The earliest prehistoric ware is hand-made and the better specimens have been given a high lustrous polish. They are both black and red in color but one red jar has been unevenly fired so that irregular patches of black appear. This ware seems to belong to the very end of the Neolithic period, on the boundary between the Neolithic and the Early Helladic. The jar of red ware has two lug handles each of which is pierced by two holes aligned with two holes in the base (Fig. 16). Since such an arrangement would be awkward

for purposes of suspension it is possible that the pot was supplied with a cover which could be held in place by withes or gut passing around the vase through these holes. A somewhat similar device appears on a jar of polished black ware but on that example the side lugs have but a single hole each and, as there is no base to the pot, the corresponding pair of holes is placed on the rim (Fig. 17).

Some vases which are certainly of the Early Helladic class were found but it is significant that in all the great quantity of sherds there was not one piece of a sauce boat, the characteristic Early Helladic shape. A possible inference is that the sauce boat is a shape that was developed later in the period than the time to which the Agora vases are assigned.



Fig. 19. Middle Helladic Jug with Bridged Spout. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

The vases of the Early Helladic group are large but they are carelessly made by hand of coarse gritty clay. They represent the cheaper type of household ware which is always present in abundance in deposits of all periods.

On the other hand the next period, the Middle Helladic (*ca.* 2000–1600 B.C.), is represented by some fine complete pots which fall into two well known categories, the matt-painted ware with dark decorations on a light ground, and the ware with decorations in white on a dark ground. In the first group is a large two-handled vase which had been mended in antiquity (Fig. 18). Holes had been drilled in pairs along the edges of the break for the fixing of lead clamps, two of which are still preserved. The simple decoration, done in dark brown paint on the buff ground, consists of a double band beneath the rim and a triple band around the shoulder, from which slender inverted triangles are suspended. In the

same technique is a spouted pitcher of graceful shape and of beautiful fabric (Fig. 19). It has horizontal loop handles and a bridge across the spout at the rim. This vase is undoubtedly of local manufacture but its shape resembles that of Middle Minoan vases found at Knossos (cf. A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, p. 268, fig. 199 e). Absolute proof of local origin of the ware is provided by a *Fehlbrand*, a cup of similar clay and technique, of which the side had been indented by a thumb at the time the vase in leather-hard condition was placed in the kiln.



Fig. 20. Middle Helladic Light-on-dark Ware. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

The second group of Middle Helladic ware, characterized by light decoration on a dark ground, is illustrated by two good specimens (Figs. 20 and 21). The vases are hand-made of coarse red clay on which the linear and curvilinear designs are painted in white. The paint is flaky and is removed if subjected to any rubbing so that great care was necessary in handling and cleaning the vases. Besides these two main groups of Middle Helladic pottery many sherds of other contemporary types, such as Gray Minyan, were also found. There was also much undecorated pottery, both hand-made and made on the wheel. The third prehistoric period, the Late Helladic, is represented by only a few sherds and practically nothing of the Geometric epoch was found in the area.

SECTION LAMBDA LAMBDA

This Section is located on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios, lying between the electric railway and Section Kappa Kappa which was excavated last year, and as in that Section the work here was directed by Mrs. D. B. Thompson. The rock slopes steeply toward the north with a drop of more than seventeen metres from the level of the Hephaisteion to the ancient road north of the railway. This deep space was filled with earth dumped here in modern times, below which the ancient remains are few. In the Greek period the slope was



Fig. 21. Middle Helladic Spouted Jug. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

occupied by metal working establishments with their furnaces, water works and casting pits, in which pieces of moulds and of metal waste were still preserved. The entire hill was given over to the bronze-casters, a fact which further confirms the view that the so-called Theseum is in fact the temple of Hephaistos.

Scant traces remain of the period of Roman occupation, but to the early part of that era may be assigned a great stairway at the north edge of the Section which led up over the hill from the road in the excavated area north of the railway. In the Byzantine age, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the site was thickly settled with blocks of houses, which form part of the contemporaneous settlement uncovered in the adjoining Section on the north. This complex of Byzantine houses furnishes interesting information about the

city of the period, and several cisterns with stratified deposits provide important chronological evidence for the study of the development of Byzantine pottery.



Fig. 22. Plan of the Agora and its Environs. Drawn by J. Travlos

Besides the main areas of excavation, work was also conducted in several Sections where investigation had not been completed in previous campaigns. R. S. Young resumed the task of clearing eighteen wells and four cisterns which had been discovered in Sections Gamma

and Pi Theta in the past two seasons but had not been dug because of lack of time. The area around the Tholos, situated in Sections Beta and Zeta, was the subject of a special detailed investigation by H. A. Thompson, of which the results will be fully published in a later Number of *Hesperia*.

By way of summarizing the account of the excavations a plan of the excavated buildings is given in Figure 22 which shows their relation to the surrounding terrain. The names assigned to the buildings can be readily secured by reference to the Ground Plan published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pl. IX, opp. p. 360. The identifications have been based on a combination of archaeological and literary evidence, and any divergent theories must reckon with both groups of data. It is futile, for example, to try to identify the great South Stoa as the Stoa Poikile, as has recently been done, since it is certain that the South Stoa was constructed only in the second century before Christ whereas the Poikile existed already in the fifth. Many topographical problems of the area remain still to be solved and undoubtedly much light will be shed on them when the entire Agora shall have been cleared, but in the meantime the identifications which have been suggested seem to be definitely correct.

POTTERY

The most important additions made by this season's campaign to the Agora collection of pottery are the many prehistoric vases found on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, some of which have already been illustrated. These, like most of the other well preserved



Fig. 23. Panel of an Amphora. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong



Fig. 24. Attic Black-figured Stand



Fig. 25. Scene on the Black-figured Stand. Drawn by Piet de Jong

pieces, were secured from wells, since few early graves were uncovered this year. A brief description will be given of some of the other more important vases, found in various parts of the area, presented in chronological arrangement.

Reference has already been made to the discovery in Protogeometric burials of several vases of characteristic type. The late Geometric style is represented by considerable material, and to the period of transition from the Geometric to the Proto-attic belongs a panel from a partially preserved amphora which is decorated with an interesting group of figures, the centre of which is occupied by a man and a woman who face each other over a large object of uncertain character (Fig. 23). The woman carries an upright palm branch in each hand while the man holds toward her in his extended hand an object which may be interpreted as a crudely constructed lyre, since a clearly identified lyre is held by a man in a similar group on a panel of an early Proto-attic hydria in the National Museum, Athens (Collignon-Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, pl. XX, no. 468). The attendant figures on either side stand with clasped hands and all hold palm branches. Another important fragment of this style is the neck of a hydria which is decorated with a procession of women who stand in similar pose, but who have their hair arranged in long pointed nets and wear skirts of an opaque white color.



Fig. 26. Black-glazed Patera

A deposit of early Attic pottery of the seventh century was found in a shallow well in Section Upsilon. The vases in the filling, which was uniformly consistent, were cups of characteristic Proto-attic shape, a flat plate decorated with concentric bands, small oinochoai, and one large oinochoe. The contents of this deposit are discussed by R. S. Young in a later article in this Number.

Attic black-figured ware, typical of the sixth century, is illustrated by a nearly complete example which was found in a closed deposit of the period together with several lamps, an archaic terracotta seated figure, and other pottery including a black-glazed patera. The vase is a stand in shape and has a decorative frieze set between two narrow bands of rosettes (Figs. 24 and 25). The scene represents a woman who is mounting a chariot drawn by four horses. Beside this group is a palm tree, and in front of the horses stands a man, clad in voluminous garments, who has a laurel wreath on his head, holds a flower in his raised right hand, and carries a large lyre under his left arm. Behind him a stag is standing

beneath the branches of a second palm tree. The presence of the stag and the appearance of the man with the lyre suggest that the figures should be interpreted as Apollo and Artemis. The patera which was in the deposit with the stand is a particularly fine example because of the excellent quality of the glaze and because of its good state of preservation (Fig. 26).

The vases of the red-figured style of the fifth century illustrate various phases of the development of that type of ware. In the earlier part of the period belongs a fragment of



Fig. 27. The Judgment of Paris on a Red-figured Fragment

a handsome vase, dated by Miss Talcott at about 470 B.C., with a representation of the Judgment of Paris (Fig. 27). Three of the figures are preserved: Paris, who is sitting on a rock on the right, Hermes, who stands in front of him, and Hera standing beside Hermes. Part of the figure of the second goddess, Athena, was found but the figure of Aphrodite has entirely disappeared. The later period of the style, the third quarter of the century, is represented by a large fragmentary amphora which is decorated on one side by a quadriga and a Nike (Fig. 28), and on the other by a Nike who is extending a patera to a bearded man. A vase of this group, simply and carelessly decorated, has a curious shape (Fig. 29). On a hollow ring-shaped base three small vases are attached, each of which has a hole in the bottom that opens into the channel of the base. It recalls somewhat the scheme of the kernos and may have been used for liquid offerings to the Eleusinian deities as that was for

the first fruits of the field. It was found in a well on the Kolonos with a closed deposit containing nothing later than the end of the fifth century. Other red-figured pottery with it included a krater and an amphora, the former decorated with a ceremonial scene in which youths with wreathed heads are engaged, and the latter bearing a sacrificial scene in which youths and a maiden are leading a bull to the altar.



Fig. 28. Red-figured Amphora

Considerable household pottery of good quality but with simple decoration, dating from the end of the fifth century, was taken from a well in Section Chi. The date of the deposit was established by lamps, black-glazed bowls with stamped designs, and red-figured squat askoi. The household ware included a shallow frying-pan, casseroles of various shapes and sizes, and two-handled jugs with a deep convex shoulder (Fig. 30). The arrangement of the two handles close to one another is peculiar, and it is difficult to perceive any advantage



Fig. 29. Red-figured Vase of Kernos Type

in handling that could be derived from it. The vase has a finely finished surface and is decorated with two bands painted just above the sharp edge of the shoulder.

The usual amount of Hellenistic pottery was secured during the season but most of it is duplication of material that was already in hand. But in regard to the wares of the Roman period much valuable information for establishing their chronological sequence was provided by stratified deposits in several wells, which also produced some unusual individual pieces.



Fig. 30. Jug of Household Ware

A remarkable vase came from a well on the Kolonos with contents dating from the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. This is a one-handed pitcher of red ware with a well finished surface (Fig. 31), of which the exterior is decorated with three large grotesque figures that were made separately in moulds and attached to the wall of the vase. The

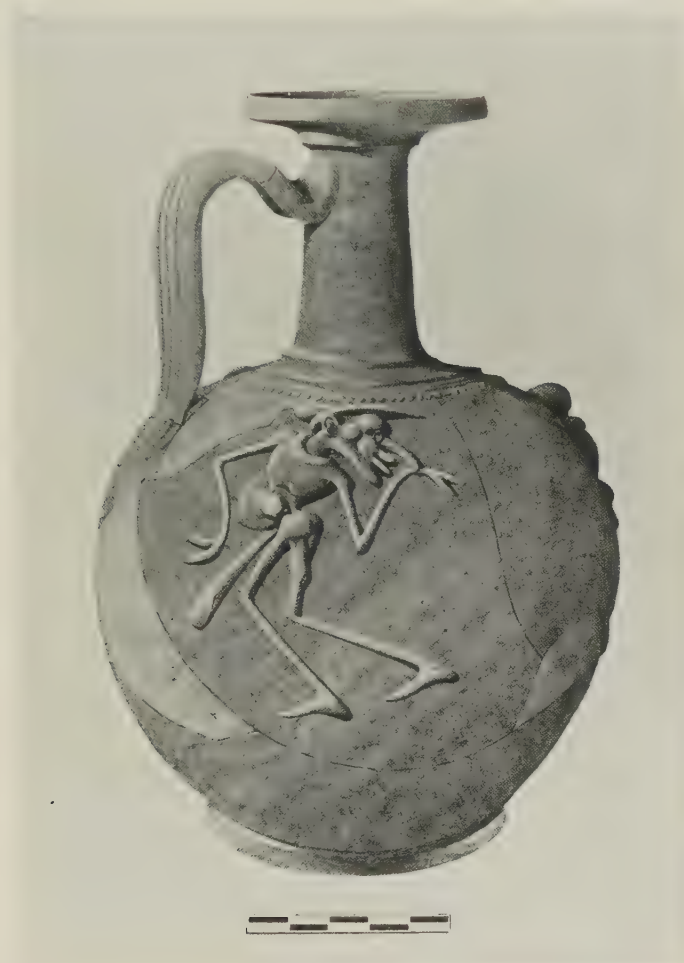


Fig. 31. Vase of Roman Period decorated with Grotesque Figures. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

figure on the front is almost a skeleton in appearance; those on the sides, both from the same mould, are equally grotesque with an elongated beak for a nose and with a pointed cap pushed back on the head. They may represent caricatures of the comic actors in the farces which were popular in Italy and Greece in the Augustan age. A vase in the Berlin Antiquarium, decorated with similar grotesque figures, is dated by Zahn in the time of

Augustus or Tiberius (*81st Winckelmannsprogramm*, p. 14), and is attributed by him to an Anatolian factory.

A well deposit of the third century A.D. produced four one-handed cups with words painted around the body in large white letters of cursive shapes. The word ΣΦΑΞΙΓΡΑΙΑ is written in carefully made letters on one complete specimen (Fig. 32). This is probably a proper name for, although the word is not otherwise known, the elements of the compound



Fig. 32. Cup of the Roman Period with Inscribed Name. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

may be interpreted as meaning "the old woman who slaughtered." The inscriptions on the similar mugs are more appropriate since one bears a wish for long life, and another a greeting to the "beautiful fair one."

From other wells with contents of the third century came several plastic vases of similar type made in the form of a child's head with a smiling expression and large staring eyes (Fig. 33). Slight traces remain of the white paint with which the surface had been

covered, and of the red paint used for the pupils of the eyes, for the nostrils, the lips, the necklace, and for a circle in the middle of the forehead. The presence of the large circle suggests that these vases may have been manufactured for some ritualistic or dedicatory purpose.



Fig. 33. Plastic Vase. Third Century A.D.

This brief account of the ceramic discoveries of the year shows that another large addition of important pieces has been made to the Agora collection. It is an extraordinary coincidence that in all the wreck and ruin of the site many vases of all periods have been preserved in excellent condition. The result is that the types are illustrated not by sherds alone, but by complete vases which permit appreciation of their beauty as well as knowledge of their technique.

SCULPTURE

It is equally surprising that many pieces of sculpture have been found in the area. Most of the works are products of the Roman period but occasionally pieces of an earlier age



Fig. 34. Marble Head of Aphrodite

appear, which have survived from the sack of Sulla and from other destructive upheavals of the city. Only three of the marbles secured last year will be here presented.

A marble head of a woman of life size portrays an idealized type which may be reasonably interpreted as characteristic of Aphrodite (Fig. 34). The soft contours, the treatment

of hair and brow, the long narrow eyes, the full cheeks, and the thick lower lip are elements of the style of Praxiteles and his followers. Although the head was found in a well with contents of the first and second centuries A.D. it does not exhibit any obvious traces of Roman workmanship, and may be safely regarded as a product of the Greek period. By contrast with this handsome work the finish of the surface and the execution of details of a small head of Aphrodite (height: 0.105 m.) are coarse and careless (Fig. 35). This head,

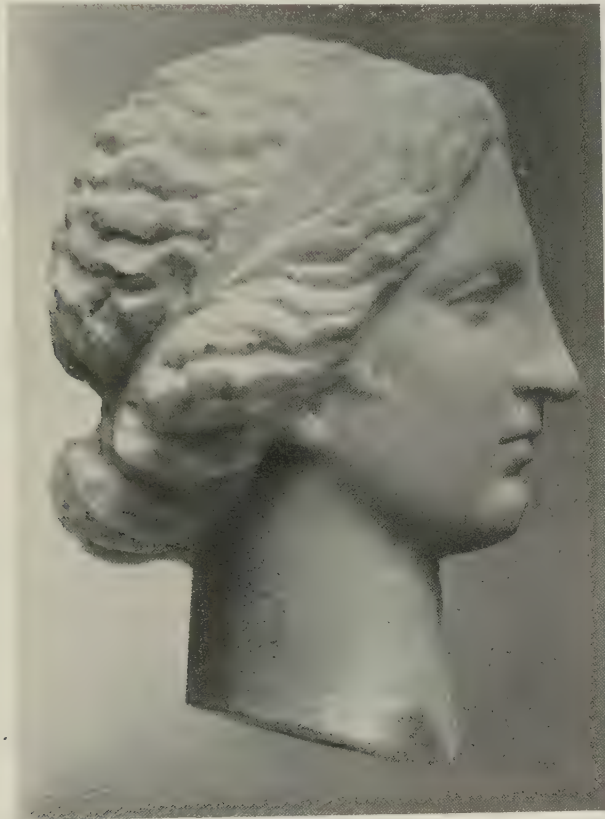


Fig. 35. Small Head of Aphrodite

which is perfectly preserved, resembles in style the head of the Knidian Aphrodite, and seems to be a Roman copy of a Greek work of the fourth century B.C. It was made, however, not later than the Augustan age, the date of the contents of the deposit in which it was found.

The third piece of sculpture is a small marble statue of a sleeping child (Fig. 36). It is not carefully finished, the spirals of the curls, for example, being coarsely made with a large drill. The modelling of the body, too, is sketchily done, though it is better on the back of the figure than on the front. In spite of the absence of wings this is undoubtedly to be inter-



Fig. 36. Statue of the Sleeping Eros

seated on a high-backed throne, wearing a polos on her head and holding a patera in her right hand (Fig. 38). This is the usual type of representation of the Mother of the Gods, but on her lap is a large object which is probably to be interpreted as the sacred winnowing basket which was often associated with the cult of Demeter, who was closely affiliated with the Mother, if not identical with her. The second terracotta is also connected with the worship of the Mother

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preted as a statue of the sleeping Eros. It is a copy made in the Roman period and, like many other replicas, must have as an ultimate source a famous prototype of the fourth century B.C., which served as the inspiration for the authors of several graceful poems in the Greek anthology (*Anth. Pal.* XVI, 210-213).

TERRACOTTAS

Many terracotta figurines of all periods were again found this season, as well as the moulds from which they were made. A mould of good workmanship of the late fifth century B.C. shows a figure of Hermes, which is preserved nearly to the knees (Fig. 37). The god wears a pointed cap and has a chlamys arranged in elaborate folds thrown over his shoulder. He holds a caduceus upright in one hand and a money bag in the other. The locks of the hair are carefully indicated and the modelling of the nude part of the body is admirable.

Two interesting terracottas came from a deposit with contents dating from the fourth to the second century B.C. One is a figure of a goddess who is



Fig. 37. Terracotta Mould and Modern Cast of a Figure of Hermes

(Fig. 39). It is cylindrical in shape like a polos from her head (height: 0.135 m.). The curved front of the cylinder is framed by thin strips of terracotta irregularly made, giving the impression of the folds of a veil. The surface is divided into three horizontal bands of graduated widths. In the widest at the top is a seated figure of the Mother toward whom an attendant in front holds out a torch. In the middle band are dancing women and in the lowest are five small figures. This curious object may have actually crowned the head of a votive statuette of the goddess, or it may itself have been a dedication to her shrine.

Some terracotta toys illustrate the lighter side of the daily life of the



Fig. 39. Terracotta Votive Polos



Fig. 38. Terracotta Figure of Demeter

Greeks. One of these is a horse which has a small hole through the nose for a leading string, and large holes through the body at front and back for the axles which supported the four wheels that replaced the legs (Fig. 40). The bridle and collar, indicated in low relief, were probably painted red, and the body of the animal was covered by a white slip, some of which is preserved. Other terracotta toy animals, which were similarly painted, were found with lamps and other objects in a burial of the fourth century A.D. The figures, which are perfectly preserved, are two cocks, a dog, and



Fig. 40. Terracotta Toy Horse



Fig. 41. Terracotta Toys



Fig. 42. Lamp with Cover in Place

a standing animal which may be either dog or bear (Fig. 41). All the figures are hollow and have pellets in the interior so that they were probably used by children as rattles.

LAMPS

Lamps of all periods have steadily accumulated with the result that the total number now in the Agora collection is 3117. Several of the more interesting pieces found during the season will be illustrated. One unusual example was among the offerings of miniature vases in a child's grave dating from the second half of the fourth century (Fig. 42). This lamp is fitted with a cover which has a boss on its under side to close the opening in the bowl, and a tongue which fits the channel leading to the nozzle. On its upper side is a low square knob which is pierced by a hole, and on the right side of the lamp is a pierced knob, so that by a string or thong through these holes the lid could be fastened to the lamp and could not be mislaid.



Fig. 43. Terracotta Lamps



Fig. 44. Bronze Plastic Lamp

The significance of these scenes is not apparent.

Some well preserved plastic lamps exhibit a variety of shapes. One is a bronze lamp in the form of a bearded dwarf (Fig. 44), which has still in place the bronze wire passing through the head by which it could be suspended. Another is a terracotta example in the form of a boar which crouches on the top of a conventional type of lamp (Fig. 45). A small post extending above the boar's back is pierced with a hole for the purpose of suspension. A third example, taken from a deposit of the third century A.D., is in the form of

The need that was felt of covering the bowl of the lamp in order to keep the oil clean led to the development of the closed receptacle, and the disc thus formed on the top became available for decoration. This later type is illustrated by the three specimens shown in Figure 43 which came from a deposit of the second century A.D., containing also the two gems described below (Figs. 48 and 49), and various other objects. These lamps are signed on the bottom with the names of the makers, the upper one being by Preimos and the two lower by Elpidephoros. One of the latter has its disc decorated simply with a bull reclining to the right; the other has an elaborate ritualistic scene in which Hermes is represented as leading a rearing ram to the sacrifice. The lamp by Preimos also has a cult scene on the disc. A woman is represented on the left holding a large platter, on which is a cake, on her upraised left arm. She is approaching a circular shrine in which stands a cult statue of a goddess.



Fig. 45. Terracotta Lamp surmounted by Boar

a woman whose body is wrapped in winding cloths like the wrappings of a mummy (Fig. 46). An object on her head resembling a stylized lotus adds to the Egyptian appearance of the figure. The nozzle extends beyond the feet so that the lamp could be used only with the figure in a supine position. Each foot has six toes but it is not apparent whether this peculiarity has some unknown significance or is merely accidental.

COINS

In connection with the task of cleaning, identifying, and cataloguing the 10,325 coins found during the season Mrs. Shear noted several pieces of unusual interest. The earliest coin is a silver obol struck in the time of Solon, 594-590 B.C., bearing the device of an amphora of early Attic shape on the obverse and a deep incuse square on the reverse. This type belongs to the first group of coins issued by Solon after his adoption of the new Attic standard. The oil amphora, in which the state's chief object of export was carried abroad, was an appropriate symbol for coins used by Athenian merchants, and seems to have served as a sort of heraldic emblem of the city.

Another coin associated with Athenian history is a gold Persian daric. It is of the early type with the familiar design, a kneeling Persian archer with a bow in the left hand and a spear in the right on the obverse, and on the reverse an irregular incuse stamp. Evidence of the destruction wrought by the Persians in 480 B.C. has been uncovered everywhere in the area and bronze arrow heads used in the battle are often found in the debris; the gold coin was presumably lost by one of the invaders at that time.

A bronze coin of unique type is a small fractional unit of the Imperial period of which the obverse and reverse designs are characteristically Athenian. On the obverse is the head of Athena with a crested Corinthian helmet, and on the reverse is a tripod. But the extraordinary fact about this coin is that the reverse side bears the name of the city of Megara instead of that of Athens. This is specially surprising since these two cities were bitter enemies throughout most of their history. The most plausible occasion for the striking of such a type was in the time of Hadrian, who tried to reconcile the cities. When his efforts were unavailing he used as his emissary a certain Marcus of Byzantium who had great influence with the inhabitants of the mother city Megara, and was able to persuade the Megarians to admit the Athenians to the celebration of their games, the Mikra Pythia. The tripod on the coin is certainly to be associated with Apollo and its use for such an occasion would be appropriate. The reconciliation of the cities must have been regarded



Fig. 46. Lamp in Form of Recumbent Woman



Fig. 47. Ivory Arm

Eleusineia. It is possible that this is an alternative name for the Antinoeia, which were also inaugurated by Hadrian at Eleusis.

Apart from the interest of such unusual specimens as have been described much valuable information is being assembled about the entire chronological development of Athenian coinage. This is made possible by the great mass of available material and by the fact that coins are often found in stratified deposits which contain other criteria for dating. The quantitative analyses made by Caley of the metal of various types of Athenian issues are also furnishing significant data to the same end. One of the more important results of this excavation will certainly be the determination on sound evidence of the correct chronology of the sequence of the types of the later Athenian coinage.

INSCRIPTIONS

The discoveries in the field of epigraphy have been as numerous and as important as usual, the total number of inscriptions from the Agora now exceeding five thousand. Many new pieces have been found of the stele containing the auction list of the sale of the confiscated property of Alcibiades and the other mutilators of the Herms. The new

as particularly important in view of their long standing enmity, and was therefore commemorated by the striking of a special issue of coins.

Another unique coin is also one of an Imperial Athenian issue. It is the type which has on the reverse the Agonistic Table, on which stand a bust of Athena, an owl, and sometimes a wreath. Beneath the table is an amphora, and across the top are written the names of some agonistic festivals. Those previously known are the Hadrianeia, the Olympeia, and the Panhellenia. Coins of this type have been assigned to the period of Hadrian, who instituted these festivals in Athens. The new coin is of the same type, but across the top of the table is the name

Fig. 48. Carnelian Gem. Scale, $2\frac{1}{2}:1$

Fig. 49. Gnostic Gem. Scale, *ca.* 2:1

material will necessitate an entire revision of the study of that famous document. Additional pieces have also been secured of the Attic Tribute Lists of the fifth century, and improvements have again been made in the constitution of the Athenian calendar. Some dates of archons have been corrected and the name of at least one archon, who was not previously known, has been secured. This is Diodotos who, we know, followed Phanarchides in office,

so that if the year 192/1 assigned to Phanarchides is correct Diodotos must be placed in 191/0. The most important calendar problem settled by the discoveries of the season is that of the date of the archonship of Polyeuktos. This was provided by a decree of the year of Polyeuktos honoring the ephebes of the preceding year of Thersilochos. By this sequence Polyeuktos is placed in 243/2 and this much discussed problem is definitely settled (see above, pp. 121–123).

Other names of men famous in Athens are also included in the prosopographical roster of the year. It has been conjectured that a series of distinguished names, Hippias, Kleisthenes, Miltiades, Peisistratos, may be derived from a list of archons of the sixth century. A didascalic record lists Sophokles as tragic poet and Herakleides as actor in

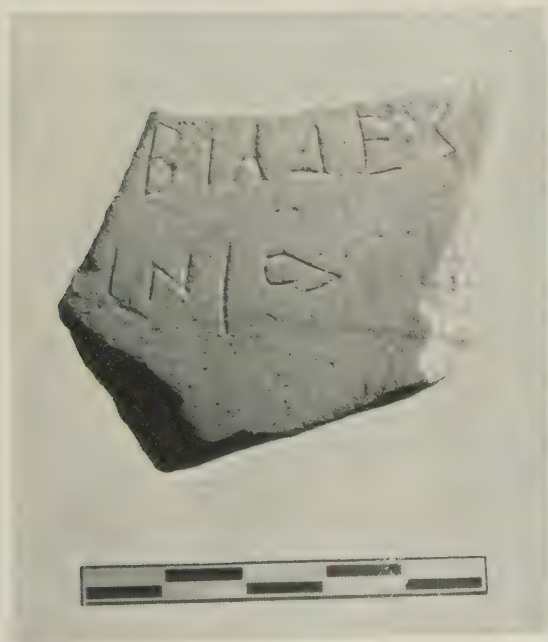


Fig. 50. Ostrakon of Alkibiades

448/7, and in 436/5 Iophon, son of Sophokles, as tragic poet and Hermippos as comic poet. Besides the historical personages many Attic names not previously recorded have been secured from the documents. All this mass of epigraphical material is being handled, studied, and promptly published in *Hesperia* under Meritt's supervision.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Only a few objects can be selected from the great number of miscellaneous discoveries for presentation in this Report. Embarrassment of riches has made the selection difficult and many items of perhaps equal interest and importance have necessarily been omitted because of lack of space.

An ivory forearm (Fig. 47), which is made in the same exquisite technique as that of the statuette of Apollo Lykeios found last season, is of special importance because of the con-

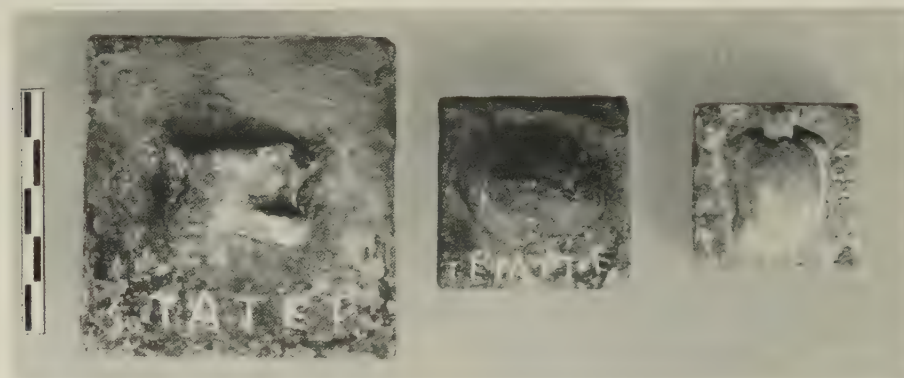


Fig. 51. Top Surface of Weights

text in which it was found. It came from deep in a well with a closed deposit of the Hellenistic period, containing nothing later than the third century B.C. The arm, hand, and fingers are closely similar to those of the Apollo, and the fixed date before which the piece must have been thrown into the well is strong confirmation of the view that the Apollo also was made in the Greek period.

Two gems were secured from a deposit dated in the second century A.D. One of these is a carnelian seal on which the head of a bearded man is carved in excellent technique. Figure 48 shows the seal on the right and a modern cast of it on the left. The head is an admirable portrait of the Roman period, perhaps of an Emperor, but it has not been possible to identify the man portrayed. The second stone is a Gnostic gem of black steatite of the Abraxas type (Fig. 49). On the obverse a youth with the head of a cock is seated on a chair holding a branch in his right hand. The name Adonai is written around the edge of the stone. The reverse has a series of thirteen letters, arranged in four lines, forming

a word combination which may be read the same in either direction, forwards or backwards: **ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ**. This word occurs on other Gnostic gems but its significance is unknown.

The collection of ostraka from the Agora is steadily increasing in number and interest. The total number of pieces is now 247 which are apportioned as follows among the names listed in alphabetical order:

Alkibiades	1	Kallixenos Aristonymon	31
Aristeides	41	Kydokles	5
Boutalion	5	Megakles	7
Habron	3	Peisistratos	1
Hipparchos	9	Themistokles	83
Hippokrates	30	Xanthippos	11
Kallias Didymiou..	3	Miscellaneous single names otherwise unknown	17

It is remarkable that two of the four men with the largest number of votes, Hippokrates and Kallixenos, are not otherwise known from any literary or historical reference. The usual variety occurs in the form and spelling of the names. The father's name is generally added but occasionally this is replaced by the name of the deme, and in the case of Themistokles sometimes both patronymic and demotic are given. This year for the first time Hippokrates appears with the designation of his deme so that now his name occurs in three forms, being followed by Alkmeonidou, or by Anaxileou, or by Alopekethen. But in spite of this variety of designation the man cannot be definitely identified. A new ostrakon of particular interest is one with the name of Alkibiades son of Kleinias (Fig. 50). It came from a disturbed deposit in the vicinity of the Tholos in which were some sherds dated as late as the fourth century B.C., but the letters are similar to those on the early ostraka and the one preserved letter of distinctive shape, sigma, has the early three-barred form. It seems evident, therefore, that this ballot was cast against Alkibiades the Elder. Although



Fig. 52. Official Athenian Bronze Weights
24*

the ostracism of the elder Alkibiades is reported both by Lysias (XIV, 39) and by pseudo-Andocides (IV, 34) this is the first ballot with his name which has so far been found.

The collection of official weights and measures of the city has been augmented by the addition of three bronze weights which were found in a well deposit of the late sixth and early fifth century B.C. (Fig. 51). They are preserved in good condition and all are designated as official weights of the state by the words **ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝ** incised on their sides (Fig. 52). The largest unit, measuring 0.062 metre square, has an astragal on its top surface and the word **ΣΤΑΤΗΡ** indicating its weight, which is 810 grammes. The second in size (0.04 m. sq.) has a Boeotian shield on the top and is marked a quarter, **ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ**; its weight is 199.5 gr. The third and smallest (0.032 m. sq.), weighing 127.5 gr., has a tortoise on the top and the word **ΗΜΙΤΡΙΤΟΝ**, one-sixth. The metal of these objects is still sound and little loss has been suffered by corrosion so that the present weights must be regarded as about equivalent to the original values. While the ratio of the quarter to the stater is perhaps sufficiently close, that of the sixth is so divergent as to indicate a lack of any close adherence to a fixed standard on the part of the Athenian officials.

This in brief substance is the account of the more important results achieved by the seventh campaign. Each year has furnished its rich quota of objects illustrating the life, customs, and history of ancient Athens. As the task of excavation proceeds steadily toward its conclusion the Agora is being revealed as a complete unit, and the many threads of ancient life centring in it are being gathered together to form a comprehensive pattern. Everything that has come from the Agora will remain in it so that the picture will not be marred by the excision of any of its essential details, and the central point of concentration of all phases of the finished work will be the projected new museum where all the varied ramifications of this great undertaking will be assembled together.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

THE RECTANGULAR ROCK-CUT SHAFT

THE SHAFT AND ITS LOWER FILL¹

In July 1932, during the removal of some refugee shacks which had been built on the eastern slope of Kolonos Agoraios against the outer face of the modern enclosure wall around the Hephaisteion,² the mouth of a rectangular shaft was discovered cut down into the native rock of the hill. It lies about on a line between the northeast corner of the Hephaisteion and the southwest corner of the Annex at the back of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and is distant some twenty-four metres from the former and seven from the latter.³ It was excavated, with interruptions, from July 25 through October 8, 1932, and in December of the same year a little supplementary cleaning was done in the natural fissures in the rock at the bottom.

There was no ancient fill overlying the mouth of the shaft; on the contrary, the modern enclosure wall east of the Hephaisteion cuts right across it, and the foundations of this wall, which elsewhere rest on bedrock, are set down about a metre into the shaft. The shaft itself is about 19.60 metres deep⁴ and measures about 2.40×1.20 m. at the top.⁵ For its entire depth it is cut through the soft clayey greenish schist of which Kolonos Agoraios is composed.⁶ The sides are trimmed as neatly and smoothly

¹ Preliminary accounts of the excavation of this shaft or well, together with photographs of some of the objects found in it have appeared in *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 293 ff. and *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 456 ff. Compare also the publication of the Kneeling Boy, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 426 ff. Various other briefer notices have appeared which will be cited in connection with the objects which they mention or illustrate. The objects from the upper fill which appears to have gathered between about 500 and 480 B.C. will be published in a later number of *Hesperia*.

² These shacks, which are not shown on the official city plan, appear in a number of published photographs, for example: *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 107, fig. 11, upper centre; p. 111, fig. 1, top, right; p. 112, fig. 2, top, left; p. 114, fig. 4, upper centre; and p. 452, fig. 1, upper right.

³ Its location is indicated on the plans, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 175, no. 2; and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pl. III, no. 2; and in the photograph, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 456, fig. 5. It falls within the limits of the Hellenistic building on the north slope of Kolonos: cf. the plans *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 219, fig. 126, and p. 397, fig. 1. Its orientation can also be seen on the plans. In the excavation records the long sides are referred to as the north and south sides, the short ones as east and west. Although not accurate, these designations are kept here for convenience.

⁴ As there is no curbing preserved, and as the surface of bedrock around the mouth is very irregular, measurements of depth were taken from an arbitrary point about the middle of the east side; all depths are expressed in metres below this point.

⁵ At a depth of 9.00 m. the dimensions are 2.70 m. by 1.10 m., and at the bottom they are 3.00 m. by 1.00 m., showing that the sides are not quite vertical.

⁶ This is the stratum called *Schiefer von Athen* in R. Lepsius, *Geologie von Attika*: cf. p. 24; pl. 1, section 1; and map 4. Cf. also W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 46, and figs. 6 and 7.

as the nature of the rock permits. On either side of the northeast corner there are rough toe-holds, unevenly spaced and of varying size, which were doubtless used by the diggers, with the aid of a rope for the hands, when going down or coming up; they were frequently so used by our workmen. Down to a depth of about nine metres the sides of the shaft are well preserved. Below this, however, large pieces of the soft, crumbly rock had broken away in antiquity and fallen to the bottom. Besides the irregularities in the sides left by the fallen rock there are, near the bottom, large rough holes opening out to the south and west which appear to be natural fissures.¹

The shaft was probably intended to be used as a well, although its size and shape are unusual.² As such it was not a success, for water flows in far too slowly. The level of the water table is normally about sixteen metres below the mouth of the shaft so that water stands to a depth of nearly four metres in the bottom. During the more than two months from October 8 to December 19, 1932, however, only about 1.25 m. of water gathered. Most wells in the Agora region when emptied of their water fill up again over night, and in many the water flows in so fast that it is extremely difficult to keep it down to a level which will permit digging. The flow of water in the shaft must have been slow in antiquity also, for when the sides caved in soon after it was finished, no one bothered to clean it out again; nor were any other wells dug nearby. Thereafter it was used as a dump at intervals until it was filled up to the top.

The fill in the shaft gathered during two principal periods separated from each other by an interval of about a generation, and in each of these periods several phases can be distinguished. In this article I shall deal only with the earlier period, during which the shaft filled up to a depth of twelve metres from the top, reserving the later period, from twelve metres up, for subsequent treatment. Very soon after the digging of the shaft was completed and while the bottom was still relatively clean the black-figured oinochoe no. **14** must have fallen in, for its fragments were found right on the bottom. Also at the bottom was the black-glazed oinochoe no. **15** but aside from these two pieces there was nothing but a scattering of nondescript sherds. The complete lack of whole or nearly whole plain water jars, which are usually found in considerable numbers at the bottom of wells, is striking and suggests that the shaft had been in use but a very short time before the walls began to cave in. The three metres or so above the bottom was filled with broken bedrock fallen from the sides of the shaft and contained very few objects. That there was a scattering of sherds, however, suggests that the cave-in did not take place all at once but over a short period of time (not necessarily more

¹ These were cleared for a distance of about 1.50 m. south of the south side and 1.60 m. west of the west end of the shaft. Nothing was found in them, and it did not seem feasible to clear them further.

² The hundreds of wells, of all periods, which have been cleared in the course of the Agora excavations are almost all circular in section. Another exception is an early sixth century well in section ΣT which is nearly square (the well lined with polygonal masonry mentioned in *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 290). Compare also one at Delos, mentioned in *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 33, note 1; and *B.C.H.*, XXX, 1906, pp. 570-1; both references cited by Jardé in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, IV, p. 780, s. v. *Putens*. Our shaft was perhaps made extra large so as to serve both as a storage cistern and as a well.

than a few days or weeks) during which the mouth of the shaft probably remained open. This fallen rock filled the shaft up practically to water level and so rendered it useless as a source of water, and it thereupon began to be used as a dump.¹ Among the first things to fall in at this time were the Kneeling Boy (30), the squat, tall necked, black-figured oinochoe (12), the small fragmentary black-figured amphora (7), and the black-glazed skyphos (37). These were followed directly and without any noticeable break by the considerable group of objects centring around depths 15.55 m. and 15.10 m., among which we may note the little-master cups (21–28), the black-figured panel amphora with horse and rider (8), the fragments of the large amphora with a warrior and his attendant mounted (6), the sphinx amphora (1), the lion amphora (5), and the lekanis lid (33). Above this the objects were relatively somewhat fewer; among them the most important, listed roughly in the order in which they fell in are the volute krater (36), the black-figured lekythos (34), the pyxis with Herakles driving a team of centaurs (31), the black-figured oinochoe with a combat scene (16), the black-figured loutrophoros (32), the small amphora with swans (4), and the black-figured olpe with a hoplite between two women (20). There is no obvious sharp break anywhere in the fill above the fallen bedrock, and, as we have seen, the fill below it, in which the only piece of importance is the black-figured oinochoe no. 14, need not necessarily be much earlier.² It appears then that with the possible exception of the very bottom the fill below twelve metres represents the gradual accumulation of a relatively short period, and the objects from it may therefore be treated as a group.

The pottery from this group ranges over a considerable period of time, but most of the pieces belong to the second and third quarters of the sixth century.³ From the second quarter we may note as most important the following pieces: the lion amphora (5, perhaps from the end of the first quarter); the fragmentary amphora with a warrior and his attendant mounted (6); the pyxis with Herakles driving a team of centaurs (31); the little black-figured oinochoe with squat body and tall neck (12); the lekanis lid (33); and the black-figured oinochoe from the bottom (14), which belongs not long before 550 B.C. The objects which clearly belong to the third quarter of the century are more important chronologically, however, for they, being the latest things, will enable us to determine approximately the date at which the fill accumulated, and so fix a *terminus ante quem* for all the objects in the lower part of the shaft. The very sloppy black-figured oinochoe with a combat of hoplites (16) belongs to the decade 550–540 B.C. There are various

¹ If, however, the black-figured oinochoe (14), which is the only thing by which we can date the lowest fill, was new when it fell in, then we must suppose that after the cave-in the mouth of the shaft was covered over for about a decade before it began to be used as a dump. It is easier to suppose, however, that the oinochoe was about ten years old when it fell in, and thus there will be no interval of importance between the cave-in and the subsequent use of the well as a dump.

² Cf. last note.

³ An important exception is the sphinx amphora (1) which dates from the last quarter of the seventh century, but which shows from its weathered condition that it must have stood over a grave for a generation or two before finding its way into the shaft. There were also, of course, a few geometric and proto-Attic sherds scattered all through the shaft as is usual in deposits of this period.

grounds for a date of around 540 B.C. for the Kneeling Boy (30). The little-master cups (21-28) are obviously routine pieces and therefore belong to the period when this type of cup was at the height of its popularity, namely the full third quarter of the sixth century. The volute krater (36), and the panel amphora with horse and rider on either side (8) also belong to the same general period, as does the loutrophoros (32) in spite of the earlier appearance which the foldless cloaks of the women give it.¹ The little black-figured lekythos (34), though a very slight piece and hence difficult to date accurately, need not be later than the decade 540-530. Finally the black-figured olpe (20), which was one of the last things to fall in during the period under discussion, must date from the first part of the same decade.² We may therefore take 540 B.C. or very shortly after as the date at which fill began to accumulate after the cave-in of the sides, and may assume that it continued to accumulate for a period of perhaps five years.

Almost everything from the lower part of the shaft is Attic with the exception of a few scraps of Corinthian (cf. 44 and 45) and Protocorinthian. This applies not only to the figured and glazed ware, but also apparently to the bulk of the coarse ware.³

As the shaft was being excavated it was rarely possible to distinguish significant changes in the character of the earth fill which could be associated directly with changes in the character and date of the objects being found. This was so for two principal reasons. First, the fill was of a more or less uniform consistency, not divided up by a series of hard-packed layers, and, therefore, unless there was a sudden, marked change in the color of the earth or in the character of the objects, no difference would be observed. Second, the fill must have gathered not in even horizontal layers but in irregular sloping or cone-shaped ones, and as a result fragments of a given vase which were all thrown in at the same time might be found at depths more than a metre apart, some of the pieces having stuck at the top of the slope, others having rolled down to the bottom. Aside from the impossibility of observing these soft sloping layers, practical considerations made it more or less essential to excavate the shaft in horizontal layers, and thus it happens that in most cases fragments of the same object are recorded as coming from several depths.⁴

Between the lower and the upper fills there was no sharp, well defined break distinguishable in the earth. There was, however, a very marked change in the character

¹ The folds of the men's cloaks place it in this period. So in vases by Exekias foldless garments appear side by side with garments which have folds rendered by long, sweeping, slightly curved lines. Cf. W. Technau, *Exekias, passim*.

² The complete absence of red-figured pottery, the accepted date for the beginning of which is about 530 B.C., is also suggestive though by no means conclusive, for its absence has been noted from deposits which must be dated toward the end of the sixth century (unpublished Agora material).

³ The type of coarse pot most commonly imported is the large amphora in which wine and oil were shipped. The group of amphorae represented by 9, however, is certainly of local fabric. The amphora neck with dipinto (11) is imported.

⁴ The depth of the shaft was measured each afternoon at the close of work, and all objects found that day were recorded as having been found at that depth. This means, of course, that they were found between that depth and the depth recorded at the end of the preceding day; for example, an object recorded as being "from depth 15.55 m." was actually found between 15.10 m. and 15.55 m.

of the pottery. Depth 12.00 m. is transitional between the two fills. Objects from this depth belong mostly to the upper fill, but there are also fragments which clearly go with the lower.¹ From depth 12.40 m. almost everything belongs with the lower fill and only an occasional fragment seems to go with the upper fill.² The difference in date between the two fills is great enough, however, so that there can be no doubt in most cases to which fill a given fragment belongs.

In the catalogue below the objects from the lower fill are treated as a group and arranged by kind. The amphorae and oinochoai are more or less in chronological order, and the cups, miscellaneous vases and other objects are arranged by type and merit. These objects are but a selection of the things found in the lower part of the shaft. They include, however, practically all the figured ware with the exception of a few small, characterless bits, and the more complete pieces of non-figured ware. Besides these catalogued objects there are three trays and eighteen tins of sherds in storage. Nothing has been discarded.

CATALOGUE³

1-11. AMPHORAE

1. Early black-figured amphora with sphinx on either side: by the Nessos painter. Figs. 1-4

P 1247. Most fragments from depth 15.10 m., a number from 15.55 m., and a few from 16.00 m. and 16.25 m. H. 0.46 m., D. 0.345 m. Brief notices of this vase have appeared as follows: H. A. Thompson, *A. J. A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 293-4, fig. 3 (photograph of the better preserved side with a large fragment of the base still missing); T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 457-8, fig. 6, and *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, pp. 292-3 (both illustrated from a water-color drawing by Piet de Jong, reproduced here, with some corrections, as Fig. 4); H. G. G. Payne, *J. H. S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 266 (mention only); J. D. Beazley, *Mon. Piot*, XXXV, 1935-6, p. 65, note 2 (attribution to the Nessos painter); J. M. Cook, *B. S. A.*, XXXV, 1934-5, p. 200; cf. also above p. 365, note 3.

The vase has been mended from many fragments and is complete save for scattered small gaps in the body and chips from the foot. The surface, however, is severely weathered and is marred in places by a rust-colored stain and a whitish incrustation, so that the drawing is often obliterated. There are no restorations. The decoration on the two sides of the vase is practically identical, a large sphinx filling nearly the whole field. It crouches on a broad band of glaze, below which are rays springing from the foot, and the top of its head almost touches a narrower band of glaze just below

¹ For example, some of the fragments of the olpe, 20, and the loutrophoros, 32.

² Objects from depth 12.40 m. which are made up from a number of fragments may be said certainly to belong to the lower fill. Objects represented only by a fragment or two, however, may possibly be strays from the upper fill; for example, the fragment of a terracotta *protome* (46), the terracotta siren (47), and the amphora neck with dipinto (11).

³ The following abbreviations are used in the catalogue: H. = height, W. = width, T. = thickness, L. = length (preceded by P. = preserved height, etc.), D. = diameter, Max. dim. = maximum dimension preserved. The first number which appears after the heading of each object is the Agora inventory number; e.g. P 1247. Clay is Attic unless otherwise specified.

the mouth. Its forepaws extend forward to a point underneath one of the handles, and its wing grazes the other. In the space above and in front of its hindpaws where the body does not touch the ground the tail curls up from between the feet. Springing from the lower point of attachment of the handle into the space between the head and forepaws of the sphinx is a floral ornament composed of a palmette and volutes, and there is another, less elaborate, behind the head near the upper handle



Fig. 1. 1. The Sphinx Amphora. Side A

attachment. The rest of the filling ornament, which is neatly and rather widely spaced, not crowded, consists of dot rosettes, hook spirals, and zig-zag lines with small chevrons or dots in the angles. Added red is used lavishly for broad surfaces as well as for details. On the sphinxes it is used for the fillet, the ear, the face (except the eye), the neck, the broad upper part of the wing (which extends over the whole front of the body, and the belly. It is also used for alternate petals of the rosettes on the mouth, and on the floral design at the handle it seems to have been used for the broad petals of the palmette, for the long points which project from the volutes, and for the central

member of the groups of three petals. There seem to be no traces of added white on the vase. Considering the weathered condition of the surface and the matt quality of the glaze, however, it would be quite possible for the white to have disappeared completely without leaving even a trace. (On the use of white by the Nessos painter see Rumpf, *A.A.*, XXXVIII IX, 1923-4, cols. 48-9, and H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 347, note 1.) Incision is used for interior drawing and for all borders



Fig. 2. 1. The Sphinx Amphora. Side B

between red and black, but never for exterior contours. The lines, many of them now somewhat coarsened by weathering, are neatly and surely drawn. The clay is buff in color and is soft and very flaky. After the vase had been mended an envelope full of wafer-thin slivers which had flaked off the surfaces, particularly at the edges of the breaks, was gathered up. The glaze tends to be rather thin and matt, and in places, especially near the bottom, it has fired reddish to brownish. Besides the places already noted, glaze is used for a band about 0.025 m. wide at the inner edge of the mouth, for the handles, and for the outside of the foot.



Fig. 3. 1. The Sphinx Amphora. Detail of A. Scale *ca.* 2:3

The attribution of the vase to the Nessos painter makes it the third important work of this artist that is known to us.¹ In subject and shape² there are no close parallels for it among the preserved works of the artist, but the many details of rendering which it shares with them make the attribution certain. We may note especially the head (Fig. 3) and compare it with the heads on the Nessos amphora and the bowl from Aegina where there are perfect parallels for the rendering of the eye, the ear, the mouth, and the profile, and for the decorated band which binds the hair behind the ear. The siren on the Hamburg sherd has a long strand of hair falling down over the "shoulder" which recalls the strands on our sphinx. The choice and disposition of the filling ornament is also the same, and in the floral decoration which springs from the lower handle attachment we find the dot and circle which is characteristic of the painter's lotos and palmette friezes. In spite of its weathered condition the Agora Sphinx Amphora is a handsome piece and a welcome addition to our repertory of vases by one of the earliest masters of the Attic black-figure style. According to Payne's chronological table (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 344) its date should be about 620–610 B.C.



Fig. 4. 1. The Sphinx Amphora. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

2. Fragment of a black-figure amphora: upper part of a head to left. Fig. 5

P. 1235. From depth 16.00 m. to 19.60 m. W. 0.043 m., T. 0.05 m.

The fragment is broken on all sides. At the upper left are the remains of some filling ornament. There are traces of added color, probably red, on the face, the eye (a dot at the centre), the hair

¹ The attribution was made by Beazley, *Mon. Piot*, XXXV, 1935–6, p. 65, note 2. A list of the painter's works is given in Beazley, *Attic Black-figure: a Sketch*, p. 11, note 1. The Hamburg fragment is now published by E. von Mercklin, *Führer durch das Hamburgische Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*, II, *Griechische und römische Altertümer*, p. 23, no. 60 and plate VI, 2. Add a fragment in the Kerameikos Museum in Athens mentioned in *A.A.*, XLIX, 1934, cols. 218–9 and *A.M.*, LX–LXI, 1935–6, p. 293, no. 15. The two important pieces are, of course, the Nessos amphora itself (Athens, National Museum, 1002; bibliography Beazley, *A.B.S.*, p. 10, detail of Nessos' head, *A.M.*, LX, 1935–6, p. 272, fig. 1), and the bowl from Aegina (Berlin, F 1682: *Arch. Zeitung*, XL, 1882, plates 9–10; K. A. Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium*, II, *Vasen*, p. 15); the others are fragments. See also the discussion in Cook's article in *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934–5.

² On the shape cf. Beazley, *Mon. Piot*, XXXV, 1935–6, pp. 64–5. Rumpf suggests that the Leipzig fragment is from a vase of this shape, *A.A.*, XXXVIII–IX, 1923–4, col. 47.

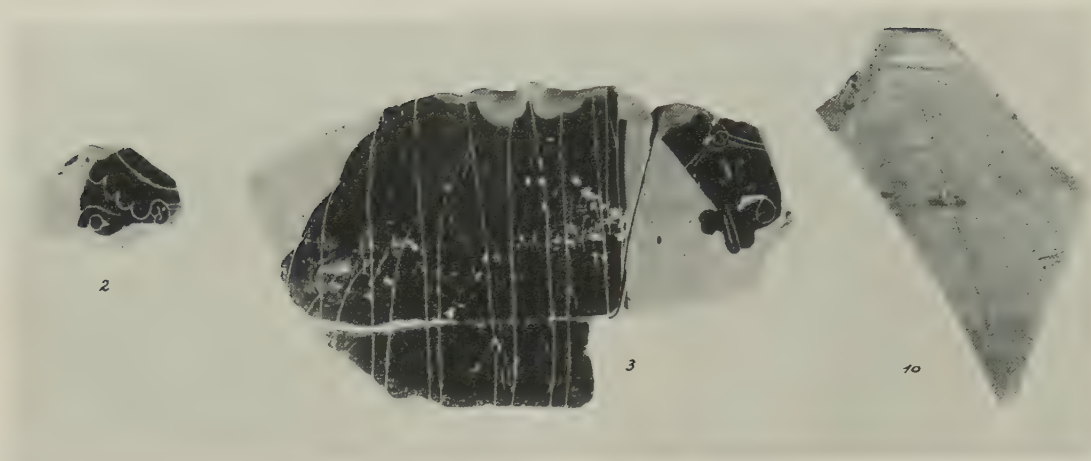


Fig. 5. Fragments of Amphorae

(a blob near the front), the fillet, and the band behind the ear. The clay is soft and rather dark buff in color, and the interior is unglazed. The piece must be roughly contemporary with the sphinx amphora, 1, and is probably from a vase of the same shape and approximately the same size. The head, however, is rather less than half the size of the heads on the sphinx amphora.

3. Fragment of a panel amphora with horse's head. Fig. 5

P. 1248. From depth 15.10 m. W. 0.15 m., T. 0.01 m.

Three joining fragments preserve part of the horse's head. The glaze is unevenly applied and in places the background shows through. Traces of added red may be seen on the mane. The rather dark buff clay and the heavy fabric suggest a date in the early sixth century. On vases of this type see E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, I, p. 246. Cf. also G. M. A. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, figs. 1 and 2.

4. Small black-figured neck amphora with swans. Fig. 6

P. 1262. From depths 12.00 m. and 12.40 m.; the large fragment of the lower part of the body from depth 13.50 m. H. with foot as restored 0.234 m.; D. 0.107 m.

The vase has been mended from two large and several smaller pieces. Almost the entire foot (its profile is not complete) and fragments of the body and lip are missing. They have been restored in plaster. The decoration on both sides is the same. On the neck are two zones, the upper with zig-zag lines, the lower with blob rosettes some of which have reserved centres. On the shoulder are two swans, facing. In the field between and above them are groups of short, straight strokes. Behind and above three of the swans, near the handle, is a blob rosette with reserved centre, while strokes fill the corresponding place behind the fourth. There is no incision. A band of dull, purplish red, now very faded, runs along the top of the wing of each swan, and a broad



Fig. 6. 4. Small Amphora with Swans

but irregular band of it runs completely around the body of the vase between reserved lines below the picture. The lower part of the vase is covered with glaze which has fired very unevenly, black in places, rust-colored in others. This same glaze, rather thinly applied, was used for the decoration. Here it has fired mostly rust-colored. The inner face of the handles, the under side of the foot, and the top of the lip are reserved. On the last are broad cross strokes. The inside of the mouth is glazed for about two centimetres below the lip. The clay is buff colored.

This amphora is related to a group of miniature vases of the first half of the sixth century which has been called the "swan style" (*C.V.A.*, Oxford, III, H, pl. 13, 6). Similar in style and fabric to our amphora is a sherd at the Agora (P 1125, exterior, a swan). It preserves part of the off-set rim of a steep sided open vase probably shaped something like Athens, National Museum, 135 (Collignon-Couve, *Catalogue*, 223). Athens 135 is listed in the catalogue with the geometric vases, but it surely belongs rather to the period under discussion. Also similar in style and fabric to our amphora is Athens, N.M. 862 (C.C. 426), which is not a lid as stated in the catalogue, but a vase in its own right; for something of the shape compare *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, pl. 99, 14, and *C.V.A.*, Oxford, III, H, pl. 13, 9.

5. Fragmentary black-figured panel amphora: A. Lions. B. Hoplites. Figs. 7 and 8

P 1250. Mouth and neck from depth 15.55 m.; fragments up to depth 13.50 m. H. as restored 0.29 m., D. of mouth 0.208 m.

The mouth and neck with the stubs of the handles are preserved in a single piece. To this several fragments join directly. The vase has been restored down to about the middle of the body



Fig. 7. 5. Fragmentary Amphora. Side A. Lions

and the non-joining fragments have been set in their approximate positions in the plaster. On the inside the vase is glazed for about 0.075 m. below the top of the mouth and is decorated with two red bands, one at the edge of the mouth, the other about half way down. On the top of the mouth is a graffito $\Delta\lambda$. The outside of the mouth is reserved and decorated with rosettes which have red centres. Between the mouth and the handles two red lines encircle the neck. Across the top of each panel is a chain of reversing lotuses and palmettes, the lotuses with red calices and the palmette with red hearts, and at the sides is a red line.

A. Two lions seated facing with heads turned back (Fig. 7). Red is used for their manes and for strokes on flank and rump, for the calyx and petals of the lotuses, for the centre of the rosette, and on the preserved bit of filling ornament near the front paws of the right hand lion. There is a trace of a dot of added color on the nose of the left hand lion, and traces of a circle of white dots may be seen around the centre of the rosette.

For the scene compare the Gorgon painter's amphora in the Louvre (E 817; Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, fig. 93; *C.V.A.*, III, H, d, pl. 1, 4; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 192, no. 6; photo Giraudon, 33236).

B. Hoplites, probably a procession of five advancing to the left. Of the first warrior in the procession, at the left of the panel, only a part of the red rim of the shield and a bit of the spear remain. Of the next to last warrior parts of the helmet, shield, and spear, and some of his neck are preserved (cf. Fig. 8). The helmet is black and has a red crest. The shield has a black centre decorated with a six pointed white star, a red body, and a black rim (cf. the shields carried by alternate warriors on Munich 1436, cited below). Overlapping it is the shield of the last warrior in the procession, which is plain black as far as preserved. Part of the black crest of the helmet of this warrior is preserved.

For the scene compare Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.21 (P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, pl. 8 b; further bibliography in K. Friis Johansen, *Iliaden i tidlig graesk Kunst*, p. 156, no. 14, c); Munich 1436 (Jahn 89; I know this vase through photographs at the German Institute in Athens); and Louvre, E 855 and E 858 (*C.V.A.*, III, H, d, pl. 5, 9 and pl. 6, 8).



Fig. 8. 5. Fragmentary Amphora. Detail of B

6. Fragments of a large black-figured panel amphora: warrior and attendant, mounted. Figs. 9 and 10

P 1229 a-f. Fragment a from depth 16.80 m.; other fragments scattering up to about 15.00 m. Besides the pieces presented here there are a few bits with plain black glaze on the exterior which probably come from this vase. W. of fragment a, 0.133 m., H. of palmette zone on fragment e, 0.063 m. The fragments vary in thickness from 0.01 m. to 0.015 m. The total height of the vase has been estimated to have been about 0.70 m., its greatest diameter about 0.50 m. The clay is buff in color. The glaze has fired greenish grey in places, and where it was used for drawing it was sometimes very thinly applied.

Fragment a (Fig. 10) preserves the head of a warrior wearing a Corinthian helmet with a high crest and carrying a round shield, the head of his attendant, the mane and an ear of their horses, and part of the double palmette chain at the top of the panel. A scratch, which runs down the

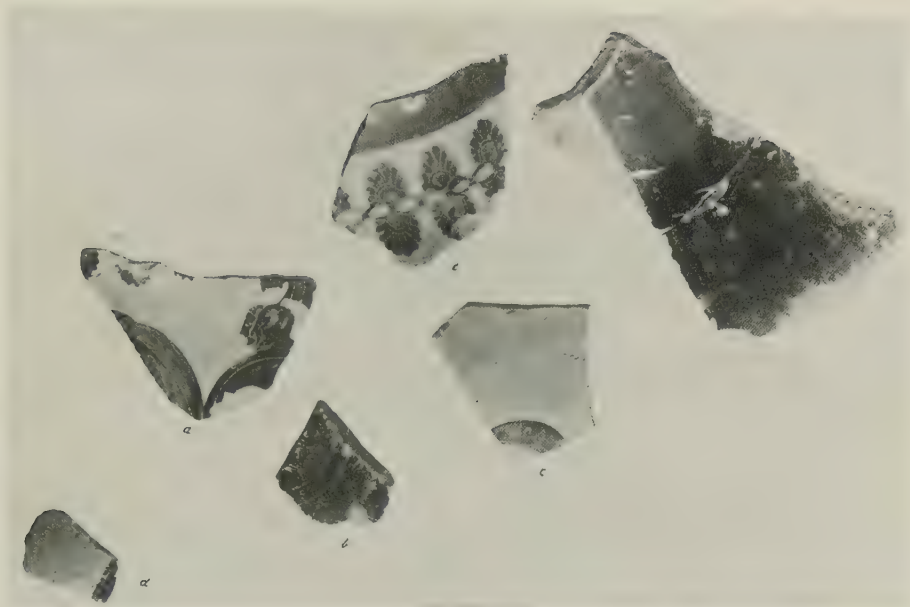


Fig. 9. 6. Fragments of an Amphora. Warrior and Attendant Mounted



Fig. 10. 6. Amphora with Mounted Warrior and Attendant. Fragment *a*

warrior's nose, cuts across the face of the attendant and obscures the short, nearly straight, incised line that indicates his mouth. Traces of added color, probably red, may be observed on the warrior's helmet and the support for the crest, the hair of the attendant, and the mane of the horses. The body of the shield seems also to have been red, and there are traces of color on the crest of the helmet, though what it was, and how it was disposed cannot be made out. Between the incised lines on the crest are two small, rough, incised circles.

Fragment *b* preserves part of the incised outline of the shield, fragment *c* part of the horses' tails, with traces of red on the nearer one (the broad part above the incised line), and fragment *d* part of their legs (?). On fragment *e* the full height of the double palmette chain at the top of the panel is preserved. Red is used for the hearts of the palmettes, and a narrow line of thin glaze marks the lower border of the zone (cf. also fragment *a*). On the inner face of this fragment, at the top, some of the glaze inside the mouth appears, running down almost as far as the glaze on the outside of the fragment. This fragment may belong on the opposite side of the vase. On fragment *f* (two joining pieces) we have the right hand end of the palmette chain, the edge of the panel, and part of the lower point of attachment of one of the handles.

To obtain an idea of what the complete vase was like one may refer to a roughly contemporary amphora in Berlin which is of about the same size, shape, and proportions as ours, and has a similar scene. (Berlin, Inv. 4823. Neugebauer, *Führer*, II, *Vasen*, p. 42. Beazley, *A.B.S.*, p. 13, plates 2, 3 and 3, 2.)



Fig. 11. 7. Small Black-figured Amphora

7. Small, fragmentary, black-figured panel amphora. Fig. 11

P 1237. From depths 15.55 m., 16.00 m., and 16.50 m. P. H. 0.135 m.

The vase has been mended from a number of pieces. The foot and about half the lower part of the body with the bottom of one panel and the extreme lower left corner of the other are preserved. At the right of the better preserved panel is a "geometric" looking warrior wearing greaves and carrying a shield. His head is missing. In the centre is the lower part of a draped figure facing left, and at the left is part of an uncertain object. Between the last two is part of a small figure running toward the right and carrying a shield (?). His head is missing, and his left leg has been drawn twice, once overlapping the central figure and once extending over the bottom of the panel. Added red is used for the greaves and shield of the warrior, for a rough zig-zag line on the lower part of the garment of the draped figure, and on the body and shield of the running figure; and a red line encircled the body of the vase at the bottom of the panel. Above the foot are rays. The clay is buff in color and the glaze is dull. The drawing is very crude, and the vase was perhaps an experimental piece done by an apprentice.

8. Black-figured panel amphora: horse and rider on either side. Figs. 12 and 13

P 1246. From depths 15.10 m., and 15.55 m.; one fragment from depth 16.80 m. H. 0.34 m., D. 0.235 m. Mentioned *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 294.

The vase has been mended from many pieces, and scattered fragments of the body and base are missing. Practically the same picture appears in the panel on both sides, a nude youth on horse-back; on the reverse the horse is rearing slightly. The horses' manes are red, and there is a red



Fig. 12. 8. Black-figured Amphora with Horse and Rider

line around the inner and outer edge of the mouth, and one around the body below the picture. The neck is glazed inside for about 0.05 m. below the lip, the under side of the foot is reserved, and the inner face of the handles is only partially glazed.

The vase was damaged before firing. There is a deep dent near the youth on the reverse (cf. Fig. 13), and the mouth is warped.



Fig. 13. 8. Black-figured Amphora. Detail Showing Denting and Warping

For subject and style we may compare a vase in the Castellani collection (P. Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, no. 468, pl. LXII, 3), and one in the Louvre (E 824; *C.V.A.*, III, H, e, pl. 9, 3 and 6). These two vases have the same dipinto under the foot, but there is no dipinto on the Agora piece.

9. Amphora with bands of black and dilute glaze. Fig. 14

P 1253. The fragments of this and of four or five other similar amphorae which have not been mended were found at the following depths: some at 12.40 m., and 13.10 m., many at 13.50 m., 14.00 m., 14.25 m., and 14.85 m.; some at 15.10 m.; a few at 15.55 m. H. 0.567 m., D. 0.435 m.

One of the handles and some small gaps in the body have been restored in plaster. The body is covered with alternate narrow bands of thick black glaze and broad bands of dilute glaze light brown in color, the two shading into each other. On the neck, mouth, and handles there is glaze wash so thin as to be almost invisible.

Fragments of amphorae of this fabric are frequently found at the Agora in sixth century deposits. They are the descendants of the large neck amphorae discussed in *Hesperia*, II, pp. 570 ff., and are not far in shape from sixth century Panathenaic amphorae. Compare also the examples from the excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis published by Broneer in the previous number of this volume of *Hesperia*.

10. Fragment from the shoulder of an amphora, with graffito. Fig. 5

P 11962. From depth 15.55 m. Max. dim. 0.105 m.

A single fragment preserves part of the shoulder and the start of the neck of an amphora, perhaps like 9. There are remains of dilute glaze on the exterior, through which is incised a large *alpha*.

11. Neck and shoulder of an amphora, with dipinto. Fig. 23

P 11968. From depth 12.40 m. P. H. 0.18 m., D. of mouth 0.14 m.

Two joining fragments preserve the mouth, neck, one handle, and part of the shoulder of an unglazed amphora. The other handle and the rest of the shoulder have been restored in plaster. On one side of the neck is a dipinto in dull reddish brown paint. O. The clay is buff and contains considerable mica, and there is a lighter buff slip. This piece may conceivably belong with the upper fill (cf. above, p. 367, note 2).

12-20. OINOCHOAI AND OLPAI

12. Black-figured oinochoe with squat body and tall neck. Figs. 15-17

P 1233. From depth 16.00 m. to 17.00 m. H. to top of handle 0.133 m., D. 0.089 m.

The vase has been mended from many fragments. Most of the mouth and neck are missing as well as fragments of the body. A non-joining piece of the neck is preserved and is shown in the drawing (Fig. 16); the vase itself has not been restored.

The shape is unusual. The bottom is flat and reserved, and at its outer edge is a slightly raised ring foot, of which the visible outside face appears once to have been colored red. The sides are nearly vertical with a slight outward flare at the top, and the shoulder slopes upward and merges into the neck in a continuous curve. At the upper end of the high arching double handle a small part of the mouth is preserved. At the point where the handle joins the mouth there is pronounced "shouldering," and three little raised bosses reproduce the rivets of the bronze vase from which the shape of ours was copied. The mouth was probably trefoil (cf. Fig. 16) as in a vase of similar shape at Thebes (from Rhitsona, grave 18, no. 104: *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-8, pl. 13, g, 4) which, although it differs in details and is considerably later, is the closest parallel I know of for the shape of our vase. Also similar in shape, but with shorter necks, are the small, late Corinthian broad bottomed oinochoai (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 336, nos. 1536-1548).

A figured scene runs completely around the body (cf. Fig. 17). At the centre, on the front of the vase, are the legs and the body up as far as the waist of a nude man facing right. His right forearm, held horizontally at waist level, and a fillet hanging from his hand can be made out. In front of him and facing him is a woman wearing a peplos and holding what is perhaps a spear. Behind him and also facing him is another person of whom only the feet and part of the peplos are preserved. To the right of this central group are three pairs of draped standing figures facing



Fig. 14. 9. Amphora

each other, "conversing," and to the left are, first a pair "conversing," then a pair of draped figures seated on folding stools facing each other, and finally a pair of draped standing figures both facing right. The palmette and lotus chain on the shoulder ends a little short of the handle on either side and is replaced by a spray of three lotus buds which spring from the handle.



Fig. 15. 12. Small Black-figured Oinochoe

The added color has almost entirely disappeared and traces of it are unusually difficult to detect because of the uneven quality of the glaze over which it was laid. Its restoration in the drawing, Fig. 17, is therefore to be regarded as merely tentative. White was certainly used for crosses and groups of dots decorating the garments, for the chiton of the second figure to the left of the handle, and for the flesh parts of three of the figures, namely, the figure holding the spear in the central group, the figure with extended arms next but one behind her, and the figure just

to the left of the handle. Red, which is more difficult to detect than white, appears to have been used in general for alternate broad stripes and sometimes for entire garments. It was carelessly applied, and is sometimes merely a broad stroke which does not fill completely the area it was intended to cover. Red was also used for the hearts of the palmettes and the calices of the lotuses on the shoulder.

13. Small glazed oinochoe. Fig. 29

P 1239. From depth 15.55 m. H. to lip, as restored, 0.097 m.; D. 0.064 m.

The body is preserved in a single piece together with the lower stub of the handle and the spring of the foot. There are no joining fragments. The rest of the handle and foot, and the entire mouth are restored in plaster. The brownish to olive-green glaze is considerably flaked. A bit of the glaze inside the mouth remains. A pair of red lines that has now almost completely disappeared once encircled the vase at the level of the lower handle attachment.

The vase has been restored with a trefoil mouth and a high arching handle with concave outer face on the model of Agora P 3018 and P 3021, both from a well of the second quarter of the sixth century. There are several other examples of miniature oinochoai of this shape in the Agora collection, all from contexts of the first half of the sixth century. Cf. also a small black-figured example in the National Museum at Athens, no. 12948.



Fig. 16. 12. Small Black-figured Oinochoe with Mouth and Neck Restored. From a Sketch by Piet de Jong



Fig. 17. 12. Small Black-figured Oinochoe. The Figured Scene. From a Drawing by Piet de Jong

14. Black-figured oinochoe: two women, two hoplites, and a man. Figs. 18–20 and 23

P 1227. From depth 19.60 m. H. to lip 0.264 m., to top of handle 0.335 m., D. 0.165 m., H. of panel ca. 0.135 m. This is the oinochoe that was connected with the Amasis painter in the preliminary excavation reports: *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 293–4; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 457; *A.A.*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 203. It is not, however, a work of this artist or even of his circle.

The vase has been mended from many fragments and the missing parts restored in plaster. The vertical part of the handle, nearly half the mouth, and considerable portions of the body, in-



Fig. 18. 14. Black-figured Oinochoe. Left Half of Panel.
About actual size



Fig. 19. 14. Black-figured Oinochoe. Right Half of Panel. About actual size

cluding quite a little of the figured scene, are missing. The profile, however, is complete. Two errors in the restoration should be noted: first, the handle leans rather too far forward over the mouth; and second, the fragment preserving the head of the woman at the left of the panel is set a little too far above the body, the two incised lines at the bottom of this fragment being actually the upper border of the pattern at the top of her dress; this has been corrected in the drawing, Fig. 20.

The vase is a tall oinochoe with high double handle, broad trefoil mouth, and echinus foot, and has the figured scene in a reserved panel on one side. On the other side are parts of the usual pair of reserved triangles (cf. Fig. 23). The handle is reserved except for two lines of glaze on each half. A reserved line runs around the body about half way between panel and foot, and there is glaze inside the mouth for about 0.05 m. below the lip. For oinochoai of this shape see most recently C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, p. 13, note 1. To the bibliography cited there add H. R. W. Smith, *C.V.A.*, University of California, pl. 25; and *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 217 and 235-6, no. 56; cf. also *A.A.*, LII, 1937, col. 120, fig. 11.

The subject and the details of the drawing are sufficiently clear from the illustrations (Figs. 18-20). The added color, which was liberally used, has largely disappeared, but clear traces of it remain



Fig. 20. 14. Black-figured Oinochoe. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

and from these a water color has been made by Piet de Jong which is reproduced here in black and white (Fig. 20). Details such as the inner drawing of the women's ears, their eyes, mouths, necklaces, and bracelets, the hatched lines on the shield device (a chariot car), and the wavy vertical lines on the man's chiton, which were done by light incision in the added white, can usually be made out only when light is reflected at the proper angle from the surface in question.

15. Fragmentary black-glazed globular oinochoe. Fig. 23

P 1228. From depth 19.60 m. H. as restored 0.31 m., D. as restored 0.24 m. H. of neck 0.075 m., D. of neck 0.10 m.

The vase is very fragmentary. Most of the trefoil mouth and the neck are preserved together with the adjacent portions of the body down, at one point, about half way to the base. The handle is missing. The base, which does not join directly, probably belongs to another oinochoe of the

same shape, of which there were fragments of several toward the bottom of the shaft. The vase has been restored in plaster on the model of several similar ones in the Agora collection (in particular P 1215). The outside was covered with black glaze, now rather flaked, and on the interior glaze runs down as far as the base of the neck. Added red, of which only the faintest traces now remain, was used on the outer edge of the mouth, on the two raised rings, one on the neck, the other at the junction of neck and body, and for a pair of lines around the body at the point of greatest diameter.

Oinochoai of this shape were most common in the second and third quarters of the sixth century. For black-figured examples compare Carlo Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, pl. 37, 342; and pl. 51, 367. The shape also appears in late Corinthian: cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 325, nos. 1384 ff.

16. Black-figured oinochoe: two hoplites in combat; two mantle figures. Figs. 21 and 23

P 1255. Fragments were found at the following depths: some at 12.40 m., most at 13.10 m. and 13.50 m., a few at 14.00 m., one at 14.85 m. H. 0.183 m., D. 0.152 m.

The vase has been mended from many fragments, and the missing parts of the mouth and body have been restored in plaster. It is an oinochoe of Beazley's shape III (*Attische Vasenmaler des rot-*



Fig. 21. 16. Black-figured Oinochoe

figurigen Stils, p. 3: for black-figured examples cf. *J. H. S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 264; and LI, 1931, pp. 261 ff.) with a trefoil mouth, low cylindrical handle, round body, and echinus foot. Across the top of the figured panel on the front of the vase is a very sloppy double row of ivy leaves, and bordering it on sides and bottom is a line, sometimes thick, sometimes thin, and sometimes merging with the glaze on the body. At the centre of the panel are two hoplites in combat, and at either side facing the central scene is a man wearing a long mantle.

The added colors have almost entirely disappeared, and traces of them are often difficult to detect because the glaze has fired so unevenly. White seems to have been used only for the three balls on the shield seen in front view. Red was used on the short chitons of the warriors, on the one preserved helmet, on the shield seen in profile, on alternate broad stripes of the mantles of the side figures, and for the fillet of the one at the right. A red line ran around the vase above and below the panel. The glaze has fired a variety of colors, olive green, red, brown, and sometimes even black. There is glaze inside the mouth for a distance of about 0.04 m. below the lip.

17. Black-glazed oinochoe. Fig. 23

P 1256. Most fragments from depth 13.50 m.; some from 12.40 m., 13.10 m., and 14.00 m. H. to top of handle 0.238 m., to top of mouth 0.175 m., D. 0.16 m.

The vase has been mended from many fragments, and the missing pieces of lip, body, and base have been restored in plaster. The handle is cylindrical in section, the mouth is trefoil, and the spheroid body is only very slightly set off from the neck. The glaze, which covers the inside of the mouth and the whole exterior except the outer edge and under side of the foot, is a fine lustrous black on one side of the vase

but has fired a mottled red over a large portion of the other. For the shape compare Thebes, from Rhitsona, grave 18, no. 107: *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-8, pl. XIII, g, 2.

18. Round-mouthed oinochoe with reserved body. Fig. 23

P 1258. From depths 12.00 m. to 14.00 m.; most fragments from depths 13.10 m. and 13.50 m. H. to top of mouth 0.185 m., D. 0.18 m. Fragments of three or four other similar vases come from the same depths but have not been made up. One of these has a small flat bottom with no base ring (for complete examples of this type compare Agora P 8866 and P 8867 from an early fifth century well; unpublished).



Fig. 22. 20. Black-figured Olpe



Fig. 23. Oinochoai and Other Vases

The vase has been mended from many fragments and the handle and parts of the body and base have been restored in plaster. The round mouth and concave neck are covered inside and out with black glaze. The spheroid body is reserved except for a narrow band of black glaze which runs completely around it at a point just below the lower handle attachment. The upper surface of the echinus foot is glazed. The handle has been restored with its outer face concave in section, a form which seems to be the most common on vases of this kind.

The history of water pitchers of this type can be traced at the Agora from the beginning of the sixth century to the middle of the fifth century. Early examples: P 5406 from a well of the early sixth century, and P 3008 from a well of the second quarter of the sixth century. Late examples: P 5154 (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 343-4, fig. 10), and P 9473, both from the second quarter of the fifth century.

19. Small glazed olpe. Fig. 29

P 1259. From depth 12.40 m. H. 0.108 m., D. 0.065 m.

The vase has been mended from a number of fragments, and the lower part of the handle and two small holes in the body have been restored in plaster. It was glazed inside the mouth and all over the exterior, except the flat bottom which is reserved. The glaze has flaked off most of the upper part of the body, but where it is preserved it is olive green to brown in color.

Little olpai of this type have a long history and are found throughout the sixth and fifth centuries. There is a black-figured example of about the same period as ours in the National Museum at Athens (no. 14466; *C.V.A.*, III, H, pl. 5, 6). Cf. also one in Rhodes, from Ialysos, *Annuario*, VI-VII, 1923-4, p. 278, fig. 177.

20. Black-figured olpe: hoplite between women. Figs. 22 and 23

P 1263. From depths 12.00 m. and 12.40 m. H. 0.22 m., D. 0.125 m.

The vase has been mended from a number of fragments and the missing parts of the mouth, body, and base have been restored in plaster. It is a tall, slender oinochoe or olpe which has a round mouth, a torus foot, and a low cylindrical handle with small projections at the lip ("shouldering"). The figured decoration is in a panel on the front of the vase and consists of a warrior standing between two women. Across the top of the panel there is a rough, blobby upright "lotus and palmette" chain.

The added white which was used for the women's flesh and the device, a tripod, on the warrior's shield, has disappeared leaving only traces. The red has fared better and is still fairly well preserved. It was used for a single broad stripe or fold on the himatia of the women and the short chiton of the warrior, and there is a narrow line of it on his helmet. The outer edge of the vase mouth is red as far back as the "shouldering" for the handle, there is a red line across the top of the panel, and another red line runs completely around the body of the vase at the bottom of the panel. The glaze is dull black to olive green in color and has flaked badly in places, particularly on the right hand woman and on the back of the vase. There is glaze inside the mouth for about 0.035 m. below the lip. The thin glaze wash on the panel is very conspicuous.

21-29. LITTLE-MASTER CUPS AND RELATED SHAPES

21. Lip-cup: seated man between two nude standing youths. Fig. 24

P 1242. From depths 15.10 m. and 15.55 m. H. 0.142 m., D. at rim 0.215 m.

The vase has been mended from a number of fragments. About half the bowl, part of one handle, and part of the foot are missing, but the profile is complete. The missing parts have been restored in plaster since the photograph, Fig. 24, was taken. Red is used for the hair, beard, and cloak of the seated figure, and for the hearts of the palmettes in the handle zone. There is a mock inscription consisting of a row of dots in the handle zone. On the interior most of the small reserved disc and part of a black circle at its centre are preserved, and there is a reserved line at the inner edge of the lip. The outer edge and under side of the foot and the inside of the stem are reserved.

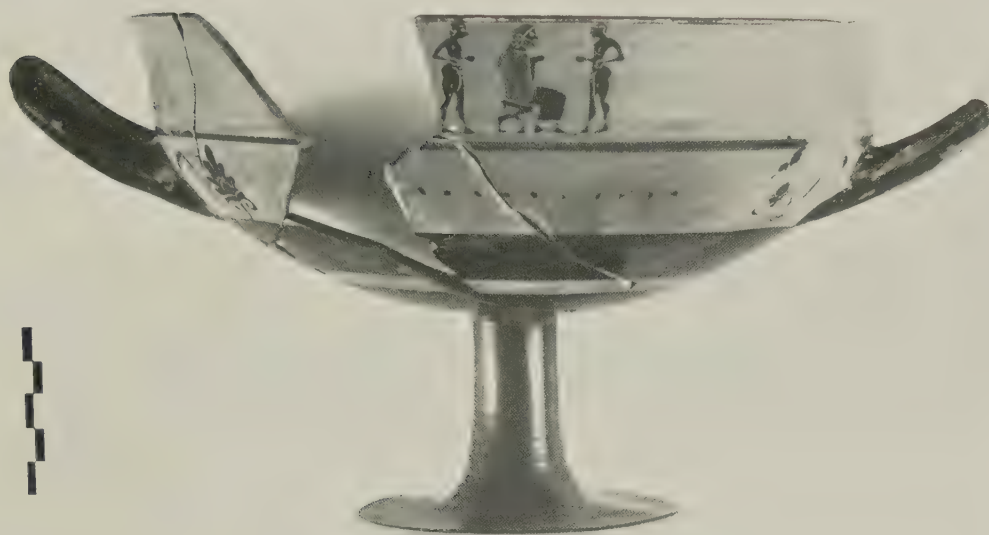


Fig. 24. 21. Lip-cup

22. Lip-cup: horseman and hoplite. Fig. 25

P 1243. From depths 15.10 m. and 15.55 m. D. at rim, estimated 0.225 m.

A number of joining fragments preserve one complete handle and a little more than half the lip and handle zone on one side of the body. The figured scene is complete except for the raised right hand of the hoplite which perhaps held a sword. (The sword may have been omitted, however, as for example on the Nicosthenic amphora, J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases*, pp. 222-3.) There is no trace of added color. The palmette at the handle has been omitted, but the dot "inscription" retained. On the interior there was probably no figured decoration but simply a small reserved disc at the centre, but there is not enough of the body preserved to be absolutely certain on this point. There is a reserved line at the inner edge of the lip.



Fig. 25. 22. Lip-cup

23. Lip-cup fragments, part of interior medallion: Dionysos. Fig. 28

P 1249. From depth 14.85 m. Max. dim. of *a*, 0.041 m.; of *b*, 0.046 m.

Two non-joining fragments preserve part of the interior medallion of a little-master cup, probably a lip-cup since there is no trace of figured decoration on the little bit of the reserved handle zone that is preserved on the outside of fragment *b*, and since, as Beazley observes (*J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 168 and 187), figured decoration on the interior is much more common on lip-cups than on band cups. Fragment *a* preserves the back of the head and part of one shoulder of Dionysos. He wears an ivy wreath on his head. His hair and beard are red, and the upper part of his sleeveless chiton is white. Around the medallion is a band of tongues, alternately red and black, bordered inside and out by groups of carelessly drawn lines. The relief lines which are usually found between the tongues are lacking, but their omission is due to carelessness and is not, in this case, a sign of early date (cf. *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 169). On the outside both fragments preserve part of the narrow reserved band on the lower half of the body, and fragment *b* has a bit of the reserved handle zone.

24. Band-cup: satyrs and maenads dancing. Fig. 26

P 1241. From depths 15.10 m. and 15.55 m. D. at rim, estimated, 0.21 m.

A number of joining fragments preserve about half the rim and bowl and the stubs of one of the handles. Red is used for broad surfaces, dots, and a stripe on the peploi of the maenads, for their fillets, and for the hearts of the handle palmettes. The white which was used for the maenads' flesh has almost completely disappeared but has left very clear traces especially where it was laid directly on the clay ground without black underpainting (the arms; and the face profiles where it ran over the edge of the black).



Fig. 26. 24. Band-cup

25. Band-cup: komasts. Fig. 27

P 1240. From depths 15.10 m., 15.55 m., and 16.00 m. H. 0.147 m., D. at rim 0.223 m.

The vase has been mended from many fragments, and the missing parts restored in plaster. Much of the rim, body, and foot, and most of both handles are missing, but the profile is complete. The scene on both sides is the same: four groups of a nude man and a woman facing each other dancing. On the reverse (not figured) one of the women and one of the handle palmettes are tolerably well preserved, and there are parts of four other figures. Red, which has partly disappeared, was used for the short chitons and the fillets of the women and for the hearts of the handle palmettes. White, which has completely disappeared leaving only traces, was used for the women's flesh; for their arms it was laid directly on the clay without underpainting.



Fig. 27. 25. Band-cup

The women's legs are bent at the knee and held closely together so that they now appear as one. They were perhaps originally differentiated in the application of the white, but not necessarily so for the scale is small and the drawing careless. The pose is not uncommon: cf. the Berlin Ergotimos cup (Inv. 3151, Neugebauer, *Führer*, II, *Vasen*, p. 65): P. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, pl. IV, 13 a; and *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, pl. 118, 2. The woman near the centre may appear to have one leg raised, done in white on the clay ground, but this is only a stain.

On the interior of the cup there is a reserved line at the lip and a small reserved disc at the centre which has a black dot surrounded by two roughly drawn black circles in the middle. The outer edge and under side of the foot and the inside of the stem are reserved.

26. Fragments of a band-cup: horseman and mantle figure. Fig. 28

P 1244. From depths 15.10 m. and 15.55 m. P. H. 0.05 m.

Two joining fragments preserve part of the lip and handle zone of a band-cup. Traces of red may be observed on the horse's mane, the man's head, a stripe on his garment, and on the object

in the field at the centre of the fragment. There is a reserved line at the inner edge of the lip. This fragment is possibly from the same cup as the next item.

27. Fragments of a band-cup: man attacking lion; mantle figure. Fig. 28

P 1245. From depths 15.10 m. and 15.55 m. Max. dim. 0.056 m.

Four joining fragments preserve part of the handle zone of a band-cup. The object at the left is probably the raised forepaw of a lion. For the subject compare the Nicosthenic amphora, Louvre

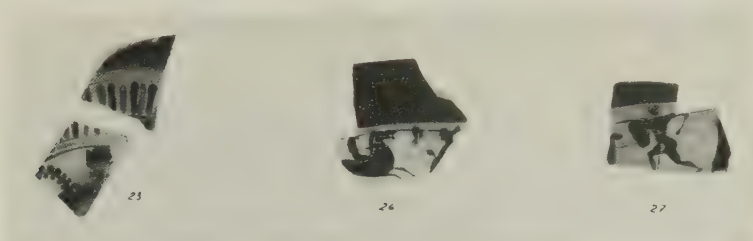


Fig. 28. Fragments of Little-master Cups



Fig. 29. Group of Small Vases

F 108 (Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases*, pp. 242-3; *C.V.A.*, III, H, e, pl. 34, 12 and 16). There was a horizontal red stripe across the lower part of the cloak on the man's arm. This fragment is possibly from the same cup as the last item.

28. Two-handled cup: Cracow class. Fig. 29

P 11965. From depths 15.10 m., 15.55 m., and 16.00 m. P. H. 0.088 m., D. of foot 0.094 m.

A number of joining fragments preserve the foot and the lower portion of the body up to and including some of the handle zone. Part of the stubs of one handle are preserved. The rim is completely missing. There was no figured decoration. At the centre of the interior is a small reserved disc with a rough dot and circle in black glaze in the middle. The under side and the slightly concave outer edge of the foot are reserved. The inside of the foot is conical in shape, the lower half being glazed, the upper reserved.

On figured cups of this shape, see Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 202-3.

29. Skyphos: Hermogenean class. Fig. 29

P 11967. From depth 12.40 m. H. 0.067 m., D. at rim, estimated, 0.11 m.

A number of joining fragments preserve the complete profile of a small part of the vase, including the stubs of one of the handles. In the reserved handle zone are blobs of black glaze, apparently once decorated with added white. Between these are traces of white dots laid directly on the clay ground without underpainting. There is a reserved line at the inner edge of the lip and one below the handle zone on the exterior. The outer edge and the bottom of the foot, and the bottom of the vase within the foot ring are also reserved, and the inner face of the foot is glazed.

On skyphoi of this shape see Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 203.

30-45. MISCELLANEOUS VASES

30. Plastic vase: the Kneeling Boy. Fig. 30

P 1231. From depth 16.00 m. to 16.25 m. H. 0.255 m.

This piece has been published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 426 ff. To the bibliography there cited add: C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Grieksche Ceramiek*, p. 178; and Peter Knoblauch, *Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei in Kreta, Rhodos, Athen und Böotien* (Dissertation, Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg, 1937), p. 47, note 126, pp. 173-4, and p. 180, no. 338.

Since the publication two other small fragments of the vase have been found. One preserves some of the boy's back with the lower ends of the hair at the right, and a slight hollow up the centre for the spinal column; and the other, the surface of which is very worn, preserves part of the right side.

31. Black-figured spherical pyxis: A, Herakles driving a chariot drawn by centaurs; B, conversation scene; above each an animal frieze. Figs. 31-33.

P 1257. Most fragments from depth 13.50 m.; a scattering of pieces from depths 12.00 m. to 15.10 m. H. 0.139 m., D. 0.143 m. Preliminary notices of this vase illustrated with a drawing of A by Piet de Jong have appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, August 26, 1933, pp. 327-8; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 458-9, fig. 7; *Art and Archaeology*, XXXIV, 1933, pp. 292-3; and *A.A.*, XLVIII, 1933, col. 203 and fig. 4. The drawing is reproduced here with a number of small changes as Fig. 33. On the shape and style of the vase see below pp. 407 ff.

The vase has been mended from a number of fragments. As there are no plaster restorations the missing parts can be seen clearly in the photographs Figs. 31 and 32. The handles, of which only the marks of attachment remain, have been restored in the drawing, Fig. 33. The surface, especially on the right hand part of A, is in very bad condition. The parts protected by glaze



Fig. 30. 30. 'The Kneeling Boy



Fig. 31. 31. Black-figured Pyxis. Side A



Fig. 32. 31. Black-figured Pyxis. Side B



Fig. 33. 31. Black-figured Pyxis, Side A. From a Water-color by Piet de Jong

have, however, in general suffered less than the reserved parts with the result that they now often stand out slightly in relief. Since the figures were painted in glaze against a reserved background, their main outlines, and usually the incised details on them can be made out fairly clearly (cf. Fig. 31) even though the actual painting has for the most part disappeared.

The decoration is in two reserved panels, one on either side of the vase, and the rest of the exterior, except the bottom, is covered with black glaze. On the interior only the neck is glazed. Three red lines, of which only traces now remain, once encircled the vase, one at the bottom of the panels, another at the top of the panels (that is, at the junction of body and neck), and a third on the top of the lip.

A. Herakles stands in a chariot driving a pair of centaurs. He is bearded and wears his lion skin over his head, knotted across his chest, belted in at the waist and with its tail hanging down behind. Under it he wears a short chiton. In his right hand he brandishes his club, which projects up into the animal frieze above, and in his left he holds the reins. His sword hangs from his left side. The pair of centaurs which are drawing the chariot at a gallop, have equine forelegs and their arms are extended like those of a sprinter. The only trace of added color that I have observed on this side of the vase is a row of white dots representing the teeth of the lion whose skin Herakles is wearing. In the frieze at the top of the panel are a lion and a bull. The restorations of the centaurs' heads and of the bull (cf. Fig. 33) are correct in their general outlines, but the details must remain uncertain.

B. Five standing figures in chiton and himation converse with each other. The figure at the left and the two at the right each holds a wreath. Much more of the surface is preserved on this side, including a great deal of the added red in broad bands on the himatia. The glaze has flaked away from the incised lines so that most of them are rather broad and jagged. In the frieze above are three long-necked birds, the central one with outspread wings, the flanking ones with lowered heads. In the field of this frieze are filling ornaments of incised blob rosettes. There is a line of red on the wings of the birds.

The subject of A, Herakles driving a team of centaurs, is rare, and I know of no really close parallels. The story does not appear in literature, although one might imagine it as a sequel to Herakles' fight with and victory over the centaurs (Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, II, 5, 4; Diodorus Siculus, IV, 12). The representations of it in art that have come to my attention are all of rather different character and much later in date than our vase.¹ The first is a late red-figured oinochoe in the Louvre which shows Herakles standing in a chariot which is driven by a Nike, drawn by four centaurs and preceded by a dancing satyr. The scene on this vase, which is a caricature, is, however, only remotely connected with the scene on ours. Certain Roman republican coins of the middle of the second century B.C. have on their reverse Hercules riding in a biga drawn by galloping centaurs. The type has been most plausibly explained by Mattingly who points out that it belongs to a series of coins on which deities in chariots are represented. "The explanation probably lies in the Roman passion for circus races, which formed a main part of the celebration of festivals of the gods. It is probably these festivals which give us the Roman chariot types; the particular deity in whose honor the festival is given is represented as charioteer and, occasionally, the team is varied, to suit the character of the deity, from horses to goats for Juno (plate XI, 7), stags for Diana, or centaurs for Hercules (plate XI, 9)." (The plate references are to the plates of Mattingly's book.) Another explanation of the type is given by Grueber, *loc. cit.*, p. 128, note 3. Still farther removed both in time and character are two Roman sarcophagus reliefs in which Hercules takes part in a Bacchic procession in a chariot drawn by centaurs. The scene on the Agora pyxis, however, is a purely

¹ Old references in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, II, cols. 1048, 1054 (Sauer), and 1051, note (Roscher); and I, cols. 2191 and 2245 (Furtwängler). The Louvre oinochoe: Pfuhl, *M. u. Z.*, fig. 572; Beazley, *A. V.*, p. 462, no. 45; W. Hahland, *Studien zur attischen Vasenmalerei um 400 v. Chr.*, p. 50. The coins: R. Bräuer, "Die Heraklestaten auf antiken Münzen" in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXVIII, 1910, pp. 100-102; H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, I, p. 128; and H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 57 and plate XI, 9. The sarcophagus reliefs: W. Amelung, *Sculpturen des vatikanischen Museums*, II, p. 63, no. 21a; and *Monumenti ed Annali dell' Instituto*, 1856, pl. VI.

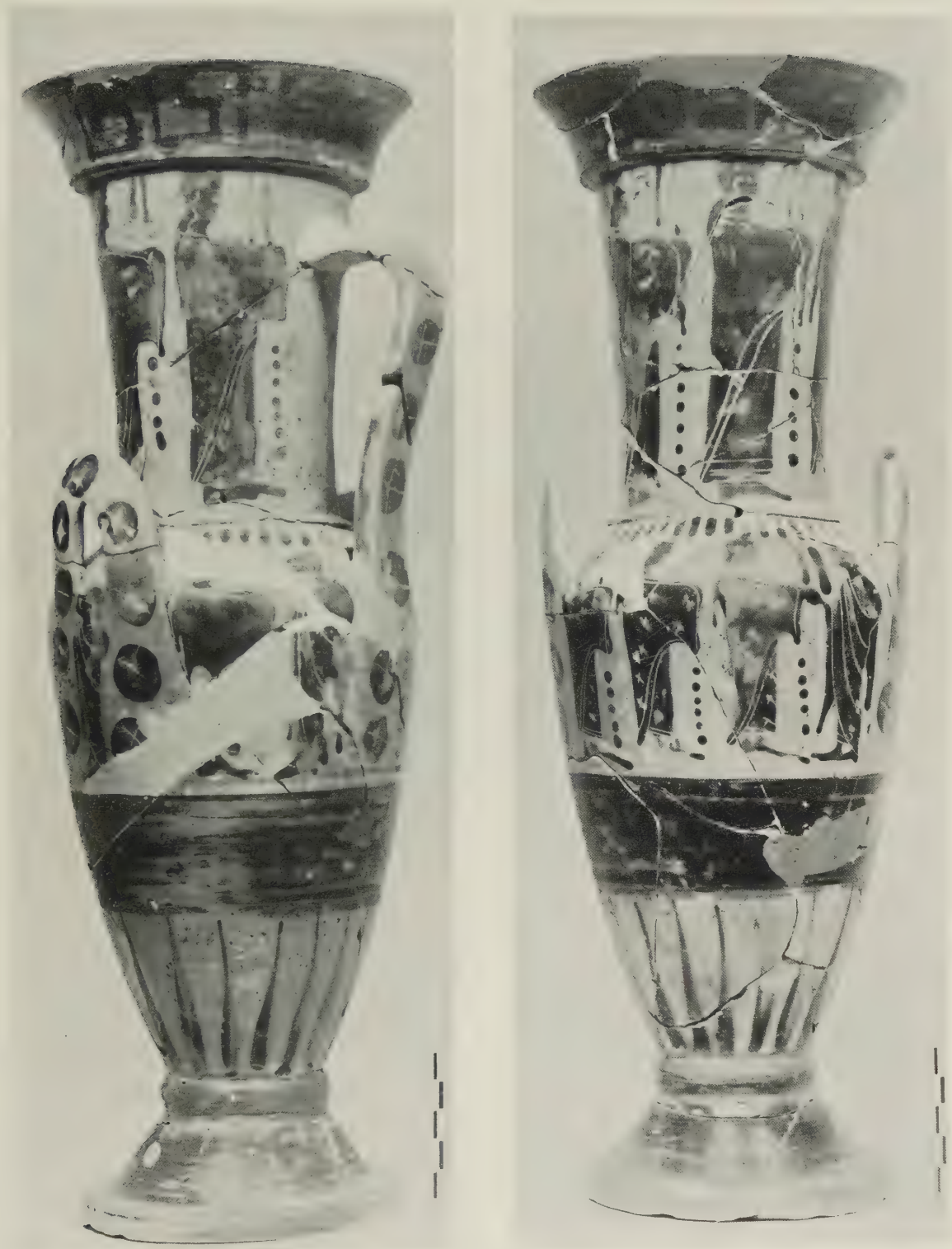


Fig. 34. 32. Black-figured Loutrophoros

narrative picture of an event in the life of Herakles, such a picture as is characteristic of sixth century vase-painting, and we may suppose that it preserves for us a hitherto unknown episode in the hero's long and varied career.

32. Black-figured loutrophoros hydria: men and women. Fig. 34

P 1261. From depths 12.00 m. and 12.40 m. H. 0.37 m., D. at lip 0.128 m.; at shoulder 0.120 m.

The vase has been mended from many fragments and the missing parts, bits of the lip, body, base, and handles, have been restored in plaster.

Around the upper half of the body runs a zone of figures. On the front are three women facing a man who holds out his hand to the foremost. The man wears a long chiton and a himation, the folds of the latter being alternately black decorated with groups of three white dots, and red. Each of the three women wears a long chiton and over it a cloak. On the woman in the middle the cloak is black and decorated with incised crosses in the angles of which are white dots, and the chiton is red. On the other two the decoration is reversed, the cloaks being red and the chitons being black with incised crosses and white dots. Under each of the side handles, and framed as it were by the blobby rosettes with incised crosses that continue down from the handles, is a small figure, very carelessly drawn, who wears a himation decorated with red stripes and groups of white dots and who faces the front group. The tall vertical handle at the back, which is also decorated with blobby incised rosettes, is not placed symmetrically in respect to the two side handles, with the result that to the left of it there are two figures, a man and a woman facing each other, and to the right a single woman facing the back handle. These figures are dressed like the corresponding figures on the front. On the neck are five women with costumes like the other women. The cloaks of the first, third and fifth are black decorated with groups of three white dots and their chitons are red. The cloaks of the second and fourth are red and their chitons black with white dots. The pairs of vertical strokes at the level of the heads, and the vertical rows of dots which seem to drip from the front of the cloaks both here and on the body are probably to be thought of as filling ornament. The added color has largely disappeared leaving only traces. Besides the places already indicated, it was used as follows: white for the women's flesh and for the meander pattern on the outside of the mouth; red on the outer edge of the foot, for a narrow band around the body at the top of the rays, and on the edges of the vertical handle. The inside of the mouth is glazed, and there is a broad band of thinned glaze part way down the neck inside. The under side of the foot is reserved.

The vase is very carelessly decorated. Aside from the hasty drawing and the sloppiness with which the added color was applied, we may note that the feet of two of the women on the neck have been omitted where they fall behind the side handles. The glaze has fired very unevenly, black to red.

The vase belongs to a group of loutrophoroi most of which have been found on or near the Acropolis and which doubtless served some ritual purpose. Cf. B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, I, nos. 1139 ff. There are also some examples from the slopes of the Acropolis: cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 255, no. 73; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 256, no. 3; an almost complete example found in 1937 by Broneer and published in the previous number of this volume of *Hesperia*; and Agora P 7806, a chance find from a house on Tholos Street just east of the American Zone. Two examples in Eleusis are published by Nilsson, *Jahrbuch*, XVIII, 1903, pp. 145 ff., figs. 12 and 13. On this group see also Pfuhl, *M.u.Z.*, § 309, and Nachod in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realenc.*, s. v. *Lutrophoros*.

33. Black-figured lekanis lid: animal frieze. Fig. 35

P 1238. From depth 15.55 m. D. estimated 0.28 m.

A group of joining fragments preserves about a quarter of the rim and some of the adjacent part of the top up as far as the start of the handle. The piece has been partially filled out and strengthened with plaster.

Two seated sphinxes face each other across a floral design. Of the right hand one only the forepaws and the tops of the head and wing are preserved. The left hand one is complete except for the face. Behind it is a panther, then part of another seated sphinx.

White was used for the faces and necks of the sphinxes. The belly stripe of the panther is decorated with short diagonal strokes incised through an added color, probably white. Red was used for the broad stripe on the wing of the sphinx, white for the narrower stripe below it. In the palmette the heart was red, the band outside it white. The under side of the lid is glazed and decorated with pairs of lines in added red concentric with the centre of the lid. The resting surface is reserved, and the outer edge of the rim is black decorated with a red line.



Fig. 35. 33. Black-figured Lekanis Lid

34. Black-figured lekythos: arming scene. Fig. 36

P 1254. From depth 13.50 m. H. as restored 0.138 m., D. at shoulder 0.051 m.

The vase consists of five fragments which make up to three. The mouth, neck, handle, and most of the shoulder are preserved intact, and a piece which joins this gives a good deal of the figured scene. Two other fragments which join each other preserve the foot and a small part of the figured scene, and there is a single non-joining fragment which gives part of the back of the vase. Although there is no direct join between the top and the bottom fragments, the height of the vase as restored must be very nearly correct.

On the front of the vase a warrior dressed in a corselet and a short chiton raises one leg to put on a greave. Facing him stands a woman with his armor, and behind him stands a draped figure. On the shoulder there is an upright black palmette between two ivy leaves. The only certain traces of added color are the dolphins on the shield and the woman's face which were once white. The inside and the outer edge of the mouth are black, the top reserved. The back of the handle is black, the rest reserved.

On the shoulder decoration see Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, pp. 17 and 67; on the subject, *ibid.* p. 37.



Fig. 36. 34. Black-figured Lekythos

35. Round bodied lekythos. Fig. 29

P 1252. From depth 14.00 m. H. 0.155 m., D. 0.118 m.

About half the mouth and chips of the body and base are missing; the mouth has been filled out with plaster. The whole exterior except the bottom is covered with glaze which has fired various colors from black through olive-green to reddish-brown. The clay is buff. The vase was once decorated with lines in added red which have now almost completely disappeared. There was one on top of the mouth, one at the junction of shoulder disc and body, a pair around the body below the handle, and possibly a single line half way between these and the foot.

There is a vase very close to this in shape and scheme of decoration in Thebes (from Rhitsona: 19.271. Cf. *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-8, p. 254; and Haspels, *Lekythoi*, pp. 4, no. 17, and 5).

36. Volute krater. Fig. 23

P 1251. Most fragments from depth 14.25 m.; others from 14.00 m., 14.85 m., and 15.10 m. H. 0.26 m., D. at lip 0.263 m.

The vase has been mended from many fragments. The volutes and the upper parts of both handles are missing. The missing fragments of the body and base have been filled out with plaster.

The decoration on both sides is similar but not identical. On A (Fig. 23) the outer edge of the mouth has a sort of meander interrupted by squares with five dots, and below this a double lotus

and palmette chain (cf. Payne's remarks on this pattern, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 345, note 3). On B (not figured) there is a simple meander running to the left, and below a chain of alternately reversing lotuses and palmettes. Red, which has disappeared leaving only traces, was generally used for the calices and petals of the lotuses, and the hearts and the three middle petals of the palmettes. The narrow, sharply curved shoulder is decorated on both sides with a pattern of tongues, alternately black and red, and separated by thin lines like relief lines. All three bands of pattern are interrupted by the handles. Above the foot is a zone of rays. The top of the lip and the under side of the foot are reserved, and on the inside under the shoulder there is a narrow band of thin glaze where the brush could not easily reach. Elsewhere, inside and out, the vase is covered with thick glaze which has fired greenish black.

There is a similarly decorated vase in the National Museum at Copenhagen (*C.V.A.*, pl. 124, 2).

37. Glazed skyphos. Fig. 29

P 1230. From depths 16.00 m. and 16.25 m. H. 0.08 m., D. at rim 0.118 m.

One handle and fragments of the rim and body are missing but have been restored in plaster. The glaze is dull and rather thinly applied. Over most of the interior, except toward the rim, it has fired reddish. The inside of the handles is reserved. A red band, which has almost entirely disappeared, runs around the vase about a centimetre below the lip. The reserved band above the foot was once covered with added red some of which still remains. The outer edge of the foot is reserved, the inner glazed. The bottom of the vase within the foot ring is decorated with a large circle, a small circle, and a central dot, all neatly drawn with added red.

The Agora collection contains examples of other similar vases from contexts of the first half of the sixth century. The shape is that of the skyphoi of the Komast group (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 196; A. Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*, plates III and IV).

38. Clay disc. Fig. 39

P 1236. From depth 17.30 m. to 19.60 m. D. 0.084 m., T. 0.012 m.

The disc is preserved in a single piece but is somewhat chipped. The slightly convex upper surface is glazed except for a narrow reserved band around the outside. The glazed outer edge is rounded in profile and rises slightly above the upper surface. The bottom is reserved and very slightly concave. These discs are frequently figured (cf. Graef-Langlotz, *Akropolisvasen*, I, nos. 2475 ff.) and sometimes have a stem and foot (cf. Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, fig. 190).

39. Unglazed cooking pot. Fig. 23

P 1260. From depth 12.40 m. H. 0.160 m., D. 0.19 m.

The vase has been mended from a number of fragments and the missing parts of rim and body restored in plaster. It is hand made, and on the lower half of the body the neat vertical strokes of the paring knife can be seen. The clay is brownish and highly micaceous, and the walls are thin.

For the shape compare Agora P 5185 (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 343, fig. 10).

40. Clay funnel. Fig. 23

P 11966. From depths 13.10 m., and 13.50 m. H. as restored 0.185 m., D. as restored 0.295 m., D. of spout 0.073 m.

Of the actual funnel there remain some twenty fragments which make up into three main groups and several lesser ones. Part of the inturned rim, a fairly long section of the body, and most of the spout are preserved. The profile as restored in plaster must be very nearly correct. The clay is buff in color, and the glaze is reddish brown and rather flaky. Fragments of the rim of another funnel slightly larger than this one were found at the same depth.

41. Rim of large pithos. Fig. 37

P 11960. From depth 16.00 m. to 19.60 m. D. at rim *ca.* 0.72 m., T. of walls *ca.* 0.02 m.

About three quarters of the rim and some of the neck are preserved. The surface is unglazed but nicely finished. The clay, which contains a considerable amount of foreign matter, is reddish at the core and buff at the surface both inside and out.

Large wide-mouthed pithoi of this sort were probably commonly used in private houses for storage purposes, the lower half being set down into the ground, the upper half projecting above. They often appear in vase paintings, for example in the scene of Herakles bringing the boar to Eurystheus (cf. *A.J.A.*, XXVIII, 1924, pp. 313 ff., figs. 3 and 4). See also *Revue Archéologique*, 1935, I, p. 201.

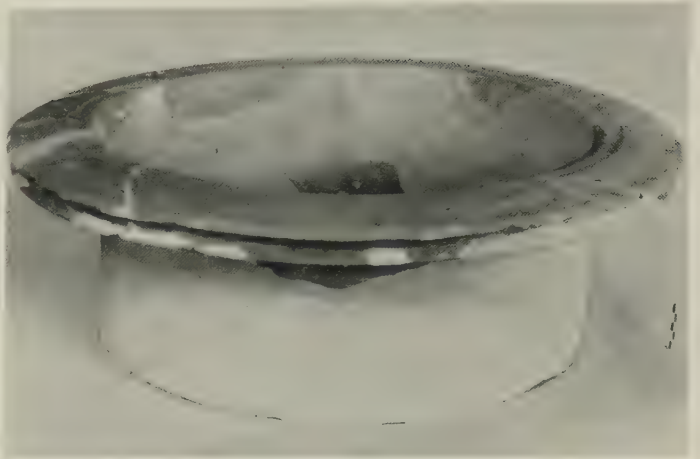


Fig. 37. 41. Mouth of Large Pithos

42. Part of a large pithos with stamped and incised decoration. Fig. 38

P 11959. From depth 14.25 m. to 16.00 m. P. H. 0.45 m., D. at lower zone, estimated 1.00 m. to 1.05 m. Distance between zones 0.13 m.

A number of joining fragments preserve part of the body of a large pithos around which run two slightly raised bands averaging about 0.04 m. wide decorated with a geometric pattern of impressed circles and incised lines done while the clay was leather-hard. The rather coarse clay is buff at the core and reddish at the surface both inside and out. There is no glaze.

Fragments with this same stamped and incised pattern have been found in a number of other sixth century deposits at the Agora. For a complete vase with this pattern compare the large burial pithos from the Kerameikos now in the National Museum at Athens (no. 807: Collignon-Couve, no. 131; illustrated *A.M.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 134, fig. 30). Compare also the examples found by Broneer on the north slope of the Acropolis and published in the previous number of this volume of *Hesperia*.



Fig. 38. 42. Pithos with Stamped Decoration

43. Handle with stamped spirals at base. Fig. 42

P 11961. From depth 16.00 m. P. H. 0.07 m., W. of handle 0.045 m.

A single fragment preserves the lower part of a handle and the immediately adjacent portion of the body of a large coarse pot. In the rectangular stamp at the base of the handle are two spirals. The clay is micaceous and full of foreign matter. It is brick red in color except the core of the handle which is dark grey. There is no glaze.

44. Fragment of a Corinthian skyphos. Fig. 39

P 11963. From depth 15.55 m., Max. dim. 0.073 m., D. estimated 0.18 m.

Three joining fragments preserve part of the rim of a skyphos, probably middle Corinthian (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 308, nos. 928-940). At the left edge of the fragment a trace of the handle attachment is preserved. At the rim are vertical wavy lines. In the field are parts of two incised blob rosettes. On the interior is black glaze which has flaked badly. The clay is Corinthian.

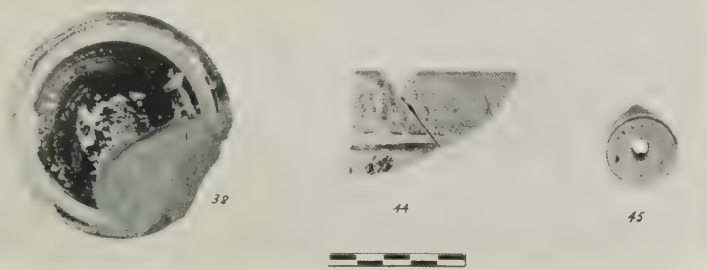


Fig. 39. Black-figured Disc and Corinthian Fragments

45. Mouth of a Corinthian aryballos. Fig. 39

P 11964. From depth 15.55 m., D. 0.028 m.

A single fragment preserves the mouth and part of the handle, which is pierced by a small, round hole. On the top of the mouth are black tongues done with glaze which has largely flaked away. At the outer edge of the tongues is a red line, and around the outer edge of the mouth are two red lines. The clay is Corinthian.

46-55. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS OTHER THAN POTTERY**46. Fragment of terracotta head. Fig. 40**

T 1600. From depth 12.40 m. P. H. 0.066 m. Average thickness over 0.01 m.

A single fragment preserves part of the face. The nose is broken off and the left eye damaged. The surface is quite rubbed, and all trace of added color has vanished. The eye shows a pronounced bulge, and the details on it were probably once indicated in color. The clay is buff at the surface both inside and out and darker toward the core, and contains scattered particles of foreign matter. The head was made in a mould. Various layers of clay can be distinguished, and on the inside there are rather deep, irregular, vertical grooves made by fingers when the soft clay was pressed into the mould.

The fragment probably comes from a sizeable *protome* or mask similar to those that have been found on the Acropolis (cf. S. Casson and D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, pp. 397 ff.). It may conceivably belong with the upper fill (cf. above, p. 367, note 2).

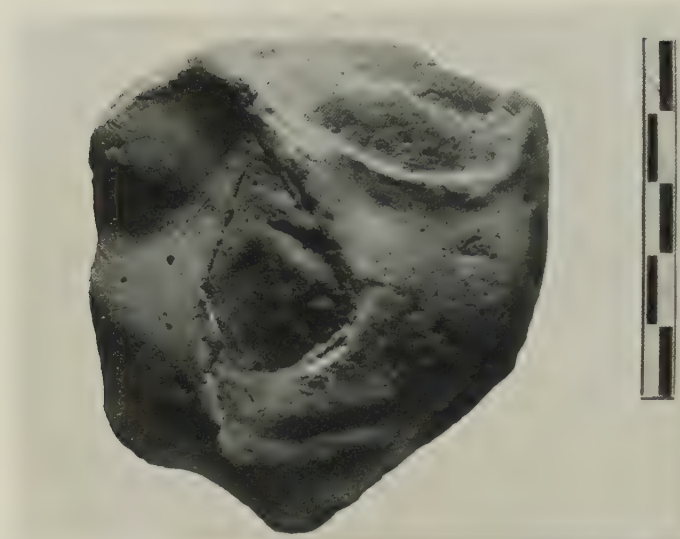


Fig. 40. 46. Terracotta Protome

47. Terracotta siren. Fig. 41

T 344. From depth 12.40 m. P. H. 0.047 m., P. L. 0.095 m.

A single, solid fragment preserves most of the torso. The head, the top of the shoulders, the forearms, feet, and tail are missing. The head faced full front. Long strands of hair fall down over the well developed breasts. The forearms extended forward horizontally from the elbow and probably once held some attribute (on sirens with arms, see Haspels, *op. cit.*, p. 158, note 2). There is no trace of plastic wings; they must have been folded and rendered by painting. The clay is brownish red in color and contains no mica; parallels for it can be found among contemporary figurines which are certainly Attic. The surface was covered with a thick white wash abundant traces of which still remain, and at several points red can be observed on the white.

The piece may possibly belong with the upper fill (cf. above, p. 367, note 2).

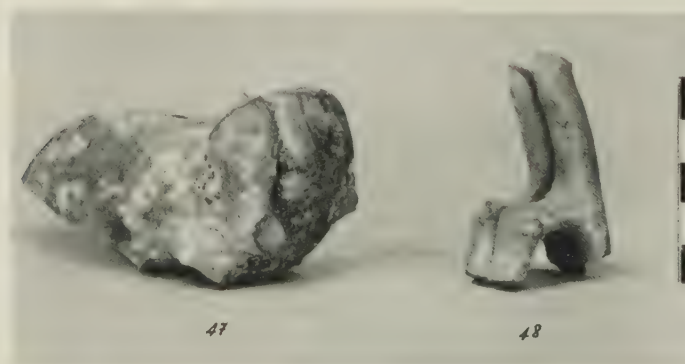


Fig. 41. Terracotta Figurines

48. Terracotta figurine: pair of horses. Fig. 41

T 343. From depth 13.10 m. P. H. 0.057 m.

The heads and feet are missing. A single fragment preserves the very long necks, the bodies, and the upper parts of the legs of a pair of horses of "primitive" type. They were made separately and pressed lightly together while the clay was still soft; then a spot of clay was daubed across their backs to hold them together. There is a break at the back of this spot of clay, so it is possible that it is part of the hand of the driver as in the four-horse teams, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 615-6, nos. 299-300. The present group may also have been composed of four horses. The clay is a uniform pale buff color, and there are traces of a white wash on the surface with red over it.

49. Terracotta lamp with unbridged nozzle. Fig. 42

L 672. From depth 15.55 m. P. L., including handle, 0.13 m. W. of body, estimated, 0.10 m., H. 0.029 m.



Fig. 42. Miscellaneous Small Objects

Two joining fragments preserve roughly half the lamp. The bottom is flat on the outside and rises slightly toward the centre on the inside. The sides are rounded and turn in toward the top ending in a plain rim decorated with dots of glaze. The profile is approximately that of O. Broneer, *Corinth*, Vol. IV, Part II, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 32, no. 9. The handle has a slight rise, and the nozzle is unbridged. The glaze is dull and very thin in places and ranges in color from red to black. It is used on the nozzle both inside and out, on the inside of the body, and on the top and outside of the handle, as well as for dots along the rim. The clay is typically Attic. There is a similar lamp in Eleusis which has been called Corinthian but which is certainly Attic (*J.H.S.*, XXXI, 1911, p. 93, fig. 18).

50. Fragment of lamp with unbridged nozzle. Fig. 42

L 3239. From depth 15.55 m. to 17.30 m.
H. 0.035 m.

A single fragment preserves part of the bottom, side, and nozzle. The bottom is relatively small and slightly concave. The sides show an irregular curve. The nozzle is unbridged. There is black glaze, much flaked, on the inside, but none on the outside. The clay is buff in color and hard. Not enough remains to determine the exact original shape of the lamp. There are no obvious parallels for it in the Agora collection or at Corinth.

51. Fragment of terracotta lamp, type II. Fig. 42

L 3240. From depth 13.50 m. D. 0.08 m.

A single fragment preserves most of the bottom of a lamp of Broneer's type II, second variety (*op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff.). The interior, which rises to a low cone at the centre, is covered with good, thick black glaze. The exterior is unglazed.

52. Pyramidal loom weight. Fig. 42

MC 438. From depth 15.10 m. H. 0.05 m. W., at top, 0.02 m.; at bottom, 0.028 m.

A part of one side is broken, and there are minor fractures. The clay is buff in color and contains particles of foreign matter. There was a thin, lighter buff slip, but no glaze. The sides have a very slight batter, and the edges are straight and even. Compare the earlier examples published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 599 ff., fig. 70.

53. Spindle whorl. Fig. 42

MC 439. From depth 13.10 m. or 13.50 m. D. 0.045 m., T. 0.022 m.

The piece is slightly chipped, but essentially intact. The clay and finish are similar to the last item. Both faces are convex, one more so than the other.



Fig. 43. 55. Doric Capital

54. Bronze handle. Fig. 42

B 65. From depth 14.85 m. P. H. 0.125 m., P. W. 0.21 m.

The general shape of the handle is preserved more or less entire, but the turned up tips at the ends are missing. The original surface is badly corroded and exists in only a few spots. The arching part of the handle is broad and flat.

The piece is one of the swinging handles of a bronze situla or the like (cf. for example the bronze situla in Corinth, MB 1: *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 57 ff. and references *ad loc.*).

55. Doric capital of poros. Figs. 43 and 44

A 137. From depth 15.10 m. Dimensions as in Fig. 44.

About a quarter of the capital with its abacus and trachelium is preserved in a single piece. The upper surface of the abacus is smoothly dressed for about 0.08 m. from the edge. Inside this band the surface is raised. Although the raised part has been roughly hacked, its original surface seems to be preserved at some points and is about 0.004 m. above the level of the smooth band at the edge (it has been so restored in the section Fig. 44). The trachelium is unfluted and tapers noticeably toward the bottom. There is a large square dowel hole at the centre of the bottom. A shallow groove about 0.035 m. wide which starts on the abacus and carries down across the echinus and trachelium perhaps indicates that the space between columns was closed in some way. The surface of the exposed parts was probably once covered with stucco, but only a few uncertain traces of it now remain.

The broad, spreading echinus is characteristic of sixth century Doric. The circumstances of finding date our piece not later than about 540 B.C., and it may well be a generation or so earlier. Its small size and the rather rough workmanship suggest that it may have come from a private house or a small sanctuary.

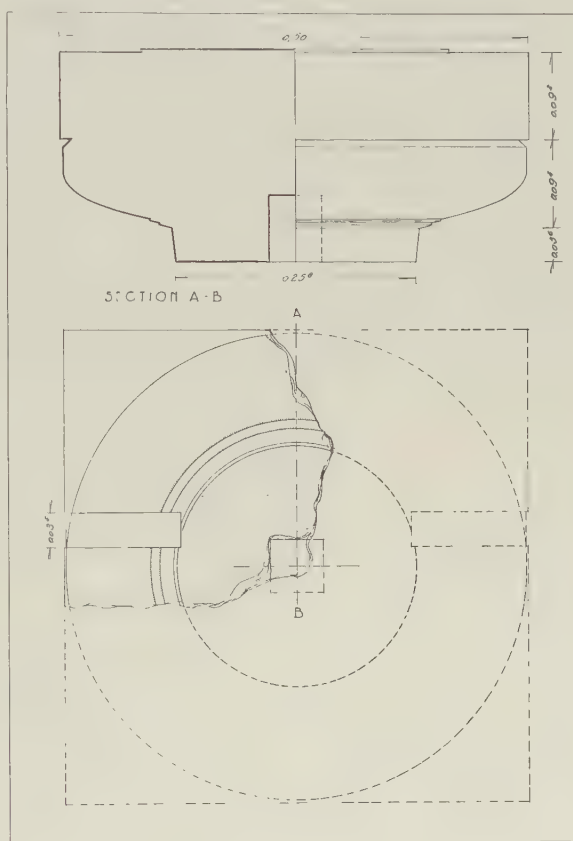


Fig. 44. 55. Poros Doric Capital. Section and Under-side. From a Drawing by J. Travlos. Scale 1:8

NOTE ON SOME BLACK-FIGURED SPHERICAL PYXIDES

The shape represented by the pyxis with Herakles driving a team of centaurs (above, no. 31) has a long history. It appears in various geometric fabrics,¹ is

¹ Protocorinthian geometric, K. Friis Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens*, pl. 3, 1; Boeotian geometric, examples cited by P. N. Ure, *Boeotian Pottery of the Geometric and Archaic Styles* (number 12 in the *Classification des Céramiques Antiques of the Union Académique Internationale*), p. 3, s. v. *stamnos*; from Melos, Athens,



Fig. 45. II. Black-figured Pyxis, Eleusis 1212. Side A



Fig. 46. II. Black-figured Pyxis, Eleusis 1212. Side B

quite common in middle and late Corinthian,¹ occurs in Chalcidian,² is found frequently in sixth, fifth, and fourth century graves in Rhodes where many examples are of local fabric,³ is common in Attica⁴ and Boeotia⁵ in the later fifth and fourth centuries, and apparently lives on into Hellenistic times.⁶ Since, however, examples with proper black-figured scenes⁷ are comparatively rare and have hitherto passed unnoticed,⁸ it seems worth while to present briefly those that have come to my attention of which there are five including the Agora piece. My thanks are due to Dr. Kourouniotes for permission to publish the examples in Eleusis.

I. Athens, Agora, P 1257. Above, no. 31

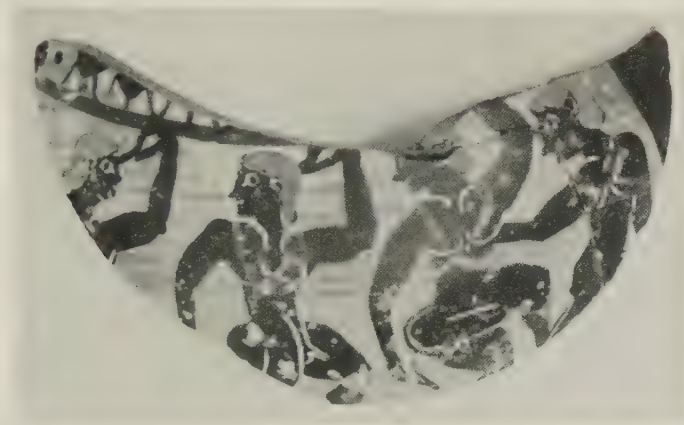


Fig. 47. III. Fragment of Black-figured Pyxis. Eleusis, Inv. 1037

II. Eleusis 1212 (Inv. 848). H. to lip, as restored, 0.145 m.; D., 0.15 m. Figs. 45 and 46

The vase has been made up from a number of fragments and restored in plaster. Both handles, the entire foot, and considerable portions of the mouth and body are missing. The handles, as restored, are probably too high, and the foot should perhaps be flaring instead of torus shaped. The clay is dark buff in color.

National Museum 882 (Collignon-Couve, 396); from the Kerameikos at Athens, Karl Masner, *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terrakotten im K. K. Österreich. Museum*, no. 35, pl. I (with high foot).

¹ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, catalogue, nos. 895 ff., 1318 ff., 1490 ff.

² A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, p. 126, and plates 168-170.

³ Cf. especially *Clara Rhodos*, III, pp. 150 ff. passim; and VIII, p. 21, fig. 7, and plate I.

⁴ As the lebes gamikos with low foot: cf. Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names*, fig. 74. An example in Oxford is dated late fourth century or early third (*C. V. A.* III, I, pl. 47, 8, and references *ad loc.*).

⁵ Ure, *Classification* 12, pp. 18 ff., no. 4 (*stamnos-pyxis*).

⁶ Berlin F 2883, Neugebauer, *Führer*, II, *Vasen*, p. 174 and plate 94 (= A. Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouloff*, pl. LXX, 2); and Athens, National Museum, 13156 (cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 439, note 2).

⁷ I exclude animal frieze decoration which is standard in middle Corinthian and Chalcidian.

⁸ Cf. Pfuhl's summary of Attic black-figured shapes, *M. u. Z.*, § 317, s. v. *pyxis*: "Die bauchige, im Korinthischen besonders beliebte Form scheint dagegen zu fehlen, wenigstens unter den verzierten Büchsen." Payne says that the shape is "unknown in Athens till the fifth century" (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 307, note 1). The shape does not appear in Ure's list of Boeotian black-figured shapes, *Classification* 12, pp. 11 ff.

A. A procession of five youths advancing toward a flute player; above, a frieze of incised blobby rosettes. The youths are dressed in short chitons over which they wear tight-fitting, short-sleeved jackets. The jackets were once white and decorated with lightly incised vertical lines and had red borders. Red is also used near the lower border of some of the chitons, and for the wreaths or fillets. The flute player wears a long chiton which was once white decorated with lightly incised vertical lines and which covers his arm to below the elbow. To judge from his smaller scale he is standing on a raised platform.

B. A group of five youths wearing short cloaks and carrying spears; above, rosettes as on A. Red and white were used alternately for the stripes on the cloaks, and the white was decorated with fine incised lines. The wreaths are red.

III. Eleusis, Inv. 1037. P.W., 0.091 m. Fig. 47

Two joining fragments preserve some of the upper part of one of the figured panels of a vase similar in shape to the last but slightly smaller. Komasts; above, part of a chain of hanging lotuses.



Fig. 48. IV. Black-figured Pyxis in Athens. Side A, without Lid

Red is used for the hair and the garlands around the necks. The clay is dark buff in color and the inside is unglazed.

This piece and the last are surely by the same hand; notice especially the curious double-jointed fingers. The Agora Herakles and centaurs is not so readily comparable but seems definitely to go with the other two, and if not by the same hand is at least a product of the same workshop. The fabric of all three pieces is the same, and the scenes on the back (B) of Eleusis 1212 and the Agora Herakles and centaurs bear a certain resemblance to each other; compare especially the heads and the rather confused drapery. They are all to be dated in the second quarter of the sixth century and are probably of Attic origin.

- IV. Athens, private possession. Bought in Athens. Its provenience is unknown. To judge, however, from the different degrees of discoloration of the various fragments and from the fact that a considerable amount of grey ash was to be observed lodged in the angle between body and foot before the vase was cleaned, it seems

probable that it was found in an ancient cemetery where it had been broken at a funeral pyre. H. with lid, 0.115 m.; without lid, 0.087 m. D., 0.09 m. Figs. 48 and 49

The vase has been mended from a number of fragments and the missing parts of body and mouth restored in plaster. A fragment of the lid is also missing and has been restored. The scene on both sides is the same, a warrior leading a woman (Menelaos and Helen or the like), and at the right another woman. White, which has largely disappeared, was used on the warrior's armor, for dots on the crest of his helmet, and for the flesh of the women. Red, which is fairly well preserved on one side of the vase, is used for alternate folds of the women's himatia, for the warrior's helmet and greaves, and for most of the cloak over his shoulders. A pair of red lines below the panel and one above it encircled the vase. There was a red line on the top of the lip, and perhaps one inside about half way down the neck.

The vase is undoubtedly Attic and perhaps dates from about 530 B.C.



Fig. 49. IV. Black-figured Pyxis in Athens. Side B, with Lid

- V. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. no. 12937, from Camiros. Published in *Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 173, no. 2 and figs. 181, 183, 184; and *C.V.A., Rodi*, III, H, e, pl. 7, 3 and 4

Jacobsthal, who has examined this vase, says that it is East Greek (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1933, p. 12: "Ton hellgelb, aber mit rotem Überzug wie attisch oder chalkidisch. Ionische Fabrik." Cf. also Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 88; and Kunze, *A.M.*, LIX, 1934, p. 119, note 2). Its date must be around 530-520 B.C. (on the date of grave LXXV (99) in which it was found cf. *B.S.A.*, XXXIV, 1933-4, pp. 25 and 26).

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

POTTERY FROM A SEVENTH CENTURY WELL

An unfinished well on the north slope of the Areopagus, dug in 1937, yielded a group of vases and fragments dating from just after the middle of the seventh century. The group is of interest because it demonstrates the long continuance of certain types of small subgeometric vases, and because it shows certain parallels in the development of Attic and Corinthian pottery of the period.

The round well-shaft, 1.15 m. in diameter, was cut to a depth of only 3.10 m., where it ended in a flat floor. Vertical series of depressions cut in opposite sides of the shaft, and intended to be used as footholds for descent into the well, indicate that the original purpose was to dig a well of normal depth, or at least to water level. Whether the project was abandoned because of the hardness of the rock, or for some other reason, is not clear. The unfinished shaft appears, in any case, to have been refilled immediately, and a large part of its filling was of the broken bedrock taken from the shaft itself. A certain amount of brown earth, in which was found the pottery, was mingled with the broken bedrock; it must have come from nearby, perhaps from a dump of votives from the same shrine as those found a little distance away toward the west.¹ Joining fragments of the same pots from top and bottom of the shaft further indicate that it was filled all at one time.

A dating for the group² in the third quarter of the seventh century is suggested by the Late Protocorinthian skyphos **D 1** (Fig. 1). Payne notes that such plain black-glazed skyphoi start before the middle of the seventh century, and continue at least until the end; the only criterion for closer dating is that of style and fabric.³ Our example is carefully made and decorated and should therefore be early; the shallow open shape, the shortness of the rays around the base, and the shiny quality of the glaze, however, preclude a dating before the middle of the seventh century. A skyphos somewhat later in shape than ours was found in an Early Corinthian deposit at Corinth, of the last quarter of the seventh century. Decoration with multiple bands of purple and white becomes common on Late Protocorinthian and Transitional vases.

The Attic skyphos **D 2** (Fig. 1) is of the same shape as **D 1**; its decoration is in imitation of that of common Middle Protocorinthian skyphoi of subgeometric type. The open shape and the shortness of the rays above the foot suggest that it is a later

¹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.

² The geometric and orientalizing groups from the Agora will be lettered consecutively as they are published. Groups A-C will appear shortly in *Hesperia*, Supplement II.

³ For references, see the catalogue.

survival of the conventional Middle Protocorinthian type, and should be dated after the middle of the century. The presence of two similar skyphoi, like ours carelessly made and decorated, in the Early Corinthian deposit at Corinth, suggests that the type continued to be made down to the end of the century. The examples from the deposit at Corinth are again somewhat later in shape than the one from the Agora.

Corinthian in shape, but Attic in decoration is a third skyphos, **D 3** (Fig. 1). The free curvilinear decoration above the base is characteristic of certain phases of Proto-attic ornament; the use of a band of purple bordered by white is perhaps borrowed from Transitional or Early Corinthian vases. Purple is rarely used in Attica before the middle of the seventh century.



Fig. 1. Protocorinthian and Attic Skyphoi and Cups

Characteristic Attic subgeometric skyphoi, both in shape and decoration, are **D 4-5** (Fig. 1). The fabric is careless, of gritty, badly levigated clay, and hastily covered with dull streaky glaze of poor quality. Of decoration there is none, beyond the reserved band at the handle-zone; occasionally skyphoi of this type have reserved lines inside the rim. Such skyphoi have not been found in geometric graves; on the other hand, they are common in seventh century deposits, and many were found in graves in the Phaleron cemetery. Examples from early seventh century graves are fairly deep; with the passage of time they become narrower at the bottom and somewhat more pointed, just as do Middle Protocorinthian skyphoi. After the middle of the seventh century there is a reaction, as at Corinth, toward a shallower, more open, body, with a wider bottom; the flaring lip of the Attic skyphoi becomes much less prominent and, on late examples, is often a mere projecting ridge. **D 4** is perhaps a typical skyphos of the third quarter of the century, and finds parallels in the later, but not the latest, graves

at Phaleron; **D 5**, shallower and wider at the bottom, is somewhat later, and finds a parallel in another, later, grave at Phaleron. The carrying of the reserved band in the handle-zone across the handles themselves is a device not used on early subgeometric skyphoi of this type. Our examples **D 4-5** find numerous parallels in shape and decoration in an unpublished well group from the Agora which contained nothing as early as the middle of the seventh century, and a number of Corinthian and early black-



Fig. 2. Proto-Attic Oinochoai, Skyphos, and Jug

figured fragments of the late seventh and early sixth centuries. The continuation of this simple, and no doubt cheap, type of subgeometric skyphos as late as the end of the century, and at a time when more elaborately decorated vases were being made, parallels the long continuation of the simple black glazed type (**D 1**) at Corinth.

One-handed cups to correspond to the subgeometric skyphoi are also common in seventh century Attic deposits. Fabric and glaze are the same as those of the skyphoi; and a similar development of the shape, from the deep, to the pointed, to the wide, open body may be traced. Numbers of cups like our **D 6-8** (Fig. 1) were found in the Phaleron cemetery. **D 6** represents the deep, rather pointed type of about the middle

of the century; **D 7-8** demonstrate the reaction toward the shallow, more open body with wider bottom. A further change is to be noted: the widely flaring lip becomes a short, sharply offset rim. One of the inscribed cups from Mt. Hymettos corresponds in shape to our **D 7-8**, and should be dated in the third quarter of the century.¹ Like the skyphoi, the one-handled cups seem to have been made down to the end of the century; no doubt such simple pots were much in use in everyday life.

A type of seventh century skyphos with inturned rim, often lidded, is represented in the Agora group by a fragment, **D 9** (Figs. 8 and 9). A skyphos of this type, with subgeometric decoration, was found in the latest of the geometric graves at the Dipylon published by Brueckner and Pernice.² Other examples were found in graves at Phaleron, dating from the beginning to the end of the seventh century. Our fragment is from an unusually shallow skyphos; its decoration is subgeometric. The wavy band in the handle-zone is a favorite seventh century decoration.

Two unglazed cups, carelessly made on the wheel, and undecorated, **D 10-11** (Figs. 2 and 8), may have been votives. Small cups, skyphoi, and kantharoi of the same fabric, usually too small for use and often miniature, are not infrequently found in dumps of votives from sanctuaries.³ The presence of numerous fragments of such small vases in two other seventh century groups at the Agora, one of the first half, the other of the latter part, of the century, suggests that these too may have been made up, at least in part, of discarded votives. **D 10** is of a common type; **D 11**, with its high flaring base, is rarer.

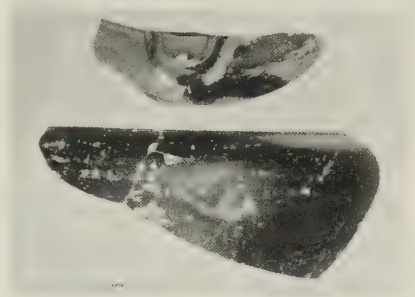


Fig. 3. Fragments of Spouted Bowls,
D 15

Plates with rolled handles turned out at the ends are common throughout the seventh century. The shape is descended from that of the similar geometric plate; with the course of time such plates become smaller, and lose the convexity of their side wall, until they become very shallow with walls either uncurved or very slightly concave. An example from a late grave at the Dipylon⁴ is decorated in the handle-zone with the verticals and vertical wavy lines so typical of Protocorinthian rim decoration. Plates decorated, like our **D 12** (Figs. 2 and 9), with a wavy line in the handle-zone, were found in the votive deposit at the Agora. Our plate is small and very shallow, with nearly straight side walls and a flat bottom instead of the earlier low base. The presence of another such plate in the unpublished late seventh century group at the Agora suggests that plates of this sort were made, like the subgeometric skyphoi and one-handled cups, down to the end of the century. Plates later than the mid-seventh

¹ *A.J.A.*, XLVIII, 1934, pp. 10 ff., no. 1 and pl. I.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pp. 115 ff. and pl. VIII, 1, 6.

³ e.g., at Tiryns; see *Tiryns*, I, pp. 95 ff., and especially figs. 29, 30, and 38.

⁴ Again, Grave VIII; *Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, pl. VIII, 1, 3.

century, like our **D 12**, have a plain rim instead of the thickened, slightly projecting rim of earlier examples. A fragment of another plate of the same type, **D 13** (Figs. 8 and 9), is smaller and somewhat deeper. Bowls with much the same sort of decoration as the plates, but much bigger and with deeper bodies, often spouted at the rim, were represented by many fragments in the Agora votive deposit; our fragment **D 14** (Figs. 8 and 9) is from a bowl of this type. Deep bowls of a different type, with sharply rounded shoulder and bridged spout, were made continuously from the late geometric to the early black-figured period. Fragments of two bowls of this kind, **D 15** (Figs. 3 and 9), were found in our well. The development of the shape is from a deep body with wide rounded shoulder and low upstanding rim to a somewhat shallower body, nearly straight in its lower part, sharply rounded at the shoulder, and with a mere low



Fig. 4. Two-handled Basin (Louterion), D 16

raised ridge instead of a rim around the opening. Our fragments are closer in shape to late Proto-attic bowls from Menidi, dating from the third quarter of the seventh century, than to earlier Proto-attic, or to the early black-figured bowl by the Nessos painter.

The large open basin **D 16** (Fig. 4) seems, with its lifting handles set on the rim, to have been made for carrying liquids; it might be described as a louterion. If the louterion was a vessel used in cult practice¹ the presence of one in our well group furthers the suggestion that the vases found had originally been discarded from a sanctuary. The shape is not geometric; I know of no forerunners to our vase in Attica. A fragment of another such basin, its band handle, with upturned ends very metallic in feeling, set on the rim, was found in the late seventh century deposit at the Agora. The fragment is covered with good black glaze and cannot be earlier than the end of

¹ See the article by Hedwig Kenner, "Das Luterion im Kult," in *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 109 ff.

the seventh century. The glaze of the basin **D 16** is not of such good quality, and the basin itself must be considerably earlier; presumably it is contemporary with the other vases in the group and belongs in the third quarter of the century.

The handsomest, as well as the most interesting of the vases found in the well is the oinochoe **D 17** (Fig. 5). The shape, with its narrow necking separating shoulder from trefoil mouth, appears late in the geometric period. A number of handsomely decorated oinochoai of the same type were found in the votive deposit at the Agora, and small examples were offered in graves at Phaleron. The development of the shape is toward a taller body, a narrower necking, and a shallower trefoil mouth. Decoration with vertical bands, or sometimes with verticals alternating with wavy lines, appears rarely on late geometric and orientalizing vases. An oinochoe of uncertain fabric at the Hague, decorated with alternating vertical and wavy lines, may have been influenced by certain Cycladic vases, if not indirectly by Mycenaean. The representation of another vase on the front of our oinochoe is difficult to explain. A geometric amphora from Thera bears a painted representation of a small aryballos, which, like the amphora drawn on our oinochoe, has been very much elongated, the better to fill the space which it decorates. Allowing for the elongation of the foot of the amphora represented on our oinochoe, it is not difficult to recognize the common Attic seventh century type of balloon-bodied

amphora that was probably used for the storage and export of wine or oil. Fragments of two amphoras of this type, of which one, **D 22**, is here published (p. 418 below, and Fig. 6) were found in the well deposit. Although a representation drawn, like ours, on the wall of another vase cannot be expected to be a very literal and accurate picture of the phase of development of the amphora shape at the time when the drawing was made, it might nevertheless be remarked that our picture corresponds to later rather than earlier phases of the type. On the development of the shape, see below, p. 418. The drawing of a pot on another pot may have cult significance of some sort. The grave amphora from Thera is decorated with an aryballos; we know that



Fig. 5. Proto-Attic Oinochoe, D 17



Fig. 6. Fragmentary Amphora, D 22

aryballoi containing oil or perfume were used at funerals. Our oinochoe can hardly have been used for oil; perhaps it was a wine jug, and the amphora on its body represented the larger container from which came the wine with which it was filled.

The fragment **D 18** (Fig. 2) is from an oinochoe similar in shape to **D 17**, but with slightly longer necking. Its vertically banded decoration, too, is similar to that of **D 17**; the bands are more closely spaced, and there seems to have been no reserved and decorated panel at the front.

A common seventh century oinochoe type of approximately the same shape as **D 17** in miniature, and usually entirely glazed, with reserved bands below the handle attachment, is represented in our group by **D 19** (Fig. 2). Oinochoai of this sort were found in ten graves at Phaleron, dating from the beginning to the third quarter of the seventh century. **D 19**, with its low base and rather tall body, is fairly well developed and belongs to the later phase of the group.

Another oinochoe, **D 20** (Fig. 2), is difficult to place. The bottom, the handle, and the mouth (which was probably round) are missing, and the clay has misfired. The shape does not seem to be Attic, and the great number of large white grits in the clay further suggests that the vase may be an importation.

The small handmade aryballos **D 21** (Fig. 2) of fine pink Attic clay, carefully made and polished on the surface, is similar in shape to handmade aryballoi often found in late geometric graves. Such aryballoi are usually of white or buff clay; an example from one of the seventh century graves at Phaleron is of pale buff clay.

Seventeen of the burials in the Phaleron cemetery were of small children in amphoras like our **D 22** (Fig. 6). The amphora type was common throughout the seventh century; early examples have a very round balloon-like body, nearly straight foot, and fairly long straight neck with a raised ridge below the rim. Later examples become slimmer, with more flaring foot, and have a shorter, slightly concave neck; the neck-ring tends to become less prominent, and finally to disappear. The decoration of such amphoras is always very simple: reserved bands around the body below the handles, and a triangle, wheel, or set of concentric circles, flanked by wavy verticals, on the neck. Examples have been found widely distributed over the Mediterranean world; Attic oil and wine must have been exported in them. The example from our well group, while hardly complete, is sufficiently preserved to be placed among the later examples of the series: it had a very flaring foot, and a short, probably slightly concave, neck. Fragments of another amphora like **D 22** were found in the well; the amphora represented on **D 17** (p. 417 above, and

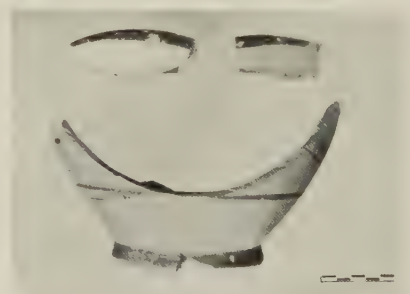


Fig. 7. Fragmentary Amphora, D 23

Fig. 5) will serve to give an approximate idea of what a complete vase of this sort looked like.

A different type of amphora, unglazed and decorated with widely spaced horizontal glazed bands, descended from a geometric type and common throughout the seventh century, is represented in our deposit by the fragmentary vase **D 23** (Fig. 7). Amphoras of this type become lower and plumper in the seventh century; a noticeable development

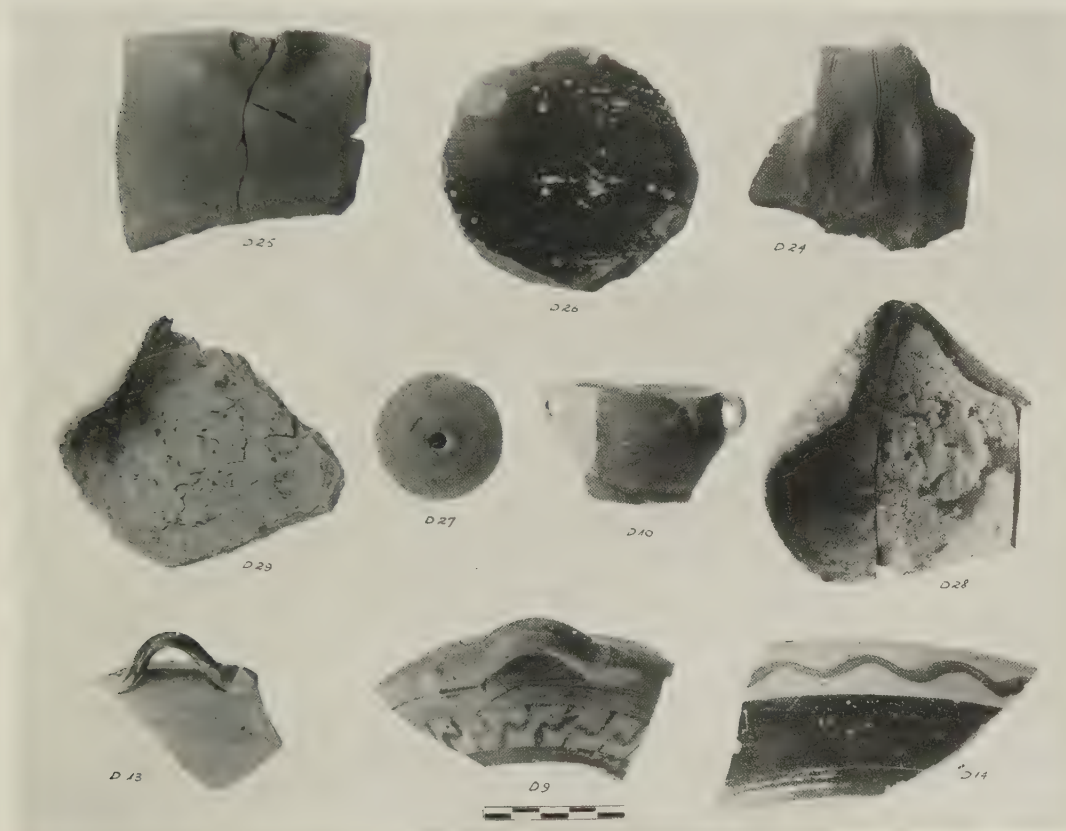


Fig. 8. Fragments of Vases and Household Objects

is the gradual widening of the neck. Our example, although very fragmentary, is shown to be late by the rim diameter, which is very much greater than that of the foot.

As in the votive deposit at the Agora, household objects such as disks and whorls, coarse pottery, and lamps, were found in our well. Of the fragments of household ware **D 24–25** (Figs. 8 and 9), **D 24** is decorated with incision; **D 25** is a fragment of a seventh century spouted bowl of common type. The disk **D 26** (Fig. 8) cut from the side of a large pot, probably an amphora like **D 22**, and the whorl **D 27** (Fig. 8) find parallels in the votive deposit. More interesting are the lamps **D 28–29**, among the earliest Attic lamps that have been found. At Corinth "during the geometric period

lamps were apparently unknown... then, about the end of the seventh century, they came into use again."¹ Lamps as early as the middle of the seventh century were found in the votive deposit at the Agora;² most early lamps are of the same fabric as the household ware pots, and often have incised decoration. The examples from our well are of a different sort; wheel-made as flat-bottomed shallow saucers, their rims are pinched in to form a nozzle. They are similar to the Cypriote "saucer type" lamps which Myres³ thought to have been introduced about the middle of the seventh century, but which apparently are much older in Cyprus.⁴ This simple type of lamp, however, may well have been independently invented in Attica during the seventh century.

Five fragmentary figurines of terracotta **D 30-34** (Fig. 10) complete the contents of our well. The presence of figurines again suggests that our group is votive in character;

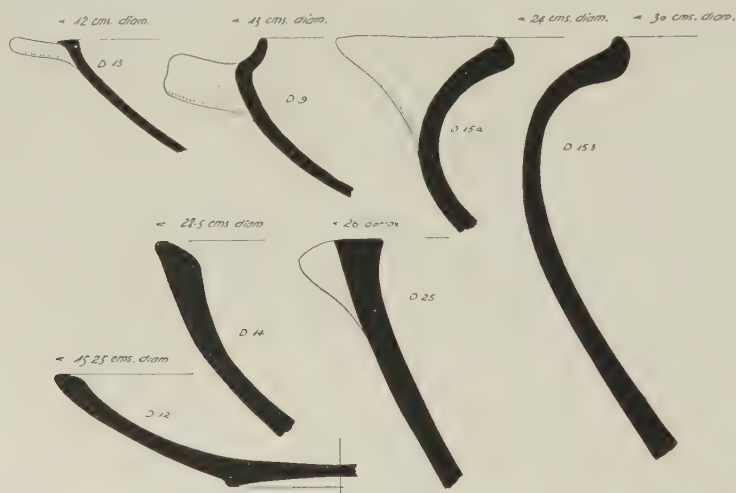


Fig. 9. Profiles of Plates, Bowls, and Skyphos

the votive deposit at the Agora contained many crude figurines, among them standing figures, riders, and horses, corresponding to our examples. Two of the terracottas (**D 30** and **33**) are subgeometric in technique; they are made of the same clay of which vases were ordinarily made, and are decorated with glaze. A third, **D 32**, made of the finer terracotta used for figurines, is also decorated with glaze. The other two, **D 31** and **34**, are made of fine soft terracotta and decorated with red and white paint. Figures made of the cruder materials seem to be the earlier; they continued to be made together with the finer terracottas, however, throughout the seventh century and into the sixth. All of the figurines from the well, as from the votive deposit, are handmade and very primitive in type.

¹ O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, Part II, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 5.

² Unpublished; mentioned in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 600.

³ J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 365.

⁴ An example from a tomb certainly older than the seventh century (Amathus Tomb 7), E. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, II, pp. 30 ff. and no. 251; pl. XI.

The small group of vases, terracottas, and household objects from our well is neither handsome nor spectacular. Nevertheless, it serves to illustrate the more humble sort of pottery that was made and used at the same time as the more elaborate late Proto-attic vases. The group is in itself a thoroughly compact and consistent unit, and can be dated in the third quarter of the seventh century not only on the evidence of the Corinthian and imitation Corinthian found in it, but also by comparison with vases from dateable graves at Phaleron. Falling as it does between the votive deposit at the Agora, which dates about 700-640, and late seventh century groups, it serves as a link showing the



Fig. 10. Fragments of Figurines

continued development and long life of certain types of vases from the beginning to the end of the century. As at Corinth, cups and skyphoi after the middle of the century become shallower, more open, and wider at the bottom. Not only cups, but oinochoai have very low bases instead of the flat bottoms of earlier types. The walls of vases tend to become more sharply curved at the shoulder, and less convex in the lower part; shapes become more stiff and spruce and less rounded. The lamps are the earliest Greek lamps from Attica yet published.

What may seem astonishing to the observer is not only that small, simply decorated subgeometric vases should have had such a long vogue, but that their careless fabric and thin streaky glaze should have been tolerated when the fine pink clay and black

glaze, to be used throughout the classical period, were already coming into use. The long continuation of humble vases of this sort is paralleled, however, by the continued manufacture into the early fifth century of poor black-figured lekythoi and skyphoi; without doubt there were unambitious potters in the later seventh century, as at the beginning of the fifth, who were quite willing to grind out small careless pots of an outworn style to fill the needs of a cheap and unexacting market.

CATALOGUE

D 1. Protocorinthian Skyphos. Fig. 1

P 9002. H., (as restored), 0.07 m. Diam. at rim, 0.097 m.

Very fragmentary, and restored; the foot is missing. Rays around the bottom; the body covered with shiny black glaze. Three bands of added purple, and one of white, above the rays; a band of white below the handle-zone. The glaze is much peeled inside, and at the rim outside.

For plain black-glazed skyphoi of this type, see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, fig. 9A and p. 279, no. 201. An Early Corinthian deposit at Corinth, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 217 ff.; a skyphos slightly later than ours, no. 2 and fig. 2. Discussed above, p. 412.

D 2. Corinthianizing Skyphos. Fig. 1

P 9001. H., 0.078 m. Diam. at rim, 0.109 m.

Small fragments of the body, and one handle, restored. Low base, slightly projecting. Short rays above the base, with a glaze band above; a zone of glaze lines around the body to the handle-zone. In the handle-zone, verticals at the sides, and vertical zigzags at the centre. A single glaze band on the handle. Coarse Attic clay with dull glaze, black to thin brown.

Middle Protocorinthian skyphoi of the same type, Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, pl. XVII, 2. A late example of the same type from an Early Corinthian deposit in Corinth, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 220, no. 6, and fig. 5.

D 3. Proto-attic Skyphos. Fig. 1

P 9003. H., 0.065 m. Diam. at rim, 0.088 m.

Much of the body, and both handles, restored. In the reserved band above the low base, upward curving glaze lines which interlace with pendant loops. The upper body glazed; below the handle-zone, a wide band of purple bordered above and below with white. Attic clay; streaky glaze, black to brownish. See above, p. 413.

D 4. Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 1

P 9005. H., 0.048 m. Diam. at rim, 0.088 m.

One handle restored. Flat bottom and very slightly flaring lip. Glazed inside and out; the reserved band in the handle-zone is carried in a thin line across the outer face of the handles. A reserved line inside the lip. Dull red glaze.

Earlier skyphoi of the same shape, but with deeper body and more flaring rim, were found in the Agora deposit of the first half of the seventh century, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff., nos. 65 and 79, figs. 19 and 23 (nos. 64 and 65 are reversed on fig. 19). A skyphos similar to D 4 in shape from a Phaleron grave of the third quarter of the century (Grave 16): *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, 5. Examples from the unpublished Agora group of the late seventh century, Agora Inventory P 4797, P 5381-89. On the development of the shape see above, p. 413.

D 5. Subgeometric Skyphos. Fig. 1

P 9004. H., 0.049 m. Diam. at rim, 0.083 m.

Similar in shape to **D 4**, but shallower and wider at the bottom; the rim has become merely a slightly projecting ridge. The reserved band in the handle-zone is carried across the outer face of the handles; and the inner edge of the rim is decorated with a reserved band. Streaky glaze, dull black to brown.

A parallel for the wider, shallower shape in the Phaleron cemetery: *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 43, fig. 45, 3 (Grave 55).

D 6. One-handled Cup. Fig. 1

P 9007. H., 0.066 m. Diam. at rim, 0.09 m.

Fragments of the body and rim restored. A very low flat base, deep body, and flaring rim. Vertical band handle, down which runs a vertical glaze line. Attic clay, fired a greyish buff; glaze streaky brown to black, and slightly metallic.

A deep-bodied early example of this type of cup, *Eph. Arch.*, 1898, p. 58, fig. 4. Cups like **D 6** in shape, from graves of the second quarter of the century at Phaleron (Graves 48 and 32), *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 42, fig. 44, 2 and 6. Middle Protocorinthian vases, well developed in style, were found in both these graves. One of numerous fragments of similar cups found in the Agora votive deposit of the first half of the century is published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 562, no. 64, and fig. 19 (wrongly numbered 65 in the photograph). See above, p. 414.

D 7. One-handled Cup. Fig. 1

P 9008. H., 0.063 m. Diam. at rim, 0.089 m.

Part of the body and rim restored. Very low base, rounded body, and short offset rim. Entirely covered with glaze except for the band handle, which is decorated with a vertical glaze line. Dull black glaze, very badly peeled, especially at the shoulder.

A cup with similarly offset rim, but somewhat shallower body, from a late seventh century grave at Phaleron (Grave 18 A): *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 42, fig. 44, 3. The cup from Phaleron is later in shape than **D 7**.

D 8. One-handled Cup. Fig. 1

P 9009. H., 0.059 m. Diam. at rim, 0.09 m.

Fragments of the body and rim restored. Similar in shape and decoration to **D 7**, but slightly shallower and more rounded. Dull black glaze, slightly peeled.

D 9. Skyphos Fragment. Figs. 8 and 9

P 9013. P. H., 0.045 m. Max. Diam. (est.) 0.13 m.

Fragment with one handle; broken off just above the foot. Shallow rounded body and inturned rim. Above the foot, a broad glazed zone; on the body, a zone filled by diagonal wavy lines. Glaze lines below the handle-zone and on the rim; a wavy band in the handle-zone. Thin black glaze, slightly metallic, and much peeled inside.

Similar skyphoi, with lids, from graves at Phaleron: *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 35, fig. 28, and p. 36, fig. 30, from graves of the second quarter of the seventh century (Graves 32 and 48); from a late seventh century grave (18 A), p. 35, fig. 29.

D 10. Coarse Votive Cup. Fig. 8

P 9010. H., 0.039 m. Diam. at rim, 0.053 m.

One handle, and part of the body, restored. Deep body with flat bottom, plain rim, and vertical band handles. Coarsely made on the wheel of pink Attic clay, and unglazed. Wheel-grooves on the bottom.

Over eighty similar cups were found at the Agora in a well the contents of which cover the first half of the seventh century, and which will be published in *Hesperia*, Supplement II, Nos. C 69-76. Similar cups from a late seventh century group at the Agora, unpublished, Agora Inventory P 4798, 4800, 5395-97.

D 11. Coarse Votive Skyphos. Fig. 2

P 9006. H., 0.086 m. Diam. at rim, 0.095 m.

One handle and part of the body and foot restored. High flaring base, deep body, short offset rim, and rolled horizontal handles. The fabric like that of **D 10**, but somewhat more carefully finished.

D 12. Subgeometric Plate. Figs. 2 and 9

P 9011. H., 0.031 m. Diam. at rim, 0.167 m.

About one half restored, including one handle. Flat bottom and very slightly convex side wall; plain rim and rolled handles with out-turned ends. A shallow groove around the bottom of the body gives the effect of a low base to the flat bottom. Concentric rings on the bottom; two glaze bands around the lower body, lines above, and a wavy band in the handle-zone. Series of short glaze lines on the upper face of the rim; the inside glazed, with two reserved bands. Dull black glaze, brownish where thin.

A subgeometric plate of the same type, but bigger, deeper, and with more convex side wall, from Grave 2 at Spata, *Deltion*, 6, 1920-21, p. 134, fig. 4. A later example, closer in shape and decoration to our plate, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 585-6, figs. 46-47, no. 185. From the unpublished late seventh century group at the Agora, Agora Inventory P 5413. On plates of this type, see above, p. 415.

D 13. Plate Fragment. Figs. 8 and 9

P 9012. P.H., 0.028 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.14 m.

Small fragment of the wall and rim, with one handle. Part of a rather deep plate with slightly convex side wall and slightly projecting rim. Thin streaky glaze, black to brownish, inside and on the handle. The outside, and the upper face of the rim, are unglazed.

D 14. Bowl Fragment. Figs. 8 and 9

P 9016. P.H., 0.055 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.28 m.

Fragment from the rim and wall of a shallow bowl; convex side wall and plain rim. A wide glazed band below the handle-zone, and a wavy band in it. The inside glazed; large blobs of glaze are spaced at regular intervals in the reserved band on the upper face of the rim. Glaze black to reddish brown.

Fragments of similar bowls from the votive deposit in the Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 585-6, figs. 46-47, nos. 187-192.

D 15. Fragments of Spouted Bowls. Figs. 3 and 9

P 9015. a) P. H., 0.055 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.23 m.

b) P. H., 0.12 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.30 m.

Two fragments from bowls almost exactly alike in shape. Deep body, rounded at the shoulder and very slightly convex in its lower wall; the inward-turned shoulder is slightly thickened upward around the opening. The spout is added below a round hole pierced through the wall just below the rim, which bridges it. Black to red glaze, red inside, and much peeled.

A late geometric bowl of this shape, R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder*, pl. 22, below; end of the eighth century. Proto-attic, the bowl from Thebes; *Jhb.*, II, 1887, pl. 4, probably of

the second quarter of the seventh century. Fragments from Menidi, late Proto-attic and closest in shape to our fragments, *Jhb.*, XIV, 1899, p. 111, fig. 17, and p. 125, fig. 28, dated by Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 344, just before 620. The bowl by the Nessos painter, K. A. Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium, II, Vasen*, pl. 8, is more developed in shape, and dates from the last quarter of the century.

D 16. Two-handled Basin. Fig. 4

P 9014. H., 0.121 m. Diam. at rim, 0.375 m.

Fragments of the body and high ring foot restored. Rounded body with a wide flat rim, slightly projecting. Rolled lifting handles set on top of the rim. Thick fabric of Attic clay; covered inside, on the rim and handles, and halfway down the body outside with dull black glaze, badly peeled.

The unpublished fragment of a similar basin with lifting handles of the end of the seventh century, Agora Inventory P 5415.

D 17. Proto-attic Oinochoe. Fig. 5

P 8996. H., 0.23 m. Max. Diam., 0.171 m.

Illustrated London News, September 11, 1937, p. 432, fig. 18; *A. A.*, 1937, p. 102, fig. 5; *A. J. A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 179, fig. 3.

Small fragments of the body and rim restored. Low flat base, deep body, very short neck, and shallow trefoil mouth. Glaze above the base, on the mouth, and on the rolled handle. Wide vertical glaze bands, evenly spaced, on the body from the neck to the glazed zone above the base. In a wider panel at the front, an amphora standing on a short horizontal ground-line. Glaze dull to metallic black, and slightly peeled.

Oinochoai of this shape from the votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 592 ff., nos. 211–213 and figs. 50, 59 and 60. No. 211 has been restored too high. No. 213 is dated "probably in the late eighth century" and compared to an oinochoe from Phaleron: *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 41, fig. 41, 3. The Phaleron oinochoe was found in Grave 48, together with the developed Middle Protocorinthian skyphos illustrated on p. 32, fig. 22, 2. Vertically banded decoration on the oinochoe *C. V. A.*, Pays-Bas, Musée Scheurleer, II F, pl. I, 5. A Mycenaean vase with similar vertical decoration (not uncommon in Mycenaean), Furtwängler and Loeschke, *Mykenische Vasen*, pl. VIII, no. 50, from Ialysos. Cycladic vases with vertically banded decoration (in zones), C. Dugas, *Délos*, XV, pl. XXXVII, 14–15, Class Bb. Amphora from Thera with the representation of an aryballos drawn on its neck (from Grave 78), *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVIII, 1903, Beilage V 2 (A 20).

D 18. Oinochoe Fragment. Fig. 2

P 8997. P. H., 0.11 m.

Part of the upper body and trefoil mouth. Glaze on the mouth and neck; regularly spaced vertical bands of glaze down the body. Attic clay; dull black glaze, slightly streaky.

D 19. Oinochoe. Fig. 2

P 8998. H. (as rest.), 0.14 m. Max. Diam., 0.113 m.

The trefoil mouth and band handle restored. Low base and rounded body. Entirely covered with dull, somewhat peeled, black glaze; four narrow reserved bands around the body below the handle attachment. Buff clay with white grits.

Similar oinochoai from Phaleron, *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 40, fig. 40. Under no. 77, p. 41, are listed ten graves which contained similar oinochoai. Of these, Grave 47 is early seventh century, Grave 19 is of the second quarter, and Grave 71 probably of the third quarter, of the century. See above, p. 418.

D 20. Oinochoe. Fig. 2

P 8999. P. H., 0.152 m. Max. Diam., 0.10 m.

The bottom, the band handle, and the mouth, which was probably round, are missing. Glazed, with a reserved band, to just below the shoulder; three lines below the handle attachment. A wide curving glaze band across the front of the reserved shoulder; glaze bands around the neck. The slightly micaceous clay, full of white grits, has misfired to a purplish-grey color; many small pits and craters in the surface give further evidence of misfiring. Thin dull glaze, black to brownish. Probably not Attic.

D 21. Handmade Aryballos. Fig. 2

P 9000. P. H., 0.067 m. Max. Diam., 0.085 m.

The squat rounded body, slightly flattened at the bottom, preserved; the narrow neck and band handle broken away. Handmade of fine pink clay carefully polished on the surface; unglazed.

Compare the similar seventh century aryballos, *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 42, fig. 43, 1 (Grave 27). Late geometric examples, from Grave 3 at Spata, *Deltion*, VI, 1920-21, p. 134, fig. 8.

D 22. Fragmentary Amphora. Fig. 6

P 9018. Max. Diam. (at shoulder, as preserved), 0.44 m. Diam. of foot, 0.17 m.

Two fragments from a balloon-bodied amphora. One preserves the shoulder, with both rolled handles; the other, the lower body and heavy flaring ring foot. Red to black glaze over all; a zone of four reserved bands around the shoulder just below the handles.

Similar amphoras at Phaleron, *Deltion*, II, 1916, p. 27, fig. 11 and p. 28, fig. 12; listed under no. 6. Fig. 11 is from an early seventh century grave (47); fig. 12, later in shape, from a later grave (61). The amphora from Grave 33 (late seventh century) has lost its neck ring. On the use and distribution of such amphoras, see *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 570ff. See above, p. 418.

D 23. Fragmentary Amphora. Fig. 7

P 9017. Diam. of foot, 0.11 m. Diam. of lip (est.), 0.18 m.

Preserved are the lower body with slightly flaring ring foot, and two fragments of the rounded lip. Attic clay covered with a thick creamy slip; bands of black to reddish glaze on the foot, the lip, and at intervals around the body.

D 24. Household Ware Fragment: Incised. Fig. 8

P 9019. P. Width, 0.082 m.

The lower part of the handle, and part of the shoulder, of a pitcher or amphora. Incised decoration on the handle, and around the body at the level of its attachment; finger hollows at the base of the handle. Coarse micaceous clay with white grits, fired red to grey.

Compare the handles from the votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 599, no. 226, and fig. 65.

D 25. Household Ware Bowl Fragment. Figs. 8 and 9

P 9021. P. H., 0.07 m. Diam. at rim (est.), 0.21 m.

Part of the rim and upper body, with a shallow pouring spout. The rim slightly thickened, and flat on top. Fabric as **D 24**.

Compare the similar bowl from the votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 601, fig. 69, no. 234.

D 26. Clay Disk. Fig. 8

P 9020. Th., 0.012 m. Diam., 0.9 m.

Circular disk, unpierced, cut from the wall of a large closed pot. Attic clay; black glaze, rather streaky, on the outside only.

Probably cut from the wall of a large amphora like **D 22**. Similar disks from the votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 603, fig. 71.

D 27. Clay Whorl. Fig. 8

MC 317. Th., 0.026 m. Diam., 0.045 m.

Double convex or lentoid, pierced through the middle. Attic clay, undecorated.

The common type of geometric whorl, in use also throughout the seventh century. From the votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 602, fig. 70, no. 255.

D 28. Lamp, Saucer Type. Fig. 8

L 2731. H., 0.032 m. P. W., 0.094 m.

The back broken away. Shallow, widely opening lamp with flat bottom and unbridged nozzle made by pinching in the walls of a wheel-made saucer. Attic clay; red glaze, much pitted, inside only. Burning around the nozzle.

See above, p. 419.

D 29. Lamp, Saucer Type. Fig. 8

L 2732. H., 0.03 m. P. W., 0.088 m.

Similar to **D 28**; very poorly preserved. Soft flaky clay, probably insufficiently fired; traces of dull red glaze inside.

D 30. Standing Terracotta Figure. Fig. 10

T 1319. P. H., 0.105 m. W. at base, 0.028 m.

The head and arms broken off. Columnar body, flaring slightly at the bottom; extended arms. Glaze bands around the bottom, the body below the arms, and the neck; a band across the shoulders and chest in front, and diagonal strokes of glaze on the chest. Pale buff clay with grits, covered with a thin creamy micaceous wash; dull black glaze.

A columnar figurine from the votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 615, no. 296, and fig. 82. Compare also V. Müller, *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien*, p. 83 and pl. XXVII, 317.

D 31. Standing Terracotta Figure. Fig. 10

T 1307. P. H., 0.092 m. W. (at arms), 0.054 m.

Similar in type to **D 30**; the base, head, and extended arms are broken off. Mended from several pieces; large chips missing. Soft buff terracotta, covered with white; traces of bands of red paint across the chest.

D 32. Standing Terracotta Figure. Fig. 10

T 1306. P. H., 0.062 m. W. (of base), 0.022 m.

Similar in type, but smaller and cruder. The head and extended arms broken off. Fine buff terracotta, decorated with bands of thin brownish glaze.

Compare the figure from the votive deposit, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 615, no. 298, and fig. 82.

D 33. Terracotta Horse. Fig. 10

T 1320. P. H., 0.042 m. P. L., 0.075 m.

The head and legs broken off; the tail stuck on along the right hind leg. The mane was pinched to a thin sharp ridge. Bands of dull black to brownish glaze across the back and chest, and down the legs and tail. Traces of red paint between the front and hind legs.

Compare the horses, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 619, nos. 314-315, and fig. 86.

D 34. Terracotta Horse and Rider

T 1305. P. H., 0.079 m. L., 0.07 m.

The rider, and the face and lower legs of the horse, are missing. The tail stuck on along the right hind leg, and the legs widely spread. Very long neck; the mane pinched to a sharp ridge, slightly wavy at the edge. Traces of the legs of the rider, and his hands, clinging to the horse's neck, are preserved. Fine soft buff clay covered with white paint; traces of bands of red paint across the chest, on the mane, and on the hind quarters of the horse.

The horse is similar to nos. 307-8 from the votive deposit; the rider, probably like nos. 302-3, was made in one piece with the horse rather than separately. See *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 617, fig. 83.

RODNEY S. YOUNG

MIDDLE BYZANTINE POTTERY IN ATHENS

The desolation of mediaeval Athens and the deplorable state of industry so lamented by the cosmopolitan Michael Akominatos¹ are well reflected in its pottery. Contemporary wares from Corinth and Thebes, of an elegance rarely afforded by mediaeval Athenians, attest the fact that even in the humbler arts these cities had triumphed over their former rival. But although the Byzantine pottery of the Agora is, in general, fragmentary and poor, the circumstances of finding have sometimes provided valuable chronological evidence, while an occasional fine piece rejoices the excavator and relieves the dark picture of Byzantine Athens.²

The chronological evidence is provided by the finding of closed deposits or of refuse dumps of pottery, the contents of cisterns, pits or pithoi, filled up either all at one time, or (as evidence of stratification shows) by degrees over a period of years. Each such dump may be considered as a unit, or, rather, as a group, the elements of which may be expected to show some logical relation to each other. Five such groups, ranging in date from the tenth or early eleventh century to the thirteenth, have been selected for discussion here. Except in one case (Group B) the dating is based on coins found with the pottery. These groups represent almost all the types of Byzantine pottery found in the Agora, and the conclusions are consistent with those offered, with less decisive evidence, by other Agora material. The present discussion does not pretend to offer a complete chronology of Byzantine pottery but may perhaps establish a few convenient landmarks for future study.

The most comprehensive system previously devised for the classification of Byzantine pottery is that of Rice.³ But since the Agora material is limited in range it seems preferable for our purposes to adopt a simpler method based on the pottery of the restricted area. Only a summary description will be given of wares corresponding to those of Rice's classification. The reader is referred to his publication where they are discussed in full.⁴ Our classification follows.

¹ "τὰ ἀθηναϊκὰ πάντα γλίσχρα καὶ εὐτελεῖ," *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. Σπυρ. Π. Λάμπρος, Athens, 1879-80, II, p. 69.

² The great quantity of material found since the first publication of Byzantine pottery from the Agora (F. O. Waag, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 308-328) has necessitated a modification of the dates and classifications there suggested.

³ D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, Oxford, 1930. This book forms the basis of all recent Byzantine ceramic studies and contains a full bibliography of earlier works on the subject.

⁴ Rice, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff.

I. *Plain-glazed Wares.*

Three varieties are commonly found in the Agora:

a) White Ware (Rice A 3).

Over a white to light pink or grey clay of a sandy texture the glaze is applied directly. Although the fabric varies, the type is called for convenience white ware.

b) Brown Glaze. **B 1, 2.**

Here also the glaze is laid over the clay without a slip, but the body is red and the glaze, which is colorless or light yellow, appears brown. The term brown glaze has the sanction of several years' usage.¹

c) Plain Glaze on Slip. **A 1, 13, 14, 63, 64, 82-84, 86, 87; C 1.**

The glaze is applied as in the sgraffito wares, the only difference being the absence of decoration. The clay varies from buff to all shades of red and is covered with a white slip before the addition of the glaze.

II. *Impressed Ware* (Rice A 5).

The fabric is the same as that of white ware and is decorated in relief with a stamp. It is not represented in any of the groups under discussion but a number of examples have been found elsewhere in the Agora.²

III. *Painted Wares.*a) Polychrome Ware (Rice A 1). **B 3, 4.**

This type is rare in the Agora and occurs only in its less fine forms. It is of sandy white clay, the design drawn in dark outline against the natural clay and filled in with a lighter color.

b) Black and Green Painted Ware. **A 2-7, 16-23; C 2.**

This is one of the commonest types of pottery in the Agora.³ Against a white slip is painted a design outlined in black and filled in with green. On the finer examples the outline is carefully drawn and the green does not run over the edges, but the technique readily degenerates and the attractive rinceaux and other designs become splotches of green bearing very little relation to a wandering and uncertain black line. The two extremes of quality may be compared in **A 18** and **A 19** (Figs. 5, 6). A not uncommon variant of the same form of decoration is the use of either black or green alone (**A 6, 16**; Figs. 2, 5).

The term black and green painted ware has been used as a general description for this whole group, although the black varies from a solid black to

¹ Cf. Oscar Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, part II, pp. 121 ff.

² Cf. Waagé, *op. cit.*, p. 322, fig. 17.

³ Waagé, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

purple or brown. Individual pots are sometimes referred to as brown and green, where a use of the other term would necessitate an immediate modification in the description.

c) Slip-painted Ware. **A 8, 24, 25, 81; C 2.**

The designs are painted in white slip against the natural clay and then covered with glaze, usually colorless or light yellow, occasionally green.¹

d) Red-painted Ware. **C 3.**

This term is used to describe a ware in which the design is painted in thick red paint over a white slip and then covered with a colorless glaze. The type is uncommon in the Agora, but in the few existing examples the designs resemble those of slip-painted ware.

IV. *Sgraffito* (Rice B 1–3). **A 9–10, 26–54, 65–79, 85, 88–92; C 4, 5; D 1, 2; E 2–4.**

The category includes all wares of which the decoration is formed by scratching through the white slip before glazing. These techniques have been discussed in great detail² and it is necessary here only to indicate their various aspects. The term “sgraffito” will be used for designs made by scratching with a fine point through the slip.³ “Incised” applies to those in which a part of the slip is scraped away with a broader tool (Rice B 2). “Incised sgraffito” is used for linear designs likewise made with a broad tool. “Sgraffito with incision” refers to designs principally sgraffito but with incised details. “Sgraffito with painting” is self-explanatory.

V. *Coarse Ware*. **A 11, 55–57, 93–95; B 5–7; D 4–7.**

This classification includes all unglazed wares, for the most part water jars and cooking pots.

GROUP A

The pottery in this group (Figs. 1–18) was found in an ancient cistern to the north of the Hephaisteion re-used as a refuse pit in connection with the complex of Byzantine buildings in the area.⁴ The stratification noted in excavation made it possible to distinguish four periods of use, and coins found in the three lower layers helped to establish a tentative chronology. The catalogued pieces represent the proportion of different wares in each period.

¹ Waag , *op. cit.*, p. 323. The decidedly linear quality of the slip-painted wares from the Agora leads me to reject Rice’s classification of this technique with incised ware. Cf. also H. Megaw, “Byzantine Architecture in Mani,” *B.S.A.*, XXXIII, 1932–33, p. 148.

² Rice, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 ff.

³ I have avoided the term “fine sgraffito” since this might imply a uniform excellence of execution. To call the technique “early sgraffito” is to ignore its continued existence over several centuries.

⁴ For the location of this cistern (Section AA, 87/ E) cf. D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 399, fig. 2, and p. 401.

Period I. **A 1–12.** Figs. 1–3

Relatively few sherds came from the lowest layer. Among them was a coin of Nikephoros III (1078–1081), suggesting that the sherds were thrown in during the last quarter of the eleventh century or the early years of the twelfth.

Period II. **A 13–62.** Figs. 4–10

To this layer belongs the great bulk of all the pottery found in the cistern. It is distinguished from the layers above and below by signs of burning throughout. Two coins of Alexios I (1081–1118) were found in it. It is to be noted, however, that several fragments from a nearby pithos¹ were found to join with pieces from the burned fill, and in this pithos were coins of Manuel I (1143–1180). The second period thus appears to record a destruction by fire some time during the reign of Manuel I. In view of the resemblance in the pottery of this layer to that both below and above, it seems probable that it represents the complete interval between the first and the third periods, the fire having destroyed pottery accumulated over a period of perhaps fifty years.

The quality of most of the pottery in this period is rather poor, but a few pieces raise the general artistic level considerably. The black and green bowl **A 18** has already been mentioned, and the sgraffito bowl **A 31** (Fig. 7) is excellent both in shape and workmanship. Of similar quality, although their fragmentary state prevents full appreciation of it, are **A 32** and **A 33**, and, to a lesser degree, **A 34** (Fig. 8). It is worth noting that in all these examples the clay is red instead of the buff or pinkish buff most frequently used for the Byzantine pottery of Athens, and that the outside of each of the sgraffito pieces is covered with a white slip and thin colorless glaze. The fragment of an Islamic imitation of porcelain (**A 15**) is an interesting example of a non-Byzantine importation very rare in the Agora.²

Period III. **A 63–80.** Figs. 11–14

After the destruction, and the consequent disposal of all the remains of earlier wares, the cistern was again used for refuse, perhaps, if we may trust the evidence of a single coin, still in the reign of Manuel I. In this fill a much greater consistency is to be noted in the pottery. Whereas in the burned fill there were found both painted and sgraffito wares in great quantity, probably representing fifty years or more of production, the total absence of painted wares in period III implies that they had been largely supplanted by sgraffito by the time of the destruction or immediately thereafter.³ The finest pieces from this period, **A 65**, **A 67–69** (Figs. 11–13),

¹ Section KK, Pithos K.

² I am indebted to Dr. Ernst Kühnel of the Islamic Department of the Vorderasiatischen Museum in Berlin for the identification of this sherd as an Islamic product of the tenth or eleventh century, probably from Alexandria.

³ The same conclusion is reached elsewhere in the Agora, where a gradual reversal of the proportion of painted to sgraffito wares is noted in areas where the stratification has been preserved.

are all of red clay with a white slip and thin colorless glaze on the outside. The shape of **A 68** is particularly noteworthy. The mending holes in **A 69** suggest that it may have been a decorative piece preserved from a slightly earlier period. The palmette medallion of the sgraffito bowl **A 31** (Fig. 7), from period II, is repeated in simplified form in the incised medallion **A 78** (Fig. 14).

Period IV. **A 81–95**. Figs. 15–18

Over the fill of the third period was a deposit of earth, 65 cm. thick, containing no sherds, probably from a period of disuse during which earth sifted through a loosely fitting cistern-cover. For this period we have no evidence of absolute date, but the thick deposit of sifted earth seems indicative of a considerable lapse of time. Comparisons of the pottery above this sterile deposit with dated pieces from other parts of the Agora suggest that this last period belongs to the mid-thirteenth century. Almost exact replicas of the rabbit in **A 89** (Fig. 15) are found frequently in middle and late thirteenth century contexts, often with coins of William Villehardouin (1245–1278). The warrior in **A 91** (Fig. 17) is discussed in connection with a somewhat similar figure on **E 2**.

GROUP B

No coins were found in this cistern.¹ The contents (Figs. 3, 19–21) however are consistent and illustrate the type of pottery found regularly in deposits underneath those containing black and green painted ware. The polychrome cup **B 3** (Fig. 19) belongs to Rice's class A 1 which he dates in the tenth or eleventh century. The small cup **B 4** (Fig. 19) is simpler but of a somewhat similar fabric. The brown-glazed ware represented by the double cooking pot **B 1** and the spouted jug **B 2** (Fig. 19) has been found in abundance in Athen's and Corinth, almost invariably in early contexts. The most common shape among the unglazed pots is the round-bodied, two-handled cooking pot of which **B 6** is an example (Fig. 20).

An interesting exception to the secular character of the subjects of the designs on Byzantine pottery is provided by an Adoration of the Magi stamped on the lid of a coarse cooking pot (**B 5**; Fig. 21). Undoubtedly too much stress must not be laid on this very simple representation, but it may be noted that iconographically it is related to the Ravenna type of Adoration rather than to the Byzantine, in which the Angel guides the Magi to the Christ Child.² The composition finds its closest parallel in a fourth century relief on the sarcophagus of the Exarch Isaac in Ravenna,³ although the

¹ The cistern (Section ΘΘ at 27/ΚΔ) lies to the east of the Valerian Wall, near the Church of the Hypapanti.

² Cf. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, Princeton, 1917, pp. 36 ff.

³ H. Dütschke, *Ravennatische Studien*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 10, fig. 3 and pp. 228 ff.

differences of date and medium naturally forbid close comparison. Such stamped decoration of unglazed wares is most unusual. The stamp had no doubt some other purpose than the decoration of cooking pots, but either for use as a bread stamp or for the decoration of impressed wares the lowness of the relief seems unsuitable.

The only type of pottery from this cistern not represented among the catalogued objects is white ware. Several such sherds were found, but all in a very fragmentary state. Among them was a small piece of the rim and handle of a light green-glazed double cooking-pot.¹ Not to pass over this important ware without illustration, an example of the same fabric from a mixed context is included (Fig. 22). This small table brazier, or chafing dish,² is an unusually sumptuous example of a shape frequently found in brown glaze. The same principle of construction applies to all: a bowl on a stand, with a rectangular opening on one side of the stand and air-holes on the other. The theory that coals were put in the stand to keep the food in the bowl warm is substantiated by a slight blackening of the clay in almost all examples. The white-ware piece differs from most in that a second bowl holds the coals, rather than the stand itself.

Fragments of these chafing dishes or of their characteristic high domed lids are found in most brown glaze deposits, and bear witness to a refinement not usually associated with ordinary Byzantine life. Sometimes they are of the simple type of **B 1**; often they are decorated with grotesque plastic figures from rim to base. The general character of the design of the fragmentary lid in Figure 23 may be compared with the plastic decoration of the chafing dish in Figure 24. The adoption of a more subdued method of decoration is not perhaps to be regretted; there is in the plastic ware a singular premonition of the art of eight or nine centuries later.

GROUP C

The most satisfactory group (Figs. 25, 26) from the chronological point of view was found in a pit³ in the east end of the South Stoa, over the mouth of which was an apparently undisturbed Byzantine fill. The pit was small, measuring 95 cm. in diameter and only 80 cm. in depth. In addition to the catalogued pieces it contained some coarse ware and a very few glazed sherds, either black and green painted or with simple sgraffito designs. Conclusive evidence for the dating of this group is provided by fifteen coins all belonging to the period between 1057 and 1118 A.D.⁴ We are therefore fairly

¹ This fragment was found in the disturbed fill at the top of the cistern, but it is of the same fabric as the other sherds, and probably belongs with the lower fill.

² Inv. P 3075; D., 0.21; P.H., 0.115. The lower part of the stand is not preserved, but the breaks show that there was at least one more row of openwork squares. Greyish white clay; yellow-green glaze, fired darker in places. The glaze covers the inside of the stand and the underside of the lower bowl. Traces of burning inside the lower bowl.

³ Section II, Pit at 23/KET.

⁴ The distribution of the coins is as follows: one Anonymous Byzantine, Class VI (1057–1059); three Nikephoros III (1078–1081); one Anonymous Byzantine, Class IX (1078–1081); two Anonymous Byzantine, Class X (1081–1118); five Anonymous Byzantine, Class XI (1081–1118); two Alexios I (1081–1118); and

safe in concluding that the breakage of the pots took place not later than the second decade of the twelfth century and that they were made at some time about the year 1100. The lion on **C 4** (Fig. 26), although the glaze is dull and discolored, is a fine piece of drawing, and it is gratifying to be able to date it with some precision.

GROUP D

The contents of the group (Figs. 27, 28) were found in a well used in connection with the Byzantine house built over the north part of the Odeion.¹ The presence of a number of unbroken water jars is evidence of its use as a source of water and not as a refuse pit, and in this it differs from the preceding deposits. The single coin of John II (1118–1143) suggests that the well was in use around the middle of the twelfth century. The decorated wares were scanty and included black and green painted sherds, and sgraffito of the same general character as the two catalogued pieces. The plate **D 2** (Fig. 27) is a remarkably fine and complete example of the red fabric with external slip and glaze.

GROUP E

The pithos immediately to the west of the Stoa of Attalos² in which the pieces from this group (Figs. 29–31) were found appears to represent two periods of use as a rubbish pit. The lower fill, in which there were no coins, contained the lamp **E 1** (Fig. 29) as well as a few sherds of rather careful sgraffito and some black and green painted ware. A coin of Alexios I and four of Manuel I point to the dating of the upper fill in the second half of the twelfth century. Although most of the pottery from this pithos was fragmentary and comparatively ordinary, one piece is full of interest. The warrior (**E 2**; Fig. 30) is of a type found on a few fragments in Corinth, and a sherd with a small piece of skirt, leg and scabbard from Constantinople, now in Berlin,³ probably comes from a similar figure. There is a certain resemblance to the warrior on **A 91** (Fig. 17), although the one is full face and the other in profile. Both wear conical caps with knobs at the corners and high collars, and carry somewhat similar shields. The artist of the later fragment (**A 91**) was less accomplished and made no attempt to represent the long hair which hangs down over the shoulder of the other figure and, from the little that is left, we may judge that his clothing was drawn much less carefully.

There seems to be no reason to look for the identification of either of these figures with any saint or historical personage, for the almost exclusively ecclesiastical character

one identified as tenth to eleventh century. The only other coin in the pit was Athenian Imperial. For the classification and dating of these coins, see J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 148–9.

¹ Section Ξ, Well at 54/ΜΣΤ.

² Section Σ, Pithos at 15–17/ΠΕ–ΠΣΤ.

³ W. F. Volbach, *Bildwerke des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums: Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*, pl. 19, no. 6448.

of Byzantine art finds a marked exception in the pottery. Genre scenes, on the other hand, are common, and warriors may find a place beside ball-players, charioteers and scenes of domestic felicity.¹

The recent finds in the Agora have made it possible to make a few generalizations on the characteristics of the pottery of several different periods. Most of the tenth or early eleventh century pottery of the Agora, in so far as it has been identified, is represented in Group B. In contrast to Corinth, where it has been found in abundance, the Agora has produced only a very few examples of polychrome ware (**B 3, 4**; Fig. 19), but in every deposit which, according to excavation evidence, precedes the period of black and green painted or sgraffito wares there is either brown glaze, or white ware, or both.

At exactly what point these fabrics were supplanted by the painted and sgraffito wares we are not yet in a position to say. Indeed, brown glaze seems to have continued in use long after the introduction of the new wares, but in diminished quantity, and primarily as a kitchen ware. The evidence from Group A indicates that the more elaborate wares had been established by the third quarter of the eleventh century. From the great predominance of black and green painted ware over sgraffito in the two early periods of Group A, as well as in other deposits where a similar stratification has been observed, we shall probably be safe in assuming that the painted wares were introduced at some time early in the eleventh century and reached the peak of their popularity at the end of the same century. From the time when the sgraffito technique first makes its appearance, toward the end of the eleventh century, its greater decorative possibilities lead to the gradual displacement of the painted wares, although these continued to exist for some time. By the end of the twelfth century it is not uncommon to find deposits with no black and green ware at all, as in Periods III and IV of Group A, and in Group E.

Although there is no evidence for the existence of sgraffito in Athens before the middle or the third quarter of the eleventh century, we note with interest that the incised technique followed not long after, since a plate dating from about 1100 A.D. has incised details (**C 5**; Fig. 25). This new method is established by the middle of the twelfth century, both for principal and accessory design. Both styles draw from the same repertory of decorative motifs, but special adaptability leads to the preference of some patterns over others. Rinceaux and running spirals, for example **A 31-33, 36-45** (Figs. 7-9), are common in the sgraffito technique, while ornamental Cufic and other patterns of a rectilinear character (**A 53, 54**; Figs. 7, 8) are more frequently found in incised wares. Birds, and animals, especially rabbits, are common to both styles in all periods.

Although the static quality of Byzantine art led to the preservation in unchanged form of many designs, the period from the beginning of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century was not without some changes in the method of drawing. The tendency was toward an increasing broadness of style, with consequent elimination of

¹ Cf. a plate from Corinth, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 77, fig. 1.

inner drawing. An extreme example of this may be seen in the comparison of two pieces taken from the beginning and end of our period. The lion from a plate dating about 1100 (**C 4**; Fig. 26) is drawn with such minute detail that it is at first difficult to distinguish his mane from the rinceau background. On the other hand the rabbit from the latest period of Group A (**A 89**; Fig. 15), probably from the middle of the thirteenth century, represents the simplification achieved by constant repetition of the motif. That the difference is not primarily one of skill is eloquently attested by the goat from a bowl of the first half of the twelfth century (**A 52**; Fig. 8), where the artist faithfully, but unsuccessfully, drew as much detail as he could. The virtue of the late style was that an incompetent draughtsman could achieve a presentable effect by following a simple formula.¹

Another interesting tendency of the sgraffito technique is the development of incised sgraffito. It is worth noting that the only incised sgraffito in Period II of Group A occurs in neat bands and consists entirely of short straight lines (**A 53, 54**; Figs. 7, 8). With Period III, however, the character is completely changed by the use of the technique of curvilinear instead of rectilinear patterns. The restraining bands disappear and the design spreads in unconfined exuberance over the whole field (**A 66**; Fig. 13). The new mode also becomes popular in conjunction with sgraffito designs (**A 91**; Fig. 17). The absence of this curvilinear form in the first two periods of Group A and its appearance in the last two, and in other deposits of the same period or later, leads to the belief that it was introduced late in the reign of Manuel I.

Byzantine pottery does not exhibit subtle development or refinement of shape. Some shapes, however, associate themselves with certain styles of decoration and with certain periods. The widely flaring bowls with sharply defined rims, usually flat around the top, are found almost exclusively in the black and green ware, with occasionally a little poor accessory sgraffito (**A 18, 26, 27**; Figs. 5, 32). On the other hand, plates with an almost vertical rim and low ring foot are almost always decorated with rather fine sgraffito (**C 5, D 2, E 2**; Figs. 25, 27, 30, 33). In the former case, the rim is usually quite or nearly straight, in the latter it has a slight curve. Simple bowls with a fairly low ring foot and flaring sides of the type of **A 31** (Fig. 32) are found in all periods and all wares, but they are most commonly found in the earlier periods decorated with a little simple sgraffito (**A 9, 39, 40**; Figs. 2, 9). Later, perhaps toward the end of the reign of Manuel I (Period III of Group A), the sides begin to curve in and during the thirteenth century one of the most common shapes is a bowl with slightly incurving sides and a widely flaring foot frequently decorated with rabbits and other animals of the type of **A 88-89** (Fig. 15). The beginning of this tendency may be seen in **A 79** (Fig. 32).

The Agora material sheds no light on the difficult problem of provenience. It is difficult to believe that no pottery was made in Athens, but criteria for distinguishing the imported wares from the local imitations have in only a few cases been established. We have no

¹ This trend corresponds to a similar one noted in manuscript illumination and prefaces the final break-up of the Byzantine style; cf. *Art Bull.*, XVI, 1934, p. 72.

evidence for the existence of potters' workshops in the Agora before Turkish times, and the inferiority of the pottery of Athens confirms the belief that we must look elsewhere for the main centres of production. The general similarity between the pottery of Athens and that of Corinth and Sparta indicates a common source for much of it, and excavations in all these cities have produced wares similar to those found in Constantinople and some of the cities of Asia Minor.¹ The lack of resemblance between the pottery of Athens and that of northern Greece is striking.² It has been noted, for instance, that the fabric of the pieces with the best and most careful decoration differs from that of the poorer examples. The clay is red and fine, and, when attended by sgraffito decoration, it is usually covered on the outside with a white slip and thin colorless glaze. This clay in no way resembles any fabric known to be of Attic manufacture in any period, nor, so far as I am aware, any fabric of Greek manufacture. It is tempting to suppose that these wares were exported in relatively small quantities from some centre outside of Greece to various cities, including Athens, Corinth and Thebes. In the pottery with similar designs but of the pinkish buff to buff clay familiar to all excavators in Greece we may perhaps recognize the copies achieved with greater or less success by the local artisans. Further systematic excavation on Byzantine sites will no doubt provide evidence as to centres of production.

CATALOGUE

Unless otherwise specified, all vases are unslipped and unglazed on the outside, except for an irregular band around the rim, and have a ring foot and plain rim. The following abbreviations are used: H. = Height; W. = Width; Diam. = Diameter; P. H. = Preserved Height; P. W. = Preserved Width; Max. Dim. = Maximum Dimension. A number preceded by P is the Agora Inventory Number.

GROUP A

A 1. Green-glazed jug. Fig. 1

P 9561. H., 0.10 m. Diam. of rim, 0.091 m. About two thirds preserved.

Flat bottom; round body; vertical rim; one loop handle round in section. A slight swelling on the shoulder, almost at right angles to the handle, probably indicates the start of a spout (cf. B 2, Fig. 19). The entire inside, the outside of the rim and the handle covered with mottled light green glaze. Rather coarse buff clay.

¹ Cf. Volbach, *op. cit.*, pls. 13–31, *passim*. Clear evidence of the manufacture of certain wares in Corinth has been found in the recent excavations of the American School of Classical Studies there. This material will be discussed by C. H. Morgan in his publication, now in preparation, of the Byzantine pottery from Corinth: *Corinth*, Vol. XV. I am indebted to Mr. Morgan not only for the opportunity of examining this material in detail, but also for much helpful discussion.

² Examples of the Saloniki wares may be examined in the Byzantine Museum in Athens. Cf. also D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, V, pls. 204–208; the Byzantine pottery is discussed by A. Xyngopoulos.

A 2. Black and green painted bowl. Figs. 1, 32

P 9552. H., 0.107 m. Diam., 0.267 m. Part of the rim and walls missing.

Flaring bowl with upturned, but not sharply defined, rim. On the inside, on a white ground, a large conventional pattern in green, outlined in black.

A 3. Black and green painted plate. Fig. 2

P 9555. H., 0.047 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.22 m. The whole of the ring foot and a small portion of walls and rim preserved.

A deep plate with undefined rim. Across the plate, from rim to rim, three(?) bands of ornament in green, outlined in black. Fine red clay with thin white slip on outside.

A 4. Black and green painted bowl. Fig. 1

P 9553. H., *ca.* 0.10 m. Diam., 0.267 m. Much missing; the profile is not complete.

A flaring bowl with slightly outturned tapering rim. Over a white slip, irregular stripes, alternating green and brown, descend from the rim toward the centre. Pinkish buff clay.

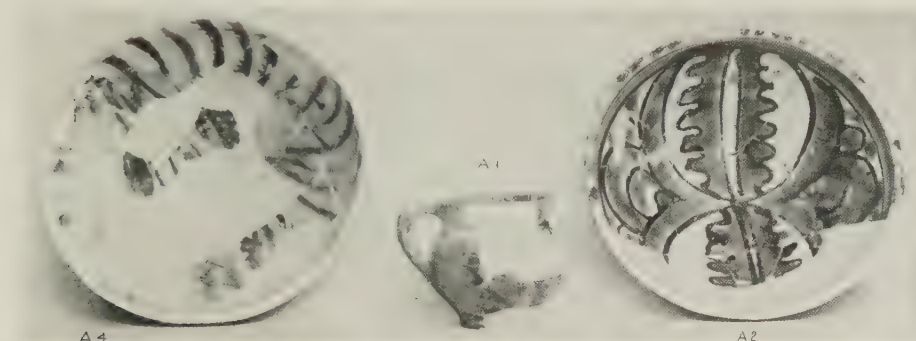


Fig. 1. Painted Bowls and Green-glazed Jug from Group A, Period I

A 5. Black and green painted plate. Fig. 2

P 9556. H., 0.046 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.22 m. The complete foot and about one sixth of the rim and walls preserved.

Slightly upcurving sides and undefined rim. Over a white slip irregular vertical stripes, in alternating groups of green and brown, descend from rim. Buff clay.

A 6. Brown painted plate. Figs. 2, 33

P 9557. H., 0.047 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.21 m. About one third preserved.

Slightly curving sides; inturned rim. Conventional designs in dark brown on a white slip, covered with a thin colorless glaze. Fine red clay; thin white slip on outside.

For this type of design, cf. a piece from Sparta, *B.S.A.*, XVII, pl. XVIII, 66.

A 7. Brown and green painted bowl. Fig. 2

P 9554. H., 0.072 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.185 m. Part of the rim, walls and foot missing; profile complete.

Almost straight flaring sides. On the inside, over a white slip, a bird painted in dark brown and green; alternating brown and green diagonal stripes around rim. Pinkish buff clay.

A 8. Slip-painted plate. Fig. 2

P 9558. H., 0.045 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.22 m. Much missing from rim and walls; profile complete.

An almost flat plate; inturned rim. An elaborate bird, with rinceaux in the field, painted in white slip. Fine red clay; light yellow glaze; thin white slip on outside.

A 9. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 2

P 9559. H., 0.065 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.15 m. About one third preserved.

A small bowl with undefined rim. In the centre, a medallion with a triple spiral. Almost colorless glaze; buff clay.



Fig. 2. Decorated Bowls and a Terracotta Stamp from Group A, Period I

A 10. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 2

P 9560. P. H., 0.037 m. Half the base and a small part of the wall preserved.

Flat base; straight flaring sides. Crude sgraffito ornament around walls. Red clay; mottled yellow-brown glaze.

A 11. Fragments of coarse pithos. Fig. 3

P 9562. Diam. of rim estimated, *ca.* 0.37 m.

From the rim and shoulder of a large pithos with flat projecting rim. Around the shoulder run two hatched ridges joined at intervals by similar vertical ridges; two rows of incised zigzags between the ridges, another below. Coarse red clay.

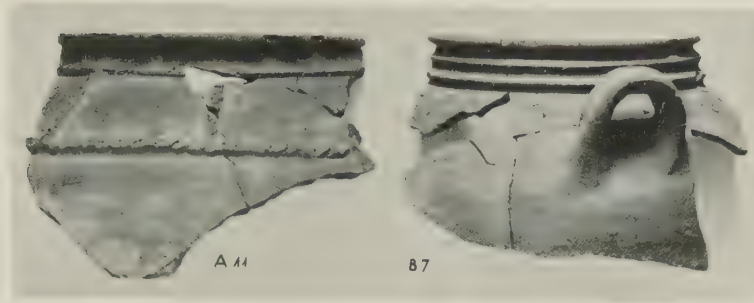


Fig. 3. Coarse Pithoi from Groups A and B

A 12. Terracotta stamp. Fig. 2

MC 340. H., 0.04 m. Diam., *ca.* 0.07 m. A bit of the original edge preserved to the right.

A round disk with a pierced knob above. In relief, a cross with letters between the arms. Fine red clay.

A 13. Yellow-glazed bowl. Fig. 4

P 9569. H., 0.065 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.16 m. About one third preserved.

Flaring sides. Buff clay; mottled yellow glaze over an uneven white slip, the glaze partly peeled.

A 14. Brown-glazed bowl. Fig. 4

P 9570. H., 0.058 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.14 m. About one half preserved.

Flaring, slightly rounded walls. Mottled light brown glaze over thin slip; thumb-marks of white slip around inside of rim. Buff clay. This glaze is in no way similar to the brown glaze associated with the earlier periods, which is thicker and applied directly over the clay.

A 15. Imitation porcelain sherd. Fig. 4

P 9392. Max. Dim., 0.057 m.

From the base of an open dish with ring foot and wide shallow fluting on the outside. Hard white clay; white glaze.

Two fragments of similar fabric exist in the Islamic Department of the Vorderasiatischen Museum in Berlin; the provenience of both is Egypt.



Fig. 4. Bowls and Jugs from Group A, Period II

A 16. Green painted plate. Figs. 5, 33

P 9563. H., 0.043 m. Diam., 0.186 m. About two thirds preserved.
Flat projecting rim. Green spirals on a white ground. Buff clay.

A 17. Black and green painted plate. Figs. 6, 33

P 9564. H., 0.047 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.23 m. About one third preserved; profile complete.

Undefined rim. On a background of white slip, a crude conventional design in green glaze, outlined in black matt paint. The whole seems not to have been covered with the thin colorless glaze usual in this ware. Buff clay.



Fig. 5. Painted and Sgraffito Bowls from Group A, Period II

A 18. Black and green painted bowl. Figs. 5, 32

P 9565. H., 0.109 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.28 m. Profile complete.

On a white ground, a rinceau pattern in green, outlined in black; around the inside of the rim, green and black spirals. Thin white slip over all the outside, thicker around the rim. Red clay.

This bowl is a fine specimen of a ware which is generally seen in decadent form.

A 19. Black and green painted bowl. Figs. 6, 32

P 9566. P. H., 0.068 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.205 m.

Rim projects slightly downward. Double curves in green outlined in black descend from rim; conventional pattern in centre (?). Buff clay.

A 20. Black and green painted jug. Fig. 4

P 9572. P. H., 0.078 m. Diam. of base, 0.042 m. The lower part only preserved.

Small flaring solid base. On a white ground, irregular curving lines, alternately black matt paint and green glaze, descending from shoulder. No glaze over all. Red clay.

A 21. Black and green painted jug. Fig. 4

P 9573. H. estimated, *ca.* 0.15 m. Diam., 0.086 m. Much missing from shoulder and walls. The upper handle attachment preserved.

Flat bottom; trefoil lip. Alternating green and black wavy lines from shoulder to base; thin glaze over all. Red clay.



Fig. 6. Painted and Sgraffito Fragments from Group A, Period II

A 22. Painted bowl. Fig. 5

P 9567. H., 0.085 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.25 m. The foot and parts of the rim and walls preserved; profile complete.

Almost vertical rim. Design in black against a white ground. Colorless to light yellow-green glaze. Pinkish buff clay.

A 23. Painted bowl. Fig. 5

P 9568. H., 0.065 m. Diam., 0.154 m. Almost complete.

Upturned rim. A circle of black dots in the centre and short black strokes from the rim. Mottled light to dark green glaze. Buff clay.

A 24. Slip-painted bowl. Fig. 6

P 9571. Max. Dim., 0.188 m. Diam. of foot, 0.119 m. Part of the foot and walls, none of the rim, preserved.

From a shallow bowl or a deep plate. A design of imitation Cufic around a central medallion, painted in white slip and covered with a light green glaze. Red clay. White slip on outside.

For a similar piece, cf. part of the middle of a bowl from Constantinople in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. Volbach, *op. cit.*, p. 230, no. 6582, pl. 31.

A 25. Slip-painted jug. Fig. 4

P 9574. P. H., 0.113 m. Diam. of foot, 0.085 m. Most of the body preserved, including the lower handle attachment and the start of the narrow neck.

Round body; flat bottom. Spirals around the shoulder, and on the neck a crude guilloche. Yellow glaze. Red clay.

A 26. Sgraffito bowl with painting. Fig. 5

P 9575. H., 0.086 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.24 m. About one half preserved.

Sharply defined, almost vertical rim. Three bands of green glaze and a sgraffito rinceau surrounding a medallion of triple spirals, sgraffito. Rather poor technique. Coarse buff clay.

A 27. Sgraffito bowl with painting. Figs. 5, 32

P 9576. H., 0.099 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.25 m. About one half preserved.

Sharply defined, almost vertical rim. Medallion with triple spiral, and a rinceau band, both sgraffito, separated by irregular strokes, alternately purplish black and green; black and green vertical strokes around the inside of the rim. Thick white slip on the outside. Buff clay.

A 28. Small sgraffito bowl with painting. Fig. 6

P 9577. H., 0.052 m. Diam., 0.125 m. Complete except for a few small fragments of the rim and wall.

Flaring walls with undefined rim; small, almost flat base. Four zones of alternating sgraffito and brown painted decoration, crudely done. The paint varies from black to light brown. Buff clay.



Fig. 7. Sgraffito Bowls from Group A, Period II

A 29. Fragments of sgraffito plate with painting. Fig. 6

P 9578. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.31 m. One fragment preserves the profile to the inner edge of the ring foot, the others are non-joining pieces of the rim and foot.

From a large plate with an uncertain sgraffito design, possibly a bird; around the edge, an undulating black line, alternate loops filled in with green. Very light green glaze. Buff clay.

A 30. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 6

P 9595. P. H., 0.08 m. P. W., 0.26 m. Part of the ring foot and the start of the inturned rim preserved.

The head and part of the body of a dragon around a central medallion(?). Colorless glaze with splotches of green. Buff clay.

A 31. Sgraffito bowl. Figs. 7, 32

P 9391. H., 0.065 m. Diam., 0.183 m. Some pieces missing from rim and walls.

Flaring sides; undefined rim. In the centre, a medallion with a split palmette design against an imbricated background. Around the sides, a band of rinceau and one of zigzags. Greenish yellow glaze; white slip and thin colorless glaze over all the outside. Red clay.

A 32. Fragment of sgraffito plate. Fig. 8

P 9596. H., 0.04 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.24 m. A fragment from the foot to the rim.

Low ring foot; notched rim. A conventional design against an imbricated background in a medallion surrounded by a beaded band and a band of zigzags. Light yellow glaze, white slip and thin glaze on outside. Red clay.



Fig. 8. Sgraffito Fragments from Group A, Period II

A 33. Fragment of sgraffito plate. Figs. 8, 33

P 9600. H., 0.04 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.20 m. A fragment from the rim to the inside of the ring foot.

Low ring foot; curving, vertical rim. In the centre, a medallion with a conventional design(?) against an imbricated background, surrounded by a beaded band and a rinceau. Fairly fine work. Colorless glaze; white slip and thin glaze on outside. Red clay.

A 34. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 8

P 9589. H., 0.055 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.13 m. About one half preserved; profile complete.

A small bowl with undefined rim. In the centre, a conventional design against an imbricated background; below the rim, a border of broad bands, alternately vertical and diagonal, outlined against an imbricated background. Yellow glaze; white slip and thin colorless glaze on outside. Red clay.

A 35. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 8

P 9592. P. H., 0.58 m. P. W., 0.14 m. From the wall of a small bowl. The start of the foot, none of the rim preserved.

In the centre, a medallion with a conventional design(?) against an imbricated background; two imbricated bands around the sides. Almost colorless glaze; white slip and very thin glaze on outside.

A 36. Sgraffito bowl. Figs. 7, 32

P 9579. H., 0.065 m. Diam., 0.181 m. Much missing from rim and walls.

A shallow bowl with slightly incurving sides. Around the centre a band of simple sgraffito rinceau. Green glaze. Red clay.

A 37. Fragments of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 9

P 9583. P. H., 0.065 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.26 m. About one half of the rim and walls, none of the foot preserved.

A wide bowl with slightly incurving rim. Central medallion with a conventional design(?) against an imbricated background, surrounded by a band of rinceau. Yellow glaze; white slip on outside. Red clay.

A 38. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 9

P 9584. P. H., 0.08 m. Diam., 0.28 m. None of the foot preserved.

Inset flaring rim. Central medallion with a conventional design(?) against an imbricated background, surrounded by a narrow band of diagonal strokes and a rinceau. Green glaze; white slip on outside. Pinkish buff clay.

Several joining fragments were found in Section KK, Pithos K; see above, p. 432.

A 39. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 9

P 9590. H., 0.056 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.135 m. About one half preserved.

Small bowl with undefined rim. Triple spiral in the central medallion. Almost colorless glaze. Buff clay.

A 40. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 9

P 9591. H., 0.055 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.135 m. About one half preserved.

Similar in shape to the preceding. Crude rinceau around the inside. Almost colorless glaze. Buff clay.

A 41. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 7

P 9588. H., *ca.* 0.08 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.21 m.

Flaring bowl with almost vertical rim. A central medallion with a triple spiral; a simple rinceau around the sides. Almost colorless glaze. Buff clay.

A 42. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 9

P 9585. H., *ca.* 0.075 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.21 m.

A flaring bowl with undefined rim. Decoration similar to the preceding, but of better workmanship. Almost colorless glaze; white slip and thin glaze on the outside. Red clay.

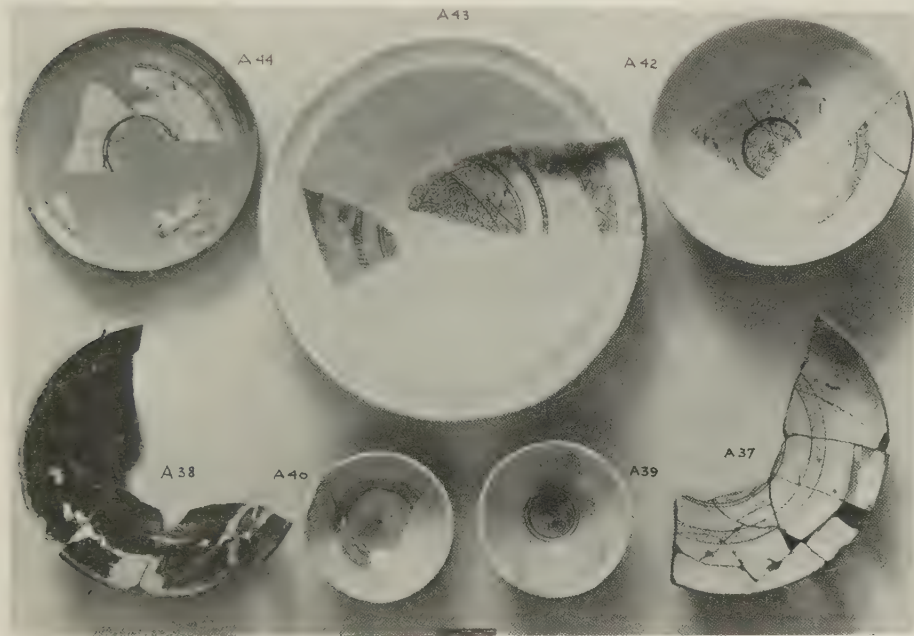


Fig. 9. Sgraffito Bowls from Group A, Period II

A 43. Sgraffito plate. Figs. 9, 33

P 9597. H., 0.07 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.31 m. About one quarter preserved.

Slightly flaring ring foot. Large central medallion with elaborate rinceau pattern, surrounded by a narrow band of diagonal strokes and a rinceau. Almost colorless glaze. Pinkish buff clay.

A 44. Sgraffito plate. Fig. 9

P 9598. H., 0.045 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.22 m.

A flat plate with intumed rim. In the centre, a rinceau medallion; around the edge, a crude rinceau band surrounded by double lines. Almost colorless glaze; white slip on outside. Red clay.

A 45. Sgraffito plate. Figs. 7, 33

P 9599. H., 0.05 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.25 m. The ring foot almost all broken away.

Flat projecting rim. Around the inside, two crude rinceau bands. Colorless to light green glaze, peeled in spots; pinkish slip. Clay buff to red.

A 46. Base of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 8

P 9586. Diam. of foot, 0.091 m.

Flaring ring foot, moulded slightly at the bottom. In the centre, a medallion with an interlace against an imbricated background. Colorless glaze. Buff clay.

A 47. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 7

P 7836. H., 0.073 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.19 m. Profile complete.

Undefined rim. In the centre, an eagle; conventional foliate ornament in the field. A conventional border around the rim. Light green glaze which has bubbled in firing. Pink clay.

This bowl was found in 1936, in Pithos K, Section KK. A small fragment from the cistern under discussion was found to join. This piece is therefore included along with the three following pieces from the same location.

A 48. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 8

P 7837. H., 0.073 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.19 m. Profile complete.

Undefined rim. In a medallion enclosed in a wreath, the head and shoulders of a figure, left, with hands outstretched toward an object of which only a trace remains. Uneven yellow glaze. Buff clay.

A 49. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 8

P 7838. Diam. of foot, 0.10 m.

From the centre of the bowl. A bird, running, with head upturned. Almost colorless glaze, badly corroded. Orange clay.

A 50. Fragment of incised bowl. Fig. 8

P 7839. Diam. of foot, 0.067 m.

From the centre of the bowl. A bird with incised body, head, wings and legs sgraffito; traces of field ornament above. Pale yellow glaze. White slip on outside. Coarse red clay.

A 51. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 8

P 9594. Diam. of foot, *ca.* 0.10 m.

From a bowl with a flaring foot. A bird, right; feet, beak and end of tail missing; traces of field ornament. Light yellow glaze; white slip on outside. Red clay.

A 52. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 8

P 9593. Diam. of foot, 0.12 m.

From the bottom of a large bowl. A goat, crudely drawn, eating a piece of the field ornament. Yellow glaze. Coarse yellowish clay.

A 53. Fragment of incised sgraffito bowl. Fig. 8

P 9587. Diam. of foot, 0.085 m.

From the bottom of a shallow bowl; trace of inturn for rim at top of preserved wall. In the centre, a medallion of circles within squares, surrounded by a band of incised vertical strokes. Light green glaze. Buff clay. Traces of burning.

Some joining fragments were found in Pithos K.

A 54. Incised sgraffito plate. Fig. 7

P 9601. H., 0.058 m. Diam., 0.253 m.

Heavy ring foot. Three zones of ornament consisting of vertical lines, incised and sgraffito, the middle one interrupted four (?) times by a medallion of horizontal and vertical lines; a similar medallion in the centre. Yellow glaze; creamy slip on outside. Orange clay.

Joining fragments were found in Pithos K.

A 55. Fragment of cooking pot. Fig. 10

P 9580. P.H., 0.115 m. Diam. of rim estimated, *ca.* 0.15 m.

From a round-bodied pot with two (?) handles and outturned rim; shallow grooves around handle zone. Coarse red clay, burned black on the outside.



Fig. 10. Miscellaneous Objects from Group A, Period II

A 56. Amphora handle. Fig. 10

P 9581. W., 0.062 m.

Lower attachment preserved. Broad flat handle with three rows of triangular punches. Coarse red clay.

A 57. Coarse lid. Fig. 10

P 9582. Max. Dim., 0.133 m. Only a small bit of the edge preserved.

A flat lid with concentric grooves and a loop handle. Coarse buff clay; traces of burning.

A 58. Double-saucered lamp. Fig. 10

L 2864. H., 0.25 m. Diam. of upper saucer, *ca.* 0.08 m. The handle and parts of the lower saucer broken away.

The upper saucer has an uneven covering of green glaze over a white slip; part of the slip covers the lower saucer. Buff clay.

A 59. Clay disc. Fig. 10

MC 349. Diam., 0.07 -0.078 m.

A thick disc, irregularly flat, with a hole near the middle; possibly a spindle whorl. Orange clay with traces of a lighter slip.

A 60. Fragment of a porphyry cross. Fig. 10

ST 169. P. H., 0.03 m. P. W., 0.029 m.

Two arms of a small Maltese cross.

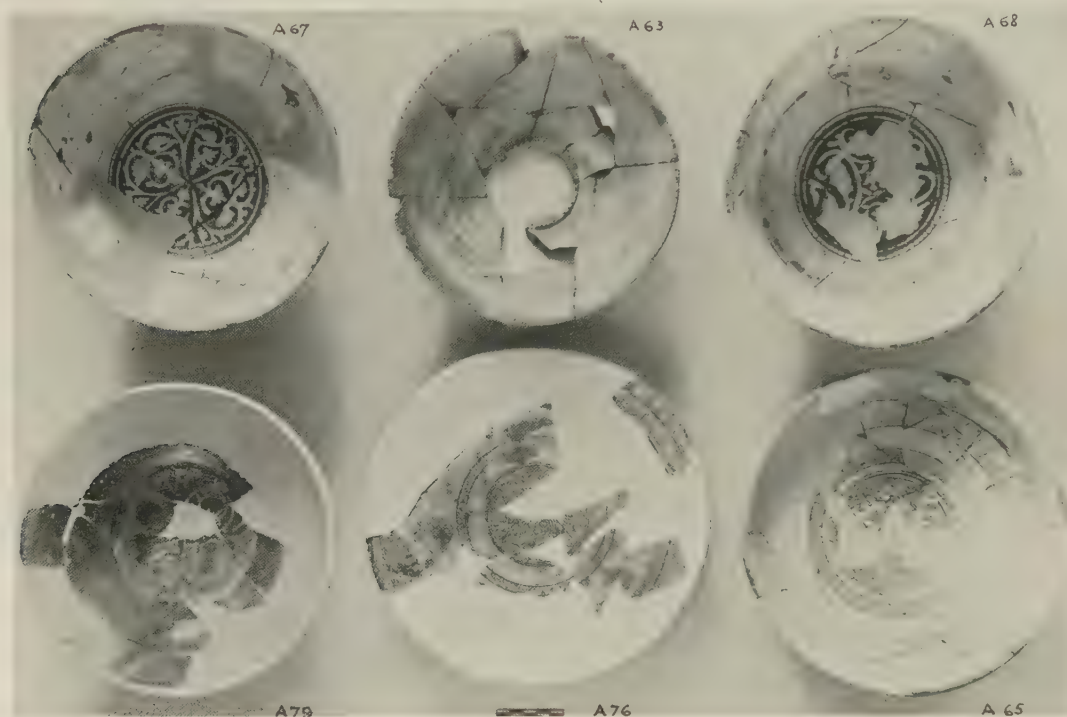


Fig. 11. Sgraffito and Plain-glazed Wares from Group A, Period III

A 61. Stone artifact. Fig. 10

ST 179. Max. Dim., 0.065 m.

A piece of black stone, irregularly shaped; all sides polished smooth as if from use as a grinder.

A 62. Bone button. Fig. 10

BI 332. Diam., 0.023 m. T., 0.006 m.

One side flat, the other domed and decorated with incisions; pierced through the centre. The bone dyed pink.

A 63. Yellow-glazed bowl. Fig. 11

P 9611. P. H., 0.085 m. Diam., 0.21 m. The foot and a few small pieces of the rim and walls missing.

Curving sides. In the centre, a depression surrounded by a ridge; notched rim. Uneven yellow glaze; white slip on outside. Buff clay.

A 64. Yellow-glazed bowl. Fig. 14

P 9612. H., 0.055 m. Diam., 0.143 m. Pieces of the rim and walls missing.

A small bowl with inturned rim. Yellow glaze with irregular streaks and dots of brown. White slip on outside. Pinkish buff clay.

A 65. Sgraffito bowl. Figs. 11, 12, 32

P 9384. H., 0.067 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.22 m.

A shallow bowl with almost vertical, slightly outturned rim; low ring foot. In the central medallion, a bird against an imbricated background; between the medallion and the rim, one narrow and one wide band of zigzags. Almost colorless glaze; thin white slip on the outside. Fine red clay.

A 66. Incised sgraffito bowl. Fig. 13

P 9385. H., 0.11 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.30 m. About one half preserved. Profile complete.

A large flaring bowl with slightly incurving rim. A goat, right, eating a vine; vines in the field. Green glaze. Buff clay.

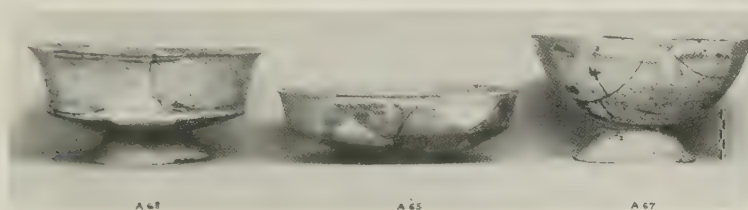


Fig. 12. Sgraffito Bowls from Group A, Period III

A 67. Incised bowl. Figs. 11, 12, 32

P 9386. H., 0.122 m. Diam., 0.214 m. Almost complete.

A deep bowl on a high conical foot. In the centre, a large medallion with a quatrefoil palmette ornament against an incised background. Yellow glaze; white slip and thin colorless glaze on the outside. Reddish clay.

A 68. Incised bowl. Figs. 11, 12, 32

P 9387. H., 0.109 m. Diam., 0.23 m. Almost complete.

An open bowl on a flaring foot; almost flat floor, with sharply defined junction between floor and vertical concave sides. In the centre, a medallion with a rinceau design against an incised background. Yellow glaze; white slip and colorless glaze on outside. Reddish clay.

A 69. Sgraffito plate. Fig. 13

P 9388. H., *ca.* 0.05 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.31 m. About one third preserved.

A large plate with hatched rim. In the centre, a geometric design (?) against an imbricated background, surrounded by three rinceau bands, the middle one interrupted, probably four times, by a geometric medallion. Fairly fine work. Almost colorless glaze within and without. Red clay. Mended in antiquity.

A 70. Incised sgraffito bowl. Fig. 13

P 9602. H., 0.14 m. Diam., 0.321 m. Fragments from the rim and wall, also most of the central medallion, missing.

Rather high ring foot; upturned rim. In the centre, a medallion with a conventional design(?) against an imbricated background; around the sides, a band of incised vertical strokes. Poor green glaze. Pinkish buff clay.

A 71. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 13

P 9603. H., 0.105 m. Diam., *ca.* 0.305 m. About one half preserved.

High ring foot; inturned rim. In the centre, a bird, crudely drawn, head and feet missing; conventional foliate ornaments in the field. Poor light yellow glaze. Buff clay.



Fig. 13. Sgraffito Ware from Group A, Period III

A 72. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 13

P 9604. H., 0.095 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.29 m.

Slightly flaring ring foot; inturned rim. In the centre, a bird, sgraffito; incised sgraffito vine ornament in the field. Brownish yellow glaze; white slip on outside. Buff clay.

A 73. Incised sgraffito lid. Fig. 14

P 9605. P.H., 0.065 m. Diam., 0.205 m.

Slightly incurving rim; small stem for knob broken away. The inside glazed green; around the outside a scrawling conventional design with brownish yellow glaze, much peeled. Clay grey to buff.

A 74. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 14

P 9606. Diam. of foot, 0.117 m.

The bottom of a large bowl with ring foot. A bird, right, head missing; conventional foliate ornament in the field. Yellow glaze; white slip on the outside. Light red clay.

A 75. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 14

P 9607. Diam. of foot, 0.123 m.

In a medallion, an animal, left, head missing; no inner detail on body; small vine sprays in background. Yellow glaze. Buff clay.



Fig. 14. Sgraffito and Plain-glazed Wares from Group A, Period III

A 76. Sgraffito plate. Fig. 11

P 9608. H., 0.047 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.26 m.

Notched rim. In the centre, an elaborate rinceau medallion surrounded by two bands of zigzags. Yellow glaze, much peeled; white slip on outside. Red clay. Traces of burning.

A 77. Sgraffito plate. Fig. 13

P 9609. H., 0.058 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.26 m. Profile complete to inside of ring foot.

Plain rim. In the centre, a medallion with a conventional design(?) against an imbricated background, surrounded by a band of incised vertical strokes and, near the edge, a broader band of sgraffito strokes. Dull light green glaze; white slip on outside. Light red clay.

A 78. Medallion from incised bowl. Fig. 14

P 9610. Max. Dim., 0.085 m.

From a small bowl with flaring foot. A split palmette with an inner palmette against an incised background. Yellow glaze; white slip and very thin glaze on outside. Pinkish buff clay.

A 79. Sgraffito bowl. Figs. 11, 32

P 9613. H., 0.103 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.225 m.

Widely flaring foot; incurving sides. In the centre, a medallion with a conventional design against an imbricated background. Uneven green glaze. Buff clay.

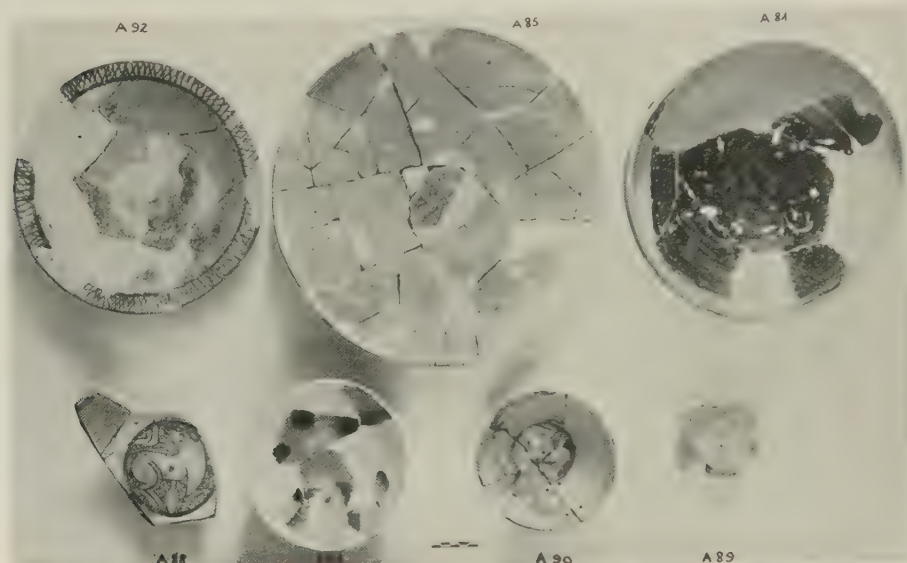


Fig. 15. Bowls and Plates from Group A, Period IV

A 80. Double-saucered lamp. Fig. 14

L 2865. P. H., 0.113 m. The lower half and parts of both saucers missing.

The spouts are at right angles to each other. The upper saucer glazed yellow on the inside, with brown around the rim; the whole of the outside, and the inside of the lower saucer glazed green. Pinkish buff clay.

A 81. Slip-painted bowl. Fig. 15

P 9614. H., 0.11 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.29 m.

Slightly flaring ring foot; inturned rim. In the centre, under the glaze, a design painted in black with splotches of white; white under the glaze around the rim; elsewhere the colorless glaze is applied directly over the clay. Clay buff to orange.

A 82. Green-glazed bowl. Fig. 16

P 9615. H., 0.09 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.30 m.

Slightly flaring ring foot; incurving rim. Uneven green glaze on the inside; thin white slip on the outside. Pinkish buff clay.

A 83. Yellow and green-glazed bowl. Fig. 15

P 9616. H., 0.07 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.19 m. About two thirds preserved.

Undefined rim. The inside glazed light greenish-yellow with streaks of green running down from the rim. Buff clay.

A 84. Small yellow-glazed bowl. Fig. 16

P 9617. H., 0.067 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.15 m. About one quarter preserved.

Widely flaring foot. White slip on outside. Buff clay.

A 85. Incised sgraffito plate. Fig. 15

P 9618. H., 0.05–0.06 m. Almost complete.

A large, almost flat plate. In the centre, a cross; the inside was covered with yellow glaze which has almost entirely peeled away; the white slip and thin colorless glaze which covered the outside has likewise almost disappeared. Buff clay.

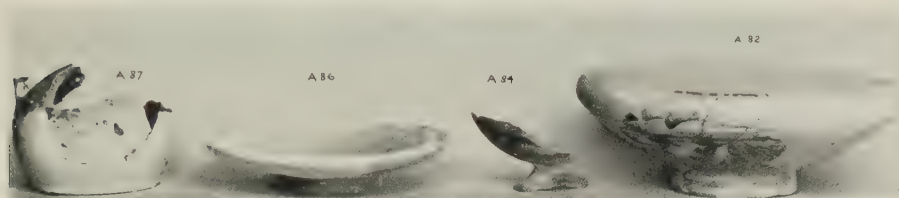


Fig. 16. Plain-glazed Ware from Group A, Period IV

A 86. Yellow-glazed plate. Fig. 16

P 9619. H., 0.042 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.215 m. About one half preserved.

Slightly inturned rim. Buff clay, from which the yellow glaze has almost entirely peeled.

A 87. Yellow-glazed jug. Fig. 16

P 9621. P. H., 0.11 m. Diam., 0.14 m. None of the neck and only the lower attachment of the handle preserved.

From the shoulder and lower part of a round-bodied jug. Flat base set off by shallow groove. Light yellow glaze; the bottom glazed but not slipped. Red clay.

A 88. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 15

P 9380. H., 0.108 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.115 m. A small section of the rim and walls preserved. Profile complete.

Flaring foot; slightly incurving rim. In the centre, a medallion with an animal, right, looking back, against an imbricated background. Light yellow glaze. Buff clay.

A 89. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 15

P 9381. P. H., 0.042 m. Diam. of foot, 0.095 m. About three quarters of the medallion and foot preserved.

From a bowl similar to the preceding. A rabbit against an imbricated background, in a medallion surrounded by a border of four incised bands, cross-hatched at intervals. Light yellow glaze. Buff clay.



Fig. 17. Sgraffito Fragment from Group A, Period IV. (Slightly reduced)

A 90. Incised bowl. Fig. 15

P 9382. P. H., 0.065 m. Diam., 0.151 m.

A flaring stemmed bowl; the stem completely broken away. In the centre, a medallion with a rabbit against an incised background, crudely drawn. Yellow glaze; white slip on outside. Reddish clay. Mended in antiquity.

A 91. Incised sgraffito sherd. Fig. 17

P 9383. Max. Dim., 0.105 m.

From an open plate. The head and shoulders of a warrior, left, wearing a pointed cap and carrying a pointed wicker (?) shield. Yellow glaze. Orange clay.



Fig. 18. Coarse Ware from Group A, Period IV

A 92. Incised sgraffito plate. Fig. 15

P 9620. H., 0.057 m. Diam., 0.26 m.

Rather high ring foot; almost flat projecting rim decorated with cross-hatching. Bubbly yellow glaze; traces of white slip on outside. Buff clay.

A 93. Coarse jug. Fig. 18

P 9622. H., 0.26 m. Diam., 0.19 m. The handle and part of the lip broken away.

Rounded bottom; shallow grooves around neck, shoulder and above base. Coarse red clay.

A 94. Fragment of large jar. Fig. 18

P 9623. P. H., 0.175 m. W. of handle, 0.062 m.

A handle and part of the wall of a coarse jar; none of the rim preserved. Below the upper handle attachment, a ridge, below which are three rows of zigzags scratched in the clay. Coarse red clay.

A 95. Fragment of coarse bowl. Fig. 18

P 9624. H., 0.135 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.30 m. Profile complete.

A flat-bottomed bowl with slightly curving sides. Below the rim, on the outside, two grooves. Coarse clay, red to buff on the outside, grey at the core.

GROUP B

B 1. Brown-glazed chafing dish. Fig. 19

P 10,147. H., 0.185 m. Diam. at rim, 0.215 m.

Deep bowl with moulded rim and flat bottom; high base tapering toward concave foot, with a large rectangular opening on one side; on the opposite side at least one small round hole; two vertical handles attached at the base of the bowl and just above the foot; irregular gouges on the outside of the base. The glaze covers the inside of the bowl, with splashes on the outside. Coarse red clay.

B 2. Spouted jug. Fig. 19

P 10,148. H., 0.092 m. Diam., 0.103 m.

Flat bottom; straight rim; vertical handle from top of rim to below point of greatest circumference; spout set on shoulder near handle. Brown glaze over inside and upper part of outside, much damaged and whitened. Coarse red clay.

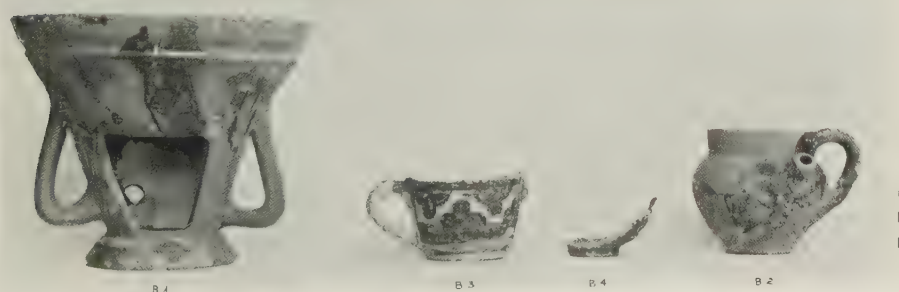


Fig. 19. Glazed Wares from Group B

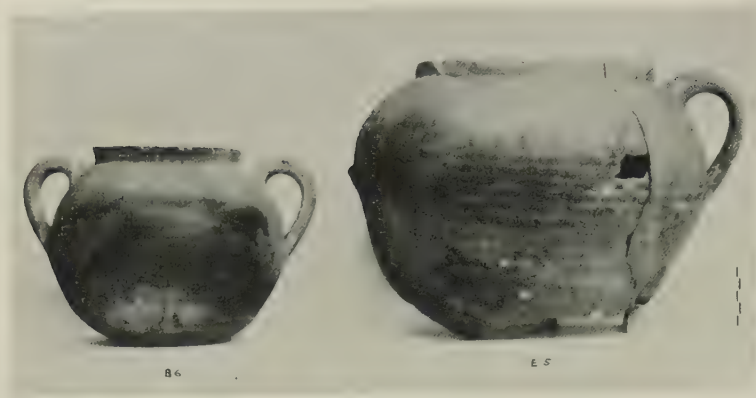


Fig. 20. Cooking Pots from Groups B and E

B 3. Polychrome cup. Fig. 19

P 9981. H, 0.063 m. Diam., 0.089 m. One handle and a piece of the rim missing.

Concave, slightly projecting base; almost vertical sides with sharply defined inward slope near the base; two handles extending from rim to base. On exterior, a band of trefoils of yellow-brown glaze outlined in black; on the floor, in black paint, a cross with bars at the ends. Yellow glaze around the inside and outside of the rim, with splashes on the handle. White clay, pink at the core.

For similar interior decoration on the same ware, cf. Rice, pl. VI.

B 4. Fragment of blue-glazed bowl or cup. Fig. 19

P 9982. H, 0.046 m. Diam. estimated, ca. 0.10 m. Profile complete.

Slightly flaring rim; groove at bottom of side wall. Covered all over with a light blue-green glaze, badly stained. Grey clay.

B 5. Fragment of a coarse lid. Fig. 21

P 9981. T., 0.016 m. Max. Dim., 0.075 m.

From a flat lid with plain rim. In a circle stamped on the upper surface is a scene, undoubtedly to be interpreted as the Adoration of the Magi. At the left a figure sits, three-quarters or profile, holding a child; from the right advance three figures wearing Phrygian caps, short tunics and possibly trousers; each carries a small object. Solid red brown clay, much blackened, especially on the lower surface.



Fig. 21. Stamped Fragment. (Actual size)



Fig. 22. Green-glazed Chafing-dish (White Ware)

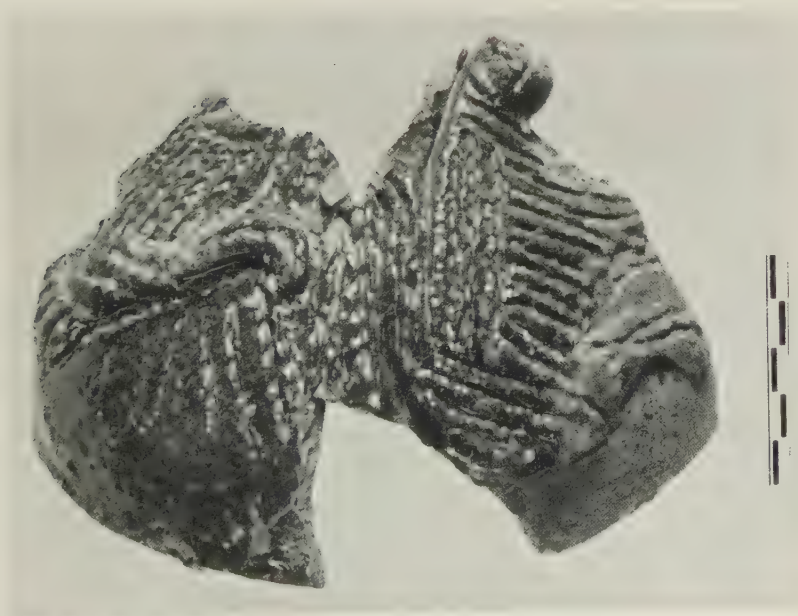


Fig. 23. Brown-glazed Lid for Chafing-dish



Fig. 24. Brown-glazed Chafing-dish, Plastic Decoration



Fig. 25. Bowls and Plates from Group C

B 6. Two-handed cooking pot. Fig. 20

P 9983. H., 0.155 m. Diam. of rim, 0.125 m. Diam. of body, 0.191 m. Intact.

A round-bottomed plump pot; vertical rim with the top surface sloping in; two vertical handles on the shoulder. Four shallow wheel-grooves about the point of greatest circumference. Gritty red-brown clay; the bottom burned black.

B 7. Fragment of coarse pithos. Fig. 3

P 10,149. Diam. at rim estimated, *ca.* 0.305 m.

A piece from the rim and shoulder with one handle preserved. Vertical rim, flat on top, with two angular ridges around the side; horizontal loop handle on bulging side wall. Incised wavy lines below rim. Coarse red clay, grey at core.

GROUP C

C 1. Green-glazed bowl. Figs. 25, 33

P 5635. H., 0.05 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.195 m.

A shallow bowl with carefully profiled walls sharply distinguished from low, nearly vertical rim. White slip on outside. Reddish clay.

C 2. Slip-painted bowl. Figs. 25, 32

P 5634. H., 0.117 m. Diam., 0.291 m.

A large bowl with upturned rim. Slip-painted design of triangles with irregular streaks and splotches, covered with green glaze. Buff clay.

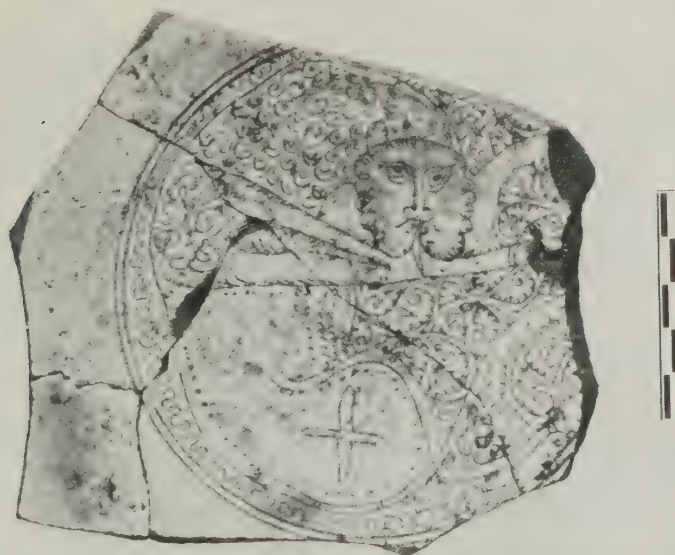


Fig. 26. Sgraffito Fragment from Group C

C 3. Red-painted plate. Figs. 25, 33

P 5633. H., 0.037 m. Diam., 0.205 m.

Upturned sides; very low ring foot. Decorated with two bands of debased rinceau in heavy reddish brown over a white slip. Slightly opaque colorless glaze. Light brown clay.

C 4. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 26

P 5631. Diam. of foot, 0.09 m.

The bottom of a shallow bowl; most of the central medallion preserved. A seated lion, his head, frontal, resting on his forelegs; his body following the contour of the circle, against a rinceau background; on his haunch a cross. Light greenish yellow glaze. Light red clay. Thin colorless glaze on outside.

C 5. Sgraffito plate with incision. Figs. 25, 33

P 5632. H., 0.032 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Sharply upturned rim; low, concave foot. A rosette in a central medallion, surrounded by a band of enclosed palmettes, sgraffito, with incised details. Light green glaze; white slip on the outside. Reddish clay.

GROUP D

D 1. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 27

P 5572. H., 0.07 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.20 m.

A piece from the rim to the base of a small flaring bowl. In the centre, a rinceau medallion; around the middle of the wall, a rinceau band interrupted at least once by a medallion; near

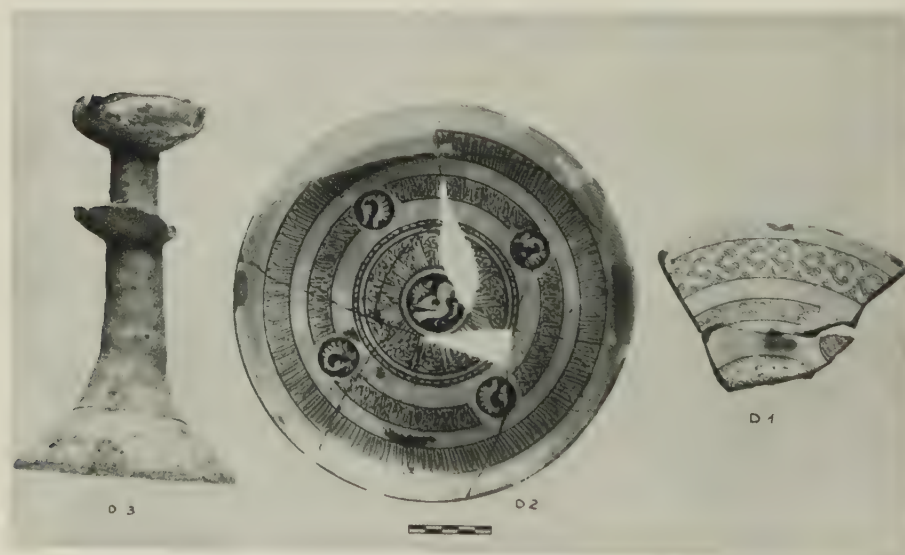


Fig. 27. Sgraffito Ware and a Lamp from Group D



Fig. 28. Coarse Ware from Group D

the rim, a wider band with a running pattern of heart-shaped leaves. Greenish yellow glaze; white slip and colorless glaze on the outside. Red clay.

D 2. Sgraffito plate with incision. Fig. 27

P 5314. H., 0.043 m. Diam., 0.299 m. Almost complete.

Vertical rim; very low ring foot. Small central medallion with a bird against an incised background, surrounded by three bands of conventional ornament, sgraffito, the middle one interrupted four times by an incised medallion. Almost colorless glaze, thin slip and glaze on the outside. Red clay.

D 3. Double-saucered lamp. Fig. 27

L 1717. H., 0.228 m. W. of upper saucer, *ca.* 0.083 m. Diam. of base, 0.127 m.

The stand flares toward the base. Green glaze on the inside of the upper saucer; traces of white slip on the outside of both saucers. Buff clay.

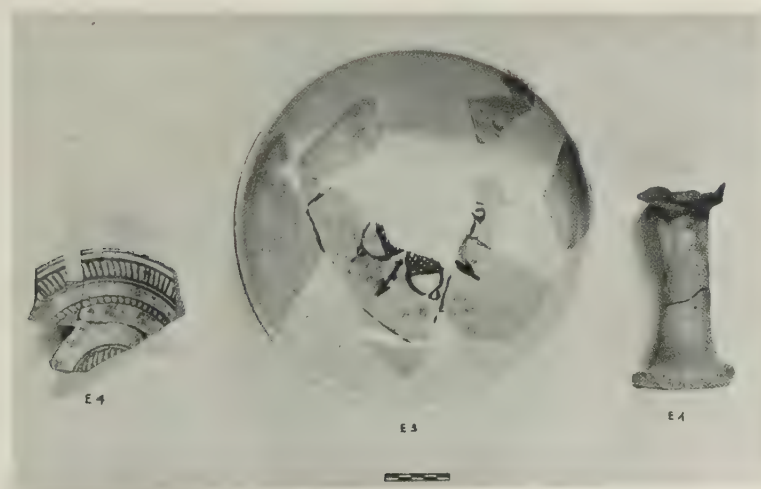


Fig. 29. Sgraffito Bowls and a Lamp from Group E

D 4. Unglazed amphora. Fig. 28

P 5316. H., 0.293 m. Diam., 0.229 m.

Rounded bottom, short neck; wheel ridges on the shoulder. Coarse red clay.

D 5. Coarse jug with incised decoration. Fig. 28

P 5569. P. H., 0.218 m. Diam., 0.195 m.

Round body; flat bottom. Zigzag lines incised in the wet clay, on the shoulder. Micaceous pinkish buff clay, grey core. Lip and handle missing.



Fig. 30. Sgraffito Plate from Group E

D 6. Unglazed amphora. Fig. 28

P 5570. H., 0.23 m. Diam., 0.175 m.

Round body, tapering toward flat bottom. Several grooves around shoulder. Light pinkish buff clay. One handle and most of lip missing.

D 7. Unglazed amphora. Fig. 28

P 5571. H., 0.225 m. Diam., 0.176 m.

Round body tapering sharply toward flat bottom. Narrow neck with flaring lip. Wheel-run grooves around shoulder. Coarse brick-red clay. One handle and most of lip missing.

GROUP E

E 1. Double-saucered lamp. Fig. 29

L 2842. H., 0.156 m. Max. Diam., 0.097 m.

The upper saucer and the handle broken away. Flaring base. Buff clay; yellowish glaze, much worn.

E 2. Sgraffito plate with incision. Figs. 30, 33

P 9396. H., 0.071 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.29 m. Less than half preserved.

Almost vertical rim; low ring foot. A warrior, facing, wearing a high conical cap, a tight-fitting garment covering his arms and legs, and a flaring skirt resembling a fustanella. His long curly hair falls below his shoulders. In his left hand he carries a shield, in his right a short staff topped with a rosette. Two tree-like objects rise from his shoulders and from his waist hangs a scabbard (?). At his right is an eagle or falcon with incised body and around him, encircling the plate, is coiled a dragon. The rim is decorated with a border of alternate tear-drops and lozenges above a debased guilloche. Yellow glaze; white slip and thin glaze on outside. Light red clay.

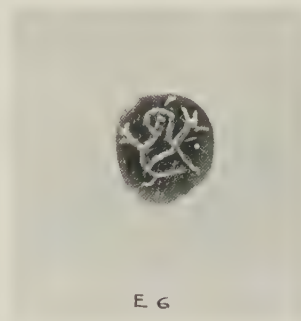


Fig. 31. Stone Seal from Group E. (Slightly enlarged)

E 3. Incised sgraffito bowl. Fig. 29

P 9505. H., 0.087 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.295 m.

Fragments of a low bowl with slightly incurving sides. In the centre, a Maltese cross, cross-hatched, with loops at the ends and arrows between the arms. Light yellow glaze. Buff clay.

E 4. Fragment of incised sgraffito bowl. Fig. 29

P 9504. H., 0.056 m. Diam. estimated, *ca.* 0.170 m.

From a small bowl with flaring sides. In the centre, a medallion with a simple design of incised lines; around the sides, two bands of vertical incised lines. Yellow glaze. Light red clay.

E 5. Two-handled cooking pot. Fig. 20

P 9506. P.H., 0.225 m. Diam., 0.277 m. The bottom, one handle and pieces from the walls missing.

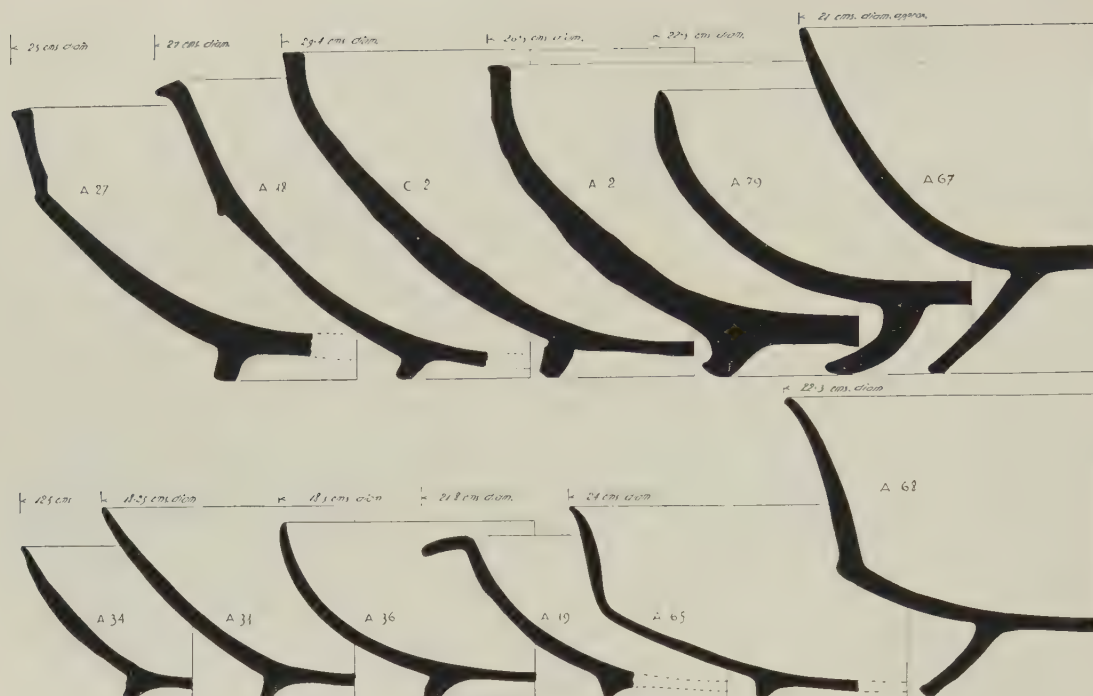


Fig. 32. Profiles of Bowls



Fig. 33. Profiles of Bowls and Plates

Squat pot tapering slightly toward bottom; low vertical rim. Wheel-run grooves around middle of body. Dark red micaceous clay, unglazed; blackened by fire.

E 6. Stone Seal. Fig. 31

ST 171. H., 0.016 m. Diam., 0.01 m.

A cone-shaped stone with a small knob at the point. On the flat circular bottom is engraved a bird. Light green stone with a soapy texture; opaque.

M. ALISON FRANTZ

METRICAL INSCRIPTIONS

I publish here three sepulchral epigrams which have been found during the course of the American excavations of the Athenian Agora.¹ In dealing with inscriptions like these, one can hardly claim literal accuracy for proposed restorations. However, it does seem that in a good many instances the general sense of the lost parts of these inscriptions has been recovered.

28.² Fragment of Hymettian marble. The left side is preserved, but the stone is broken away above, below, at the right, and at the back. It was found on May 3, 1934 in Section K, in a modern wall.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.064 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 1466.

The inscription is of the Hellenistic period, probably of the second century B.C. In line 7, the initial letter of <ε>ις appears on the stone as Ξ.

- 1 [.]ΙφρητηΙ[- - - - -]
 Ἀτθίδα τήν ολ[- - - - -]
 αἰαῖ τῇ(ι) Μουση > [- - - - -]
 ὀκταέτη ψυχ[ὴν ὄλεσε Μοῖρα κακί.]
 5 δάκρυα δὲ σιγῇ[αχάς τε λιποῦσ' αἰῶνι γονεῦσιν,]
 ἀντὶ γάμων, οἷμ[οι, ἐν τόδε σῆμ' ἔλαχον.]
 [τ]όμ βαθὺν <ε>ις Ἀχ[έροντος ἔβην δόμον εὐρὺν ἔειντος?]
 εἰς πῦρ δὲ σπ[οδιὰ σῶμα δοθὲν γένετο.]

TRANSLATION

... Evil Fate destroyed my life when I was eight years old. Leaving to my parents everlasting tears and lamentations I have won, alas, instead of marriage, only this grave. I have gone into the deep abode of broad-flowing(?) Acheron, and my body, committed to the pyre, has become a heap of ashes.

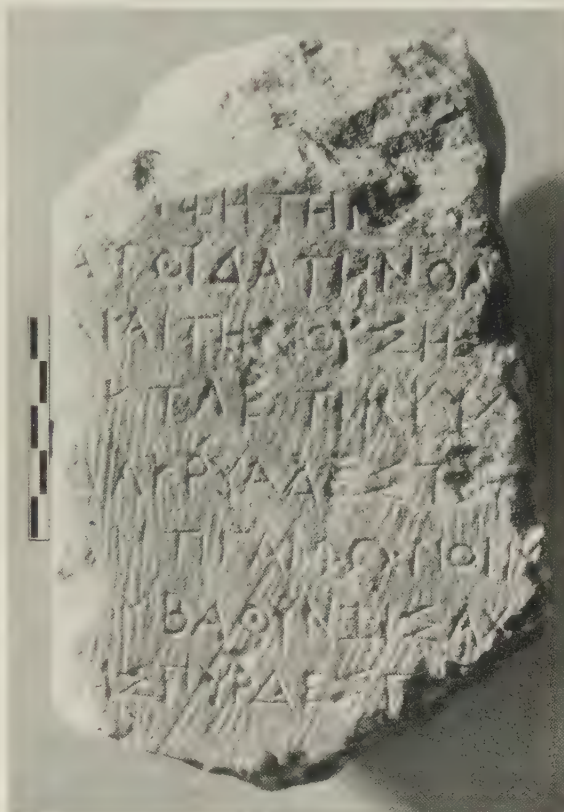
¹ Acknowledgments are gratefully made to B. D. Meritt, who has read the manuscript, and to J. H. Oliver and Eugene Vanderpool, who have examined the stones in order to verify several readings which could not be determined from the squeezes and photographs. I have had no opportunity to see the stones myself.

² The inscriptions are numbered in sequence after those published by B. D. Meritt in the first number of *Hesperia* for the current year.

It cannot be determined whether this poem was written in the elegiac meter or in hexameters. As elegiac verse is more usual in sepulchral epigrams, I have made the restorations in this meter. The even lines are not indented on the stone, but this does not tell against the supposition that we have to do with elegiac verse. For an elegiac inscription of this period with a straight left-hand margin see W. H. Buckler and David M. Robinson, *Sardis*, VII, 1, p. 108, fig. 100.

Line 2: *Ἀθίδα*. This may be the name of the deceased.

Line 4: Cf. *φόντα τ[ρ]ίς ἐ[πι]αέτην ὤλε[σ]ε μοῖρα νόσωι*, Kaibel,¹ *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, no. 413, 2; *ψυχὰς δλέσας*, Aesch. *Ag.* 1457 and 1466; *βίον . . . ὤλ[εσεν] . . . τύχ[η]*, Kaibel, 489, 3–4; *κακὴ μοῖρ'* [ὤλ]εσεν, *S.E.G.*, I, 455, 13–14; *μοῖρα κακή*, *Iliad* 13, 602. The most ordinary epithet of *Μοῖρα* seems to be *δολή*. I have avoided the dreadful combination *ὤλεσε Μοῖρ' δολή*, although there was a Phrygian poet of sorts who did not shrink from it. Cf. *ὤλεσεν [μοῖρ'] δολή*, *S.E.G.*, I, 455, 16–17. One might restore *δολή* and replace *ὤλεσε* by some other verb, as *ἔσβεσε*. Cf. *με . . . μοῖρῃ [σβ]έσε*, Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, p. 267, no. 337, 1–2; *ἔσβεσε [Μοῖρ]α βίην*, Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, II, p. 101, no. 167, 5. On the frequent coincidence of ictus and word-accent in this verse, see the discussion of line 5 below.



No. 28

Line 5: Cf. *δάκρυα καὶ στοναχὰς λείψας αἰῶνι γοεῦσιν*, Kaibel, 587, 2; *τοκεῦσιν δυστήροις ἔλιπον δάκρυα καὶ στοναχὰς*, Kaibel, 224, 3–4; *ματέρι καὶ γενέτρ' στήγνα λιπὼν δάκρυα*, Kaibel, 256, 6. On the assumption that the deceased was a girl I have restored *λιποῦσ'* rather than *λιπὼν*. This assumption is rendered to a certain extent plausible by the feminine name in line 2, although it cannot be proved that this was the name of the deceased. No evidence as to the sex of the deceased can be derived from line 6, where the untimely death before marriage is lamented. This sentiment may appear characteristically feminine to us, but it was not so regarded among the Greeks. Many instances of this lament are to be found in the epitaphs of men and women alike. It will be noticed that in this

¹ Hereafter, the author's name alone will be used in references to this work.

verse, as restored, there are six word-accents, each of which coincides with an ictus. This is almost equalled by δάκρυα καὶ στοναχὰς λείψας αἰῶνι γονεῦσιν, Kaibel, 587, 2; or Ἐκτωρ γὰρ ζωστήρα λαβὼν ξίφος ἔμπαλι δῶκε, *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 152, 3; or κεῖται ἐνὶ Τροίῃ Τελαμώνιος οὐ τι δ' ἔμπης, *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 149, 1; or [οἷα δὲ φύλλα ζ]ῶσι βροτῶν [γενεαὶ ταχυμοίρων], Kaibel, 147, 3 as restored by Wilamowitz.

Line 6: Cf. ἐν δ' ἔλαχον σῆμα τόδ' ἀντὶ γάμου, Kaibel, 227, 6.

Line 7: The adjective βαθύς is applied to various features of the underworld. Cf. βαθὺν Αἴθας . . . δόμον, *S.E.G.*, IV, 91, 6; βαθὺν εἰς Ἀχέροντα, *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 488, 1; τὸν βαθὺν εἰς Ἀΐδην, *B.C.H.*, IV, 1880, p. 170, no. 25. We find δόμον . . . εἰς Ἀχέροντος, *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 181, 1. For the doubtful restoration ἐρὼν ἔροντος cf. *Iliad* 2, 849 = 16, 288, where the epithet is applied to the river Axius.

Line 8: For εἰς πῦρ . . . σῶμα δοθέν cf. ψυχὴν . . . εἰς ἄερα δοῦσα, Kaibel, 654, 4. For σποδιὰ . . . γένετο cf. τέφρη γενόμεν, *Anth. Pal.*, 8, 222, 1.

29. Four fragments of a column of Pentelic marble join to form two non-contiguous groups. Fragments A and B contain the beginning of the inscription and part of a relief above it. These fragments are broken away on all sides, though the inscription is broken away only at the right. They were found on May 15, 1936 in a late Turkish wall in Section Σ.

Height, 0.501 m.; estimated diameter, 0.55 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Fragments C and D are broken away on all sides and at the back. The inscription is broken away above and at the left. They were found on May 5, 1936 in a late Turkish wall in Section Σ.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.40 m.

Inv. No. I 4129.

The date is probably in the first or second century A.D.

Δάκρυσον, παροδεῖτα, [- - - - - ^{name} - - - - - δαμέντα]
 ἔμπορον ἐν λι(ι)σιῶ[ν - - - ^{8 ±} - - -] **11** [- - - - -]
 ὃν μάτηρ πέμψα[σα] κ[αὶ τώμεν]ον ἄρτι γέγ[ει]α
 οὐκ ἴδεν, οὐ γεν[έτης] ^{2 ±} **10**ς ἔφλεξε νέκυν.
 αἰαῖ, καὶ τέφρ[α] ἦλθεν ἐπε[ὶ] προσεδέξαθ' ὀμεινός
 ἀντ' ἐν[νήτου, ἢ ἄ]ψ[α]μένη λεχέων.

TRANSLATION

Weep, traveller, for (name of deceased), a merchant, who was killed in (?) . . . of (?) pirates . . . His mother, after sending him forth just when he was getting his beard, did not see him again, (and) his father (?) . . . did not (?) burn the body. Alas, after his wife, the partner of his couch, had been waiting, there came (back) ashes, instead of the husband.

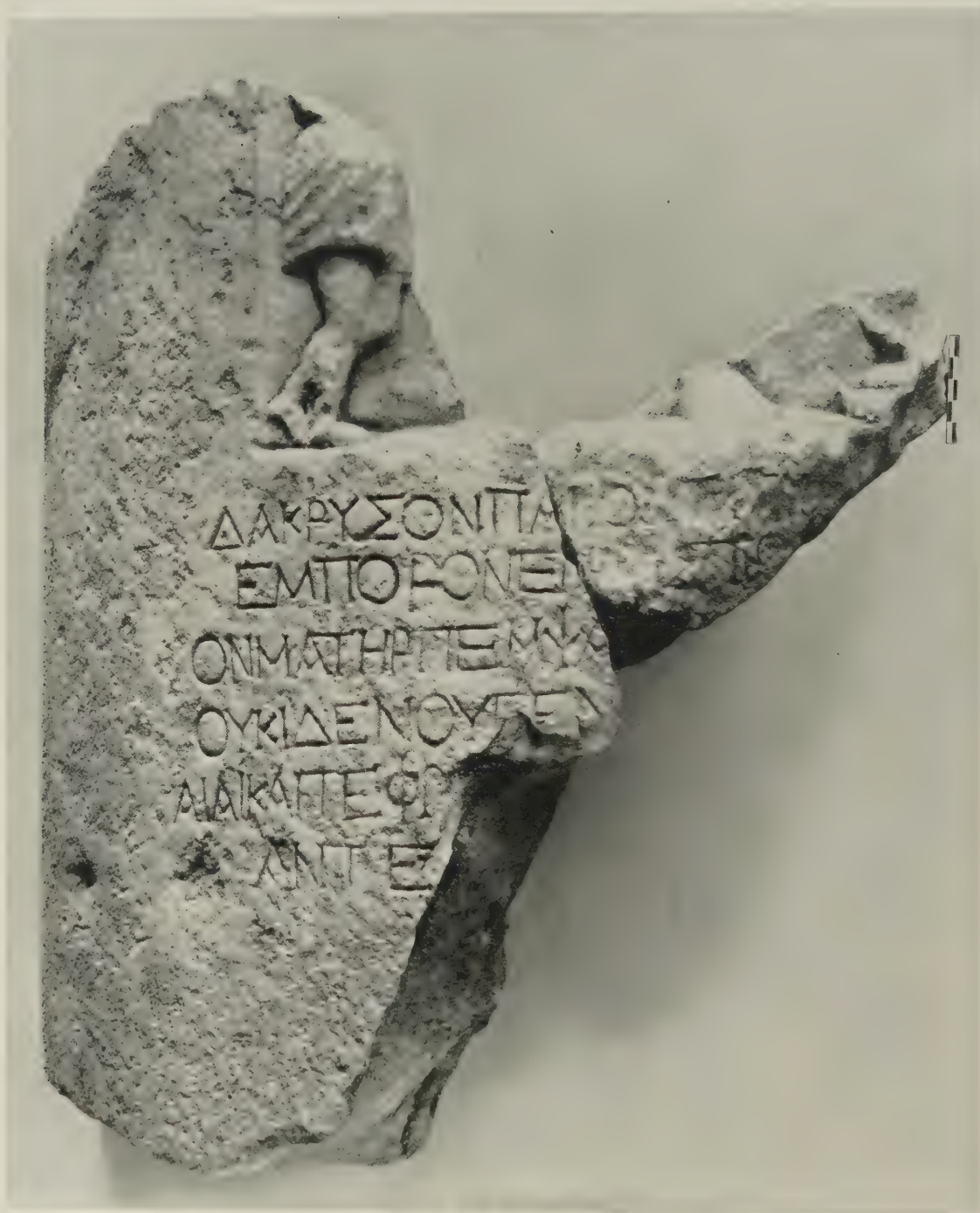
Line 1: Probably the name of the deceased occupied a part of the lost portion of the line. *δαμέντια* is restored *exempli gratia*. This verb is suggested by *λησστήρος . . . Ἀρηϊέδηθην*, *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 737, 2. For *δάκρυσον* transitive, cf. Peek in *Hermes*, 67, 1932, p. 131, no. 3, 2; Mendel in *B.C.H.*, 27, 1903, p. 315, no. 3, 1.

Line 2: The deceased was evidently a victim of pirates. No very convincing restoration for this line has occurred to me. Perhaps we should restore *ἐν λη(ι)σιτῶ[ν δώμασι - -]*, "in the haunts of pirates." Another possibility is *ἐν λη(ι)σιτῶ[ν χερσὶ - -]*, "at the hands of (?) pirates." For this translation of *ἐν χερσὶ* cf. *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 665, 5-7 *ἀλλ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ πατρίδι καὶ τύμβον καὶ κτερέων ἔλαχεν κηδεμόνων ἐν χερσίν*, "but he got funeral and a tomb in his own country by the hands of his own people" (Paton's translation in *The Greek Anthology*, Loeb Classical Library); cf. also *Κελτῶν ἐν χείρεσσιν ὀ[λέσσεας]*, *I.G., Rom.*, IV, 272, 5, which probably means, "who perished at the hands of the Celts." However, in these two instances of the phrase, as well as in the hypothetical *ἐν χερσὶ* of line 2, the preposition may possibly have purely local significance. Cf. *[τῆλε τέκνων πάτρ]ας τε, φίλων ἐν χερσὶ θανόντες*, Peek in *Ath. Mitt.*, 57, 1932, p. 58, no. 9, B. 3.

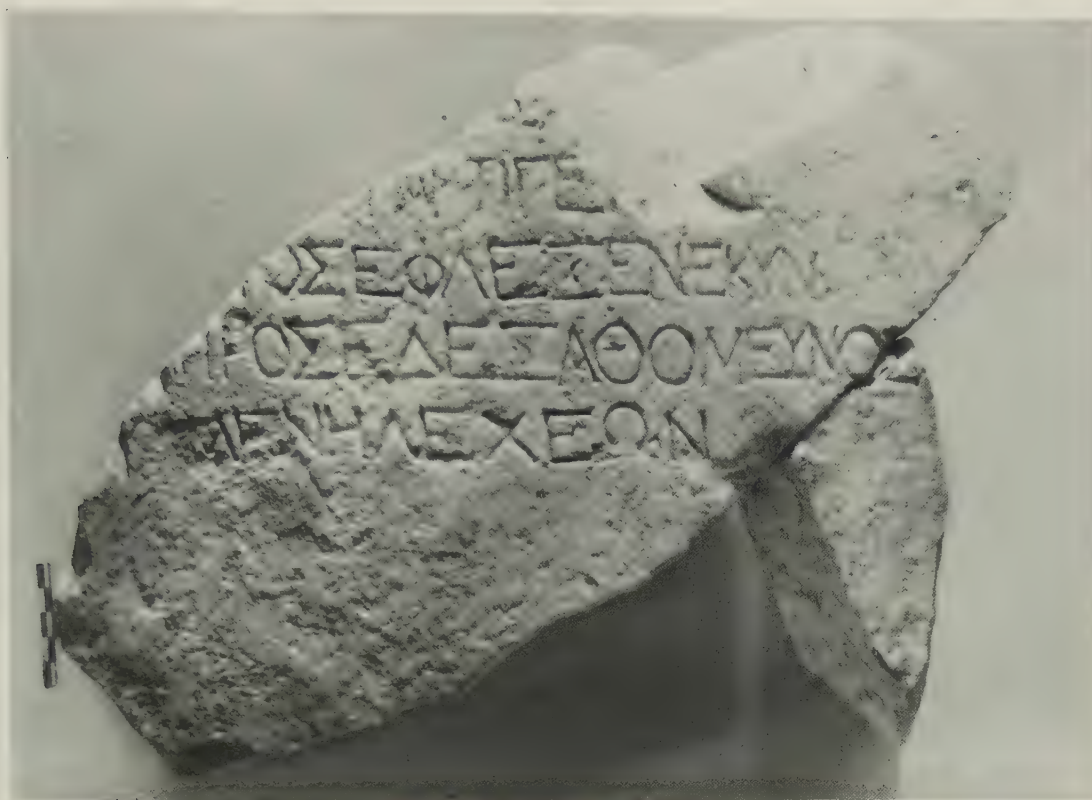
Line 3: It is not easy to see why the Doric form *μάτηρ*¹ should have been written, especially when *λη(ι)σιτῶ[ν]* is used in line 2. R. Wagner, *Quaestiones de epigrammatis Graecis ex lapidibus collectis grammaticae*, p. 17, says that Doric forms are found in non-Doric epitaphs of ephebes, and that this is done "ex imitatione Pindari fortasse tamquam celeberrimi roboris iuvenilis praeconis." See also B. Kock, *De epigrammatum Graecorum dialectis*, p. 35. A. de Mess, *Quaestiones de epigrammate Attico et tragoedia antiquiore dialecticae*, p. 19, quotes Wagner and adds, "Graecos . . . neque vero constanter eis (i.e., Doric forms) usos esse." It will be remembered that we are considering the epitaph of a youth. de Mess, however, states further (*op. cit.*, p. 21) that while the earlier writers of epigrams occasionally used Doric forms for poetic coloring, this use "sane magnopere differt a temporum recentiorum intemperata licentia." Is this *μάτηρ* to be regarded as introduced more or less appropriately for poetic coloring into a youth's epitaph, or is it merely an example of "intemperata licentia"?

Line 4: *γεν[έτης]* is suggested by *μάτηρ* in the preceding line. Possibly the father's name filled up the rest of the lacuna. If this is so, an asyndeton will result. An asyndetic style is not unusual in epigrams. Cf. . . . *ἡ καλέω σε τί τὸ ξέρον; οὐκ ἔσάεις [Ἀνδρὸς] ὀδυρομένοιο*, Graindor in *B.C.H.*, 51, 1927, p. 326, no. 90, 1-2; *Φύρμος με Φύρμον, πυρφόρος τὸν πυρφόρον, ὁ παῖς ὁ ῥήτωρ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ῥήτορα*, *Anth. Plan.*, 322 (J. H. Oliver has called my attention to this example); *Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ τί μ' ἄνω κάτω ἔλκετ' ἄμουσοι*, *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 128, 1.

¹ Verrall is probably right in retaining *ματρός* (the reading of M, corrected to *μητρός* in later mss.) in Aesch., *Sept.* 519 (trimeter), although most editors give *μητρός*. The boast of Parthenopaeus is apparently being quoted sarcastically, in his own Peloponnesian dialect.



No. 29. Fragments A and B



No. 29. Fragments C and D

Line 5: For the sentiment cf. Aesch., *Ag.* 434–436, 441–444; *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 738, 3–4; *ibid.* 739, 3–6; *ibid.* 8, 93, 4.

Line 6: Cf. ἄρτι κλυτῶν Παφίης ἀψάμεν[ο]ν θαλάμων, Kaibel, 340, 2; ἐνῆς ἡψατ', Eur., *Phoen.* 946.

30. Four fragments of Pentelic marble join as one piece, preserving part of a smooth top. They were found in 1934 and 1935 in modern walls in Section Ξ. The piece is broken away at the back, at the sides, and below.

Height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.87 m.; thickness, 0.28 m.

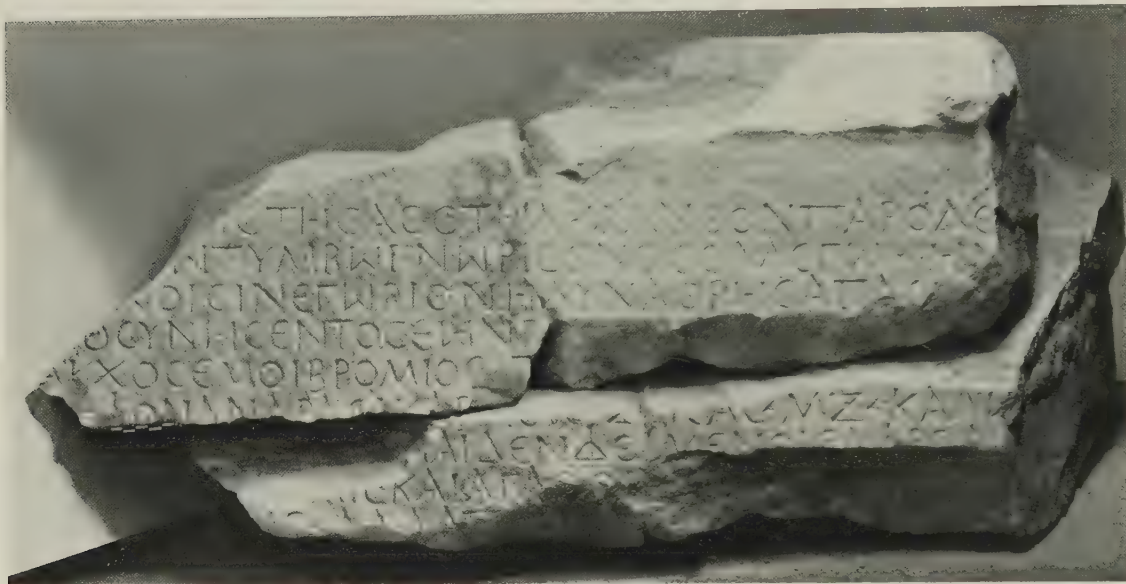
Height of letters, 0.022–0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2122.

The date is in the second or third century A.D.

- ¹ [Βαῖδον εἰ]πιστήσας στήλη(ι) κανθόν, παροδεῖται, []
 [τῇ(ι)δ' ἐν τ]ῷ(ι) τύμβω(ι) γνώρισον ὅσσα λέγω ×
 ἧ γ[ύ]πο[τ'] ἐν ζ]ωοῖσιν ἐγὼ βίον ἡδὺν ἔθρησα <
 πάσῃ[ς γ' εἰ]σφ[ε]ρ[ο]σύνῃς ἐντὸς ἐὼν γ[. . .] ὧ[. . .]

5 [καὶ] φ[ίλος ἦν αἰε|ὶ Β]άκχος ἐμοὶ Βρόμιος <
 [- - - - - ²¹ - - - - -] φον ἀνδράσι καρπὸν
 ζήσας < μζ' < καλῶ[ς λ|υκάβαντας]
 [- ³ - -] \ αἰδ' ἐν φθιμένοις Ἀφροδίτη [- - ¹⁰ - - -] αἰς <
 καὶ ἀγαθῶ[ι [- - - - - ²³ - - - - -] ις <
 10 α λ λ λ Γ - -



No. 30

TRANSLATION

For a little while, O passer-by, fix your eye upon the stone, and learn what I say (as I lie) here in the grave. Indeed once among the living I regarded life as sweet, acquainted, as I was, with every joy . . . and Bacchus Bromius always was dear to me . . . harvest for (?) men, after living honorably for forty-seven years . . . among the dead . . . Aphrodite (?) . . . and good . . .

At the ends of several verses there are marks of punctuation on the stone, i.e. after λέγω, 2; after ἔθρησα, 3; after Βρόμιος, 4; probably after καρπὸν, 6 (note the spacing of the letters); before καί, 9 and before the fragmentary *alpha* at the beginning of 10. The number μζ', 7 is enclosed within marks of punctuation.

These marks often serve as a guide to the irregular metrical scheme. Many inscribed epigrams show strange combinations of hexameters and pentameters; cf. *I.G.*, III, pt. 2, 1379 (hex., hex., pent., pent., pent.); Kaibel, 785 (hex., pent., pent., hex.); *I.G.*, XIV, 2437 (pent., pent., hex., pent., pent., hex., pent.). By glancing at the *Metrorum Tabula* in Kaibel (pp. 701–703) one could make numerous additions to this list.

Line 1: From the squeeze I read $\mu\text{ICTHCAC}$, hence $[\epsilon]\pi\iota\sigma\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$. E. Vanderpool sees these two fragmentary vertical strokes on the stone. Cf. $\beta\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\sigma\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\chi\eta\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\nu\beta\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\rho\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$, Kaibel, 690, 1; $\beta\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\nu\ \mu\epsilon\iota\iota\omicron\nu$, $\xi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \xi\eta\theta\alpha\ \pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta$, $\mu\grave{\eta}\ \pi\rho\omicron\lambda\iota\pi\omega\acute{\nu}\ \sigma\iota\eta\lambda\lambda\eta\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\alpha\theta\omega\acute{\nu}\ [\tau]\acute{\iota}\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$, Kaibel, 388, 1–2; $\beta\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\nu\ |\ \sigma\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\chi\eta\omicron\varsigma$, Kaibel, 616, 1; $\beta\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\nu$, Kaibel, 185, 1; 288, 1. For an expression similar to $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \dots\ \kappa\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ cf. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta\omicron\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \gamma\eta\nu\ \sigma\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, 1, 10. Should we restore $[\epsilon]\pi\iota\ \sigma\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \sigma\iota\eta\lambda\eta(\iota)$ instead of $[\epsilon]\pi\iota\sigma\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \sigma\iota\eta\lambda\eta(\iota)$?

Line 2: For $\tau\eta(\iota)\delta'$ cf. $\tau\eta\delta\epsilon\ \dots\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omega$, *Anth. Pal.*, 7, 153, 5.

Line 3: The restoration $\pi\omicron\tau'$ was suggested to me in conversation by Dr. Kurt Latte. Cf. $\pi\omicron\tau'\ \epsilon\nu\ \zeta\omega\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, Peek in *Ath. Mitt.*, 56, 1931, p. 122, no. 5, 3.

Line 4: For $\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in the sense of "acquainted with" cf. Soranus, I, 3, $\eta\ \gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\ \epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, also Chrysippus Stoicus, II, p. 41, line 29 (von Arnim), *ibid.*, III, p. 120, lines 11, 19, 22. The restorations here proposed leave room for one more letter at the right-hand end of line 3 of the inscription. The right-hand margin of the inscription, however, was not necessarily straight. If we restored $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta[\varsigma\ \gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\phi\epsilon]\omicron\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\eta\varsigma$ the lettering would extend to the margin, and we could find many parallels for the writing of the elided ϵ , as for example, *I.G.*, II², 3138 which has $\delta'\ \epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$, 2, but $\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\iota\pi\omega\nu$ and $\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\nu$, 3.

Line 5: Cf. $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \text{Μονσῶν}, \text{Βρομίου Παφίης τε βιώσας}$, Kaibel, 614, 4. The deceased may have been an Eleusinian initiate.

Line 6: $\mu\zeta'$ is to be read $\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$. Cf. $\text{Καλόινχε, τε[χ]θε[ι]ς λυκάβαντας μ'}$ (i.e. $\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$), Kaibel, 280, 2; cf. also Kaibel, 558, 10 (addenda). For a different treatment of numerals, cf. ξ' read as $\xi\iota$ Kaibel, 279, 1.

Line 8: Ἀφροδε may be the beginning of the name of a man or of a woman, but more probably it is the goddess, inasmuch as there is a reference in line 5 to Bacchus.

MALCOLM MACLAREN, JR.

A CORRECTED INSCRIPTION

31. On December 23, 1937, during the demolition of a modern house in Section Ω, an inscribed fragment was found which joins the stone published as No. 1 in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 442 (Agora Inv. No. I 3878). The new piece has the original right edge, the beginning of the top moulding and the right ends of the first eight lines preserved.

The measurements of the stone as joined are: height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.295 m.; thickness, 0.075–0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.005–0.006 m.; eight letters, measured on centres, 0.078 m.; eight lines, 0.084 m.



No. 31

319/8 n.c.

CTOIX. 26

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | [Ἐπὶ Ἀπο]λλοδ[ώρ]ου ἀρχοντος, ἐπ[ὶ τ] |
| | [ῆς Ἀντι]ρχ[ὸς] ἐ[β]δόμης πεντα[ν] |
| | [ίας καὶ ἀναγραφῆ]ως ἐνκάδμου < [.] |
| | [. . .] ἕως Ἐλαφ[ηβο]λιῶνος δωδεκ[ά] |
| 5 | τει, τετάρτει [καὶ τ]ριακοστῇ τ[ῇ] |

[ς προταρείας· ἐ[κκ]λ[η]σία κατὰ ψ[ήφ]
 [ισμα βουλῆς· τῶν προ[έ]δρων ἐπε[ψή]
 φισZen Ἀμφίλοχος Ξυπεια[ι]ώγ· [ἐδ]
 οξεν τεῖ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δ[ήμωι ^{vv}]
 10 Τηλοκλῆς Τηλεγνώτο[v] Ἀλ[ωπεκλήθ]
 εν εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀπολ[. . . ? . . . ἐν]
 τε τῶι ἔμπροσ[σ]θεν χ[ρόνοι διετε]
 λει εἵνους ὦν τῶι δῆ[μωι τῶι Ἀθην]
 αἰων καὶ τὰς σιραι[είας ἀπάσας ἐ]
 15 στράτενται καὶ τ[ὰς εἰσφορὰς εἰ]
 σενήροχεν ὅσας ἀ[π]ηίτει δ[ὲ] δῆμος]
 καὶ νῦν οἰκέτο[ς] [ὦν τῶν ἐλθόντων]
 μετὰ Πρωτέου [. . . ? . . . καὶ . . . ο]
 υ τοῦ δοῦ ἀντ[οῦ καλῶς καὶ φιλοτι]
 20 μως ἀπ[- - - - -]
 - - - - -

Line 2: In other decrees of this year the demotic of Eukadmos has been restored as Kollyteus, *I.G.*, II², 387, 388. The initial letter of the demotic is partially preserved on our stone at the edge of the break. There is a slanting stroke and possibly a horizontal stroke joining its lower left end. The surface which would be occupied by the vertical stroke of a *kappa* is preserved and is clearly empty. Therefore the demotic Kollyteus must be rejected. The letter can be read as a *sigma* or *delta* and the demotic Στειριέως, Λεκελέως, or Λιομειέως restored.

In the original publication the decree was assigned to the archonship of Archippos, 321/0 B.C., and the heading so restored. The correct reading as given by the new fragment, with the archon's name Apollodoros, is incompatible with two decrees of the year of his archonship, 319/8 B.C., as now published and makes a reconsideration of these necessary.

The published reading of *I.G.*, II², 387 requires the tribe Oineis for the seventh prytany because of the demotic of the prytanizing secretary. It is clear however on examination of the stone¹ that the number of the prytany is five or ten and not seven. In lines one and two there are three letters and traces of others which, by their spacing and reading, cannot belong to this inscription. The letter read as a *mu* in line two, by which the restoration [ἐβδδ]μης was established, is one of these. They may represent a first draft of the inscription with a more closely set stoichedon line of twenty-six letters² or they

¹ EM 2656 in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. See also the photograph published by Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, XI, 1908, p. 88.

² The three certain letters of the first draft are an *upsilon* in line one just to the left of the *omicron*, and an *alpha*, originally read as a *mu*, directly below it and an *iota* immediately preceding the *pi* in line two. With these fixed points a stoichedon line of twenty-six letters can be restored, reading:

[Ε Π Ι Α Π Ο Α Λ Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο] Υ Α [Ρ] Χ [Ο Ν Τ Ο Σ Ε Π Ι Τ]
 [Η Σ Δ Ε Κ Α Τ Η Σ Η Ρ Υ Τ] Α Ν [Ε] Ι [Α Σ Γ Ρ Α Μ Μ Α Τ]

may be simply part of an earlier inscription for which this stone was originally used. The three deep-cut letters of each line which belong to the final inscription are spaced 0.016–0.018 m. from centre to centre. In line two the strokes read as a *mu*, actually an *alpha*, fall only 0.012 m. to the left of the *eta*. Just to the left of this at 0.018 m. from *eta* the vertical stroke of a *tau* and the right end of the cross-bar are preserved and this letter falls directly below the scarcely visible vertical stroke of a *rho* in line one. The first two lines then of *I.G.*, II², 387 are to be read:

[Ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου ἄρχοντο]
[ς, ἐπὶ τῆς δεκάτης πρυτανε]

In line two I suggest [δεκά]της rather than [πέμπ]της for two reasons: first, because the tenth prytany is known to have belonged to a tribe which has eight letters in the genitive form, that is either to Aigeis or Oineis, *I.G.*, II², 390,¹ and this decree was passed during the prytanyship of Oineis; and secondly because, chronologically, the granting of citizenship at the request of Polyperchon (*I.G.*, II², 387) is more probable in the tenth than in the fifth prytany of the year 319/8.²

The tribes, then, of which prytany numbers for the year 319/8 are known, are as follows:

Leontis or Aiantis	VI Prytany	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 386 (as restored by Dinsmoor, <i>Archons</i> , p. 22)
Antiochis	VII "	Agora I 3878
Erechtheis	VIII "	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 388
Oineis	X "	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 387, 390 (as restored by Dinsmoor, <i>Archons</i> , p. 22)

The second decree that needs to be reconsidered is that published as *I.G.*, II², 388 with its equation Elaphebolion (29 or 30) = Prytany VIII 21. By no juggling of the calendar can the equation in our decree, Elaphebolion 12 = Prytany VII 34, fit with one in which any date in the twenties of the eighth prytany would fall in the month Elaphebolion. The surface of the stone³ has suffered much since the photograph was taken which is published by Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, XI, 1908, p. 86. Many of the letters which are perfectly clear in the photograph are now invisible on the stone. Therefore nothing further can be learned from a study of the stone itself and the photograph and the readings from it must be accepted. The only explanation seems to be that the stone-cutter made an

The centre of the line, which falls between the *omicron* and *upsilon* of line one, is *ca.* 0.018 m. to the right of the centre of the stone as established by the final spacing. Since the original spacing was discarded, the discrepancy need not necessarily invalidate the restoration.

¹ Dinsmoor's restoration, *Archons*, p. 22.

² Although Antipater probably was dead and Polyperchon regent by the time of the fifth prytany, December 319–January 318, it is much more probable that the decree was passed in June or July of 318 after the return of the exiled democrats which was ordered to take place by the middle of April 318. (For the chronology see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV², 2, pp. 238–9.)

³ Νέον Εὐφειτήριον 144 in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens.

error. Since the equation on the Agora stone, which establishes an average of $35\frac{4}{6}$ days for the first six prytanies and of 35 days for the last four, gives a more regular prytany division for the year than that of *I.G.*, II², 388, where the first seven average 35 and the last three $36\frac{1}{3}$ days, I assume that the reading of the Agora stone is the correct one. The simplest explanation perhaps is that the error lies in the day of the prytany and that the stone-cutter wrote 21 where he should have written 17.¹ If, however, one assumes an error in the name of the month, i.e. that Elaphebolion was written for Mounichion, an agreement with the Agora stone is possible reading lines five and six in *I.G.*, II², 388 as [ν.] Ἐλαφηβολιῶνο[ς ἐνδεκάτει, ὀγδόηι] (or [ς δωδεκάτει, ἐνάτει]) καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῇ[ς πρυτανείας· τῶν περ]. The equation Mounichion 11 (or 12) = Prytany VIII 28 (or 29) corresponds to the equation Elaphebolion 12 = Prytany VII 34, with Elaphebolion as a full month and a seventh prytany of thirty-five days.

The connection with Antipater, which I suggested in the original publication (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 444), must of course be rejected now that the decree is properly dated after his death. The identification of Proteas as the son of Andronicus still remains a possibility.

¹ Assuming that he wrote actual numbers, [ἐνει καὶ νῆαι] in line five is the only possible restoration for the day of the month which still leaves space for a number to precede the καὶ εἰκοστῇ of line six.

MARGARET CROSBY

ADDENDUM

After this manuscript was in proof another decree of the year of Apollodoros was found in the Agora (Inv. No. I 5454). It contains the demotic of Eukadmos which is Anakaieus. The initial letter on our stone therefore is to be read as an *alpha* and Anakaieus restored in lines 3–4. The new decree was passed in the fourth prytany which was held by the tribe Aiantis; therefore the sixth must have belonged to Leontis.

THE "PYRAMIDS" OF ARGOLIS

This is a report of a brief investigation of three structures in Argolis, financed by The Archaeological Institute of America and conducted under the auspices of The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, August 2-11, 1937.¹ The three sites examined were: (I) A structure which may, for convenience, be called a blockhouse situated near the head of a valley which leads down from the hills near Nemea (the ancient town, not the railroad station) toward Mycenae. This valley is crossed by the modern road about two kilometres north of the village of Phychtia. The blockhouse lies about three kilometres from the road from which it may, with difficulty, be seen. (II) The so-called Pyramid of Cephalaria on the south slope of Mt. Chaon, about five kilometres from Argos along the ancient road from Argos to Tegea, two kilometres beyond the source of the Erasinus at Cephalaria. (III) A structure with pyramidal walls lying near the church of Hagia Marina about a kilometre west of Ligurio to the left of the modern road from Nauplia to the Sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus.

The excavations of the blockhouse and the Pyramid of Cephalaria were conducted for me under the supervision of Mr. Robert Ehrich and Mrs. Ann Hoskin Ehrich, and the digging at Ligurio was undertaken by Mr. Robert Scranton, Fellow of The American School of Classical Studies at Athens. In writing this report, I have constantly used their careful notes,² often quoting extensively from them. They are not, however, to be held responsible for any inferences I may draw from their reports or for the general conclusions at which I have arrived.

I have asked Mr. Scranton to examine critically the pottery and the lesser finds and have added his report *in extenso*. The architectural drawings are the work of Mr. L. Lands, whose services Mr. B. H. Hill courteously placed at my disposal.

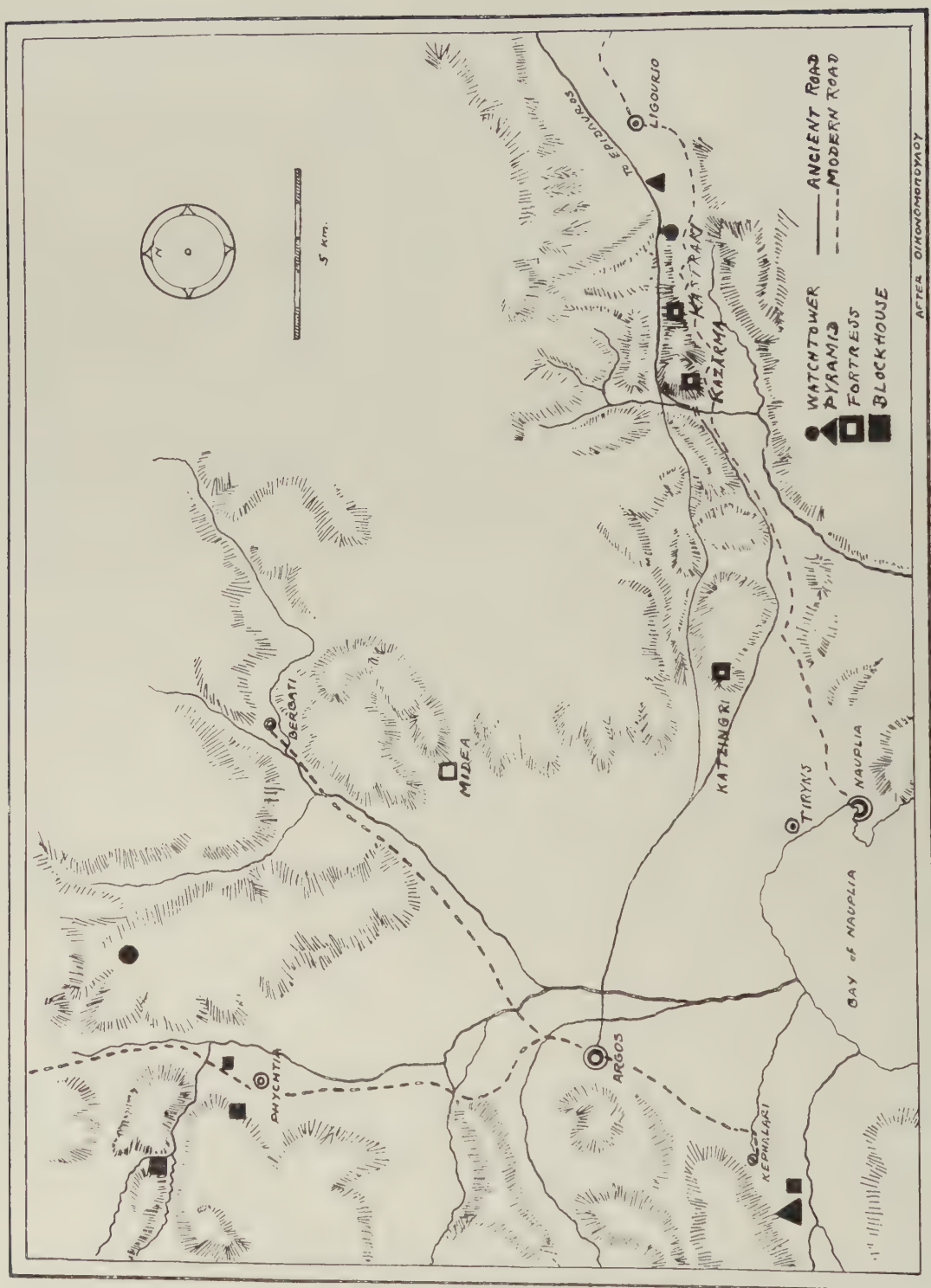
I

The Blockhouse

The location of the blockhouse is shown on the sketch map of Argolis (Fig. 1). It lies on the west side of a small stream that has cut for itself a rather deep channel. It commands an extensive view toward Mycenae and the east (Fig. 2) but no great outlook toward the west and north, i. e., the direction of Nemea. Its weathered brown stone fades into the background so that it is not a conspicuous object (Fig. 3).

¹ About a day's work was done near Ligurio, December 18, 19, 1936.

² The original notes are deposited with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.



AFTER OIKONOMIDAKIS

Fig. 1. Map of a Portion of Argolis

Excavations were conducted here August 10 and 11. No dirt was moved about the exterior except a small amount to uncover the "ramp" leading to the entrance. The interior was badly overgrown with thorns and underbrush. It was also encumbered with stones, which had fallen from the partitions and a few from the outer walls. These



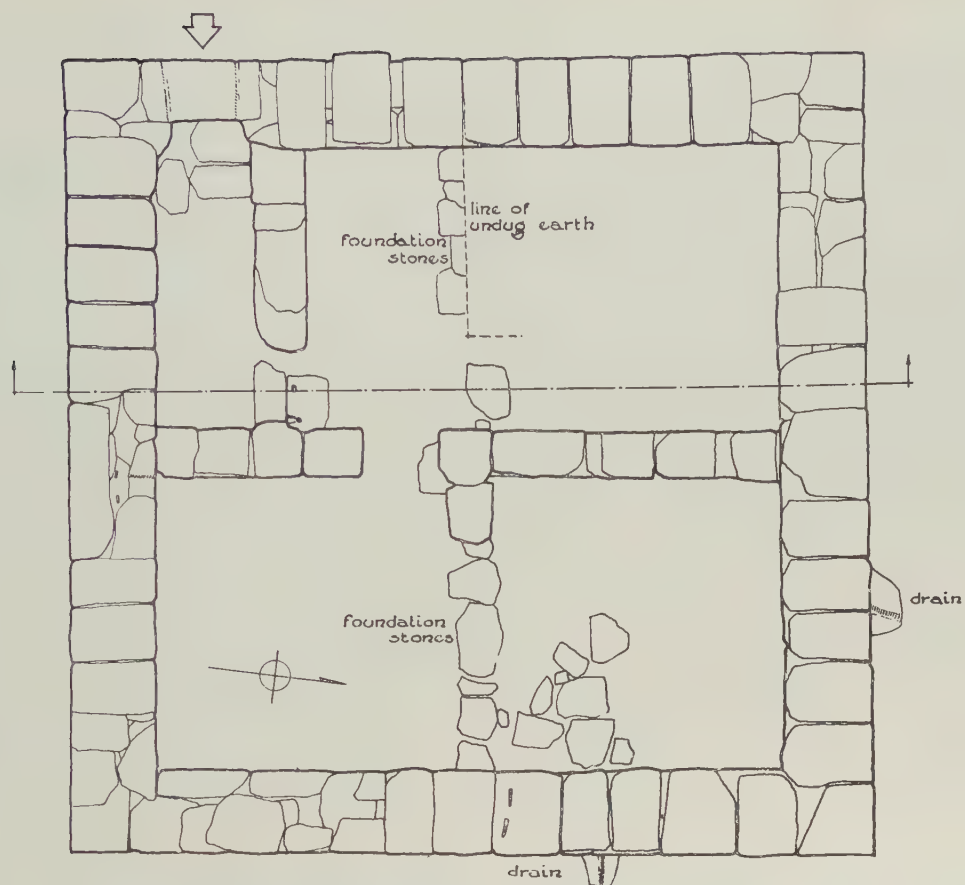
Fig. 2. View toward Mycenae from the Blockhouse

stones were especially numerous in the southeast corner. The primary purpose of the investigation being to determine the interior arrangement of the structure, these stones were not moved.

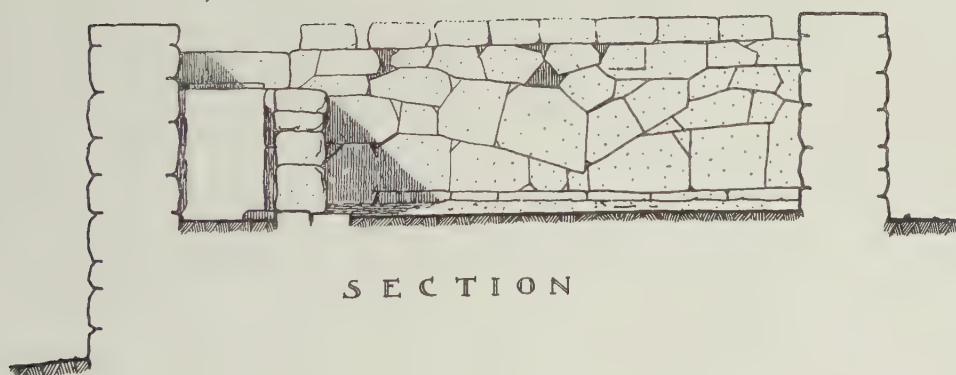
The structure is almost a square, the dimensions being, inside, 9 m. \times 9.20 m. The walls are 1.30 m. in thickness. It is oriented almost exactly with the points of the compass (Fig. 4). It is built entirely of conglomerate and the blocks are fairly large (e. g., 1.30 m. \times 1.08 m.). The style is polygonal tending to ashlar (Figs. 5, 6, 7). On a foundation of one or two courses (best seen on the south side) the polygonal masonry rises in five or six rough courses to a height of three metres. This is topped with a course of



Fig. 3. General View of the Blockhouse



P L A N



S E C T I O N

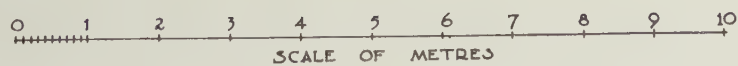


Fig. 4. Ground Plan and Section of the Blockhouse



Fig. 5. North Side of Blockhouse



Fig. 6. East Side of Blockhouse



Fig. 7. South Side of Blockhouse



Fig. 8. West Side of Blockhouse



Fig. 9. Coping of Blockhouse



Fig. 10. Corner of Coping of Blockhouse

slabs 0.35 m. in thickness, laid horizontally. The entrance is at the south end of the west side, i.e., toward Nemea (Fig. 8).

Since there never was a modern village near this structure, it has suffered very little. The exterior walls are almost complete. The blocks that are lacking are almost all on the ground about, and could be replaced with a minimum of trouble. The most serious damage is on the northwest corner where the coping and two courses are lacking.



Fig. 11. Bonding of Interior Wall into Exterior Wall of the Blockhouse

The slabs of the coping, with one exception, all lie transversely across the wall (Fig. 9). They are 1.30 m. in length. Three stones are fitted together to form the corner (Fig. 10). On the south side two of these lateral stones are replaced by two laid longitudinally. Immediately below these two stones a course of the interior cross wall was bonded in (Fig. 11). The long longitudinal stone would, therefore, more securely hold the bonding stone of the wall than would two lateral stones whose joint would necessarily be directly over this stone.

There is no evidence that the walls went higher nor are there cuttings for roof beams, except a doubtful one in the west wall.

On the upper side of the lintel slab (1.68 m. long, 0.50 m. thick) of the doorway are two cuttings running transversely across the slab just above the door jambs. They are

0.06 m. wide and 0.03 m. deep. These may be the bedding for the base of two stones which were set up vertically and leaned together at the top to form the familiar relieving triangle. This hypothesis would, however, postulate a second story, or, at least, some sort of wall above that now standing. Other considerations indicate there was no such wall.

The coping slabs are not broad enough to support a wall of sun-dried brick and still leave room on the coping behind the wall for a fighting man. A floor for a second



Fig. 12. Entrance Corridor of Blockhouse from Within

story may have been built on beams, which rested on these flat coping stones and the tops of the interior partitions. A wall of mud bricks might then have been superimposed on the stone walls. But there is no trace of cuttings for such beams and Mr. Scranton points out that the débris about the blockhouse would show clear indications of such a wall, had there been one.

Within, the blockhouse is divided almost exactly in half by a north-south wall (see Fig. 4). The western half consists of an entrance corridor (4.40 m. \times 1.40 m.) and two northwest rooms (4.05 m. \times 3.48 m. and 4.05 m. \times 3.90 m.). At the outer doorway there are cuttings on the south side for the door jamb—of wood—and in the lintel block a

cutting (0.15 m. square) for the door post (Fig. 12). The door opened inward and could be fastened by a bar, the openings for which appear between the courses of the door frame. The floor level was slightly below the threshold. A few lamp fragments and sherds were found here. The earth below was reddish, containing a few fragments of coarse roof tile. This layer seemed to represent an artificial leveling about 0.20 m. in



Fig. 13. East End of the East-West Interior Cross Wall of the Blockhouse

thickness. Below this was reddish earth mixed with building chips. There was no evidence of a second building.

At the east end of the corridor a doorway, one metre wide, leads left into the first and smaller western room. The cuttings for the door post and pivot are preserved. There is also a square cutting in the centre of the threshold. This can not indicate double doors—the space is too narrow—and must consequently be a mortice to receive a vertical fastening bolt, or a brace. This door also opened inward. Only the lowest

course of the wall between the two west rooms is preserved. It is impossible to locate the position of the door in this wall.

On the west wall of the northwest room, near the north end, there is one cutting that might have held a roof beam, the only such cutting found. The entire interior was covered with a thick layer of rubble and earth, loose and powdery in texture. In



Fig. 14. Northeast Room of the Blockhouse before Excavation

this there were many large stones, probably from the interior walls. The earth was dark gray and blackish, showing some trace of burning. Below this layer was a hard-packed fill like that in the corridor and at the same level. This seems to have been the original floor.

In the north-south wall just north of the entrance (see Fig. 4) was an opening which doubtless represented a door leading to the southeast room. In this doorway was found the base of a small black pot.

The eastern half of the blockhouse was also divided into two rooms by an east-west wall north of the doorway just mentioned. The wall was clearly defined at its eastern end and at its juncture with the north-south wall (Fig. 13). The door giving access to the northeast room was apparently near the middle.

No attempt was made completely to clear the northwest and southeast rooms. In the northeast room (Fig. 14) under the loose earth and rubble was found a series of



Fig. 15. Northeast Room of the Blockhouse after Excavation

stones lying east and west, which at first looked like a floor. They proved, however, to be part of the east-west wall which had fallen north onto the floor of this room. This room was completely cleared and two of these stones were lifted and a pit, one metre in depth, was dug, reaching to the rock foundation of the structure (Fig. 15).

Just above this point at the floor level is the mouth of a drain that penetrates the east wall and issues in a grooved spout cut in one of the wall stones which projects 0.35 m. from the outer face of the wall (Fig. 16). At present the inner end of this conduit is 0.02 m. lower than the outer opening. The channelling on the tip of the projecting wall stone, however, suggests that water was meant to flow outward and that the present slight inward slope of the channel is due to settling of the eastern wall

which is not far (30 m.) from the bed of the watercourse mentioned above. Another channel penetrates the north wall of the northeast room. Here the wall stone projects 0.46 m. from the outer face of the north wall (Fig. 17), and this channel slopes definitely inward. It terminates in an opening 0.50 m. above the floor of this room. The pit dug near the east wall failed to reveal any trace of a reservoir for the storage of water. These projecting spouts resemble the drain spouts in the wall of Rhamnus (Fig. 18).



Fig. 16. Projecting Spout of Drain in East Wall of Blockhouse

About 100 m. northwest of the blockhouse in the bed of the stream is a spring which gives a moderate flow even in summer. It seems probable that the water of this spring was brought to the blockhouse in an aqueduct (no trace found) and introduced through this opening in the north wall, the surplus flowing out again through the drain in the east wall.

There is no evidence of a second building period or of repairs. The character of the stone—conglomerate—and the advanced character of the polygonal masonry point



Fig. 17. Projecting Spout of Drain in North Wall of Blockhouse



Fig. 18. Projecting Drain Spouts in Wall at Rhamnus



Fig. 19. North-South Wall of Blockhouse showing Dressed Stone Beneath

to the fourth century B.C. as the period of erection. This date is further indicated by a dressed stone *in situ* below the north-south interior wall (Fig. 19) which is an integral part of the building, as its bonding into the south exterior wall shows. The pottery evidence—so far as it goes—tends to corroborate this date.¹

II

The Pyramid at Cephalaria

The Pyramid of Cephalaria is situated two kilometres from the source of the Erasinus (the traditional *emissarium* of the Stympheian Lake) on the old road from Argos to Tegea. It stands on the lower slope of Mt. Chaon (Fig. 20) and commands a considerable

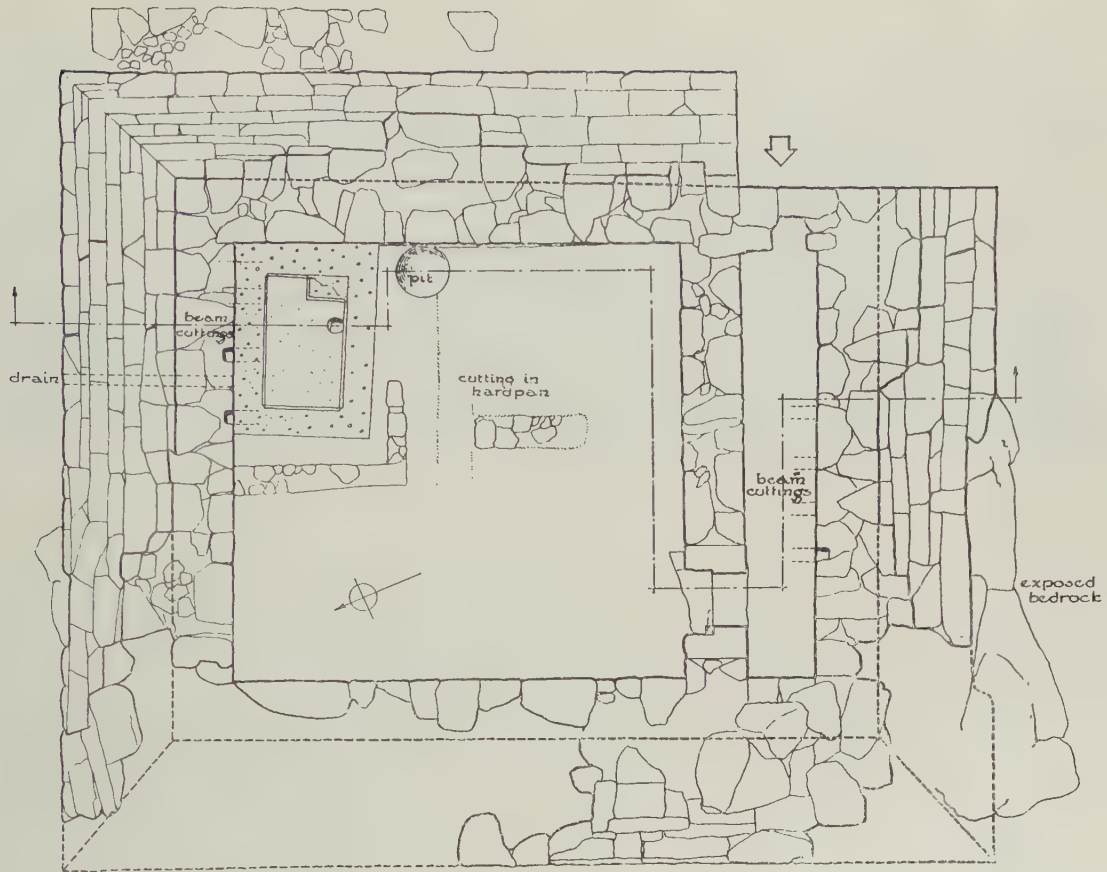
¹ See Scranton's article on "Pottery from the Pyramids," *end.*



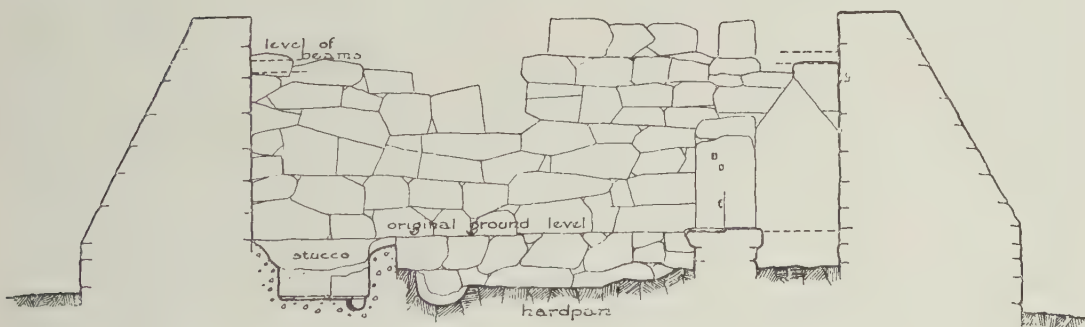
Fig. 20. The Pyramid at Cephalaria, from the North



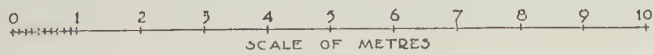
Fig. 21. View from Entrance Corridor of Pyramid at Cephalaria toward the Sea (S. E.)



P L A N



S E C T I O N



L. LAUDS

Fig. 22. Ground Plan and Section of Pyramid at Cephalaria



Fig. 23. West Side of Pyramid at Cephalaria



Fig. 24. Southwest Corner of Pyramid at Cephalaria

outlook toward the east and the sea and toward the southeast (Fig. 21). Travellers approaching from Sparta might be in view for some time; those from Argos, Tegea and Mantinea could approach quite near without being seen.

This pyramid has generally been identified with the structure mentioned by Pausanias¹ who believed it to be a *polyandron* of the men of Kenchreae. Leake,² Ross,³ Vischer,⁴ and Clark⁵ agree at least that it was not a fort but probably a tomb. Curtius⁶ and Donaldson⁷ believe it to be a signal tower (*φρυγανήριον*) and Tsountas-Manatt⁸ agree with them in placing its date in the sixth century. In 1901, Wiegand⁹ excavated this pyramid.



Fig. 25. South Side of Pyramid at Cephalaria

He concluded that it was not a tomb and, because mortar was used in its construction, he assigned its date to the first century B.C.

¹ Pausanias II, 24.

² *Morea*, II, p. 344; *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 251.

³ *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*, pp. 142-145.

⁴ *Erinnerungen*, pp. 325-328.

⁵ *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 98-100.

⁶ *Peloponnesus*, II, p. 365.

⁷ *Supplement to Stuart and Revett's Athens*, p. 23.

⁸ *Mycenaean Age*, p. 39.

⁹ *Ath. Mitt.*, XXV, 1901, pp. 241-246.



Fig. 26. Entrance to the Pyramid at Cephalaria

Since this structure had already been excavated, the task of clearing out the brush and removing the soil to bedrock was comparatively simple. Work was begun here August 7th and completed August 10th.

The pyramid is built of a hard local limestone. The western and northern sides (see ground plan, Fig. 22) measure at the base, respectively, 14.70 m. and 12.58 m. The eastern and southern sides are 8.62 m. and 8.61 m., these sides being shortened by the offset where the entrance corridor is placed with its door in the eastern end. On the



Fig. 27. East Side of Pyramid at Cephalaria

western side (Fig. 23) the walls of the pyramid have fallen badly. The southwest corner has been wrecked (Fig. 24). On the south side, the polygonal masonry, resting partly on the natural rock and partly on foundation courses, rises above the foundations for five courses (Fig. 25). At the door, the southeast corner (Fig. 26) of the pyramid is, as it were, replaced by two corners (see Fig. 22), one forming the corner of the pyramid proper and the other the corner of the addition which accommodated the entrance passage. The east side is the best preserved (Fig. 27). Here the wall rises in one place to its complete original height (3.40 m.). The northeast corner (Fig. 28) and the north side (Fig. 29) give the best idea of the character of the polygonal masonry. It consists of blocks of varying sizes, larger at the bottom where they rest on an even foundation



Fig. 28. Northeast Corner of Pyramid at Cephalaria



Fig. 29. North Side of Pyramid at Cephalaria

and growing gradually smaller as the courses approach the top, with an occasional use of very small stones. The joints are carefully fitted. The workmanship is better than that displayed in the blockhouse.

The entrance at the southeast corner is through a doorway 1.35 m. wide. The top of the doorway is formed by two stones which project till they meet, forming a V-shaped



Fig. 30. Mouth of Pithos in Entrance Corridor of Pyramid at Cephalaria

opening. Below this on either side of the passage are cuttings for a lintel—presumably of wood—and on the north side cuttings for door bars. The threshold is lacking.

The entrance corridor, 7.90 m. long, was excavated to bed rock. Just within the corridor was found the mouth of a large pithos upside down (Fig. 30). Just below the level of the threshold of the inner door was found a layer of small stones and packed earth—apparently the flooring of the corridor. This same sort of packed earth was found in the interior of the building and must represent the original floor. Eighty-eight

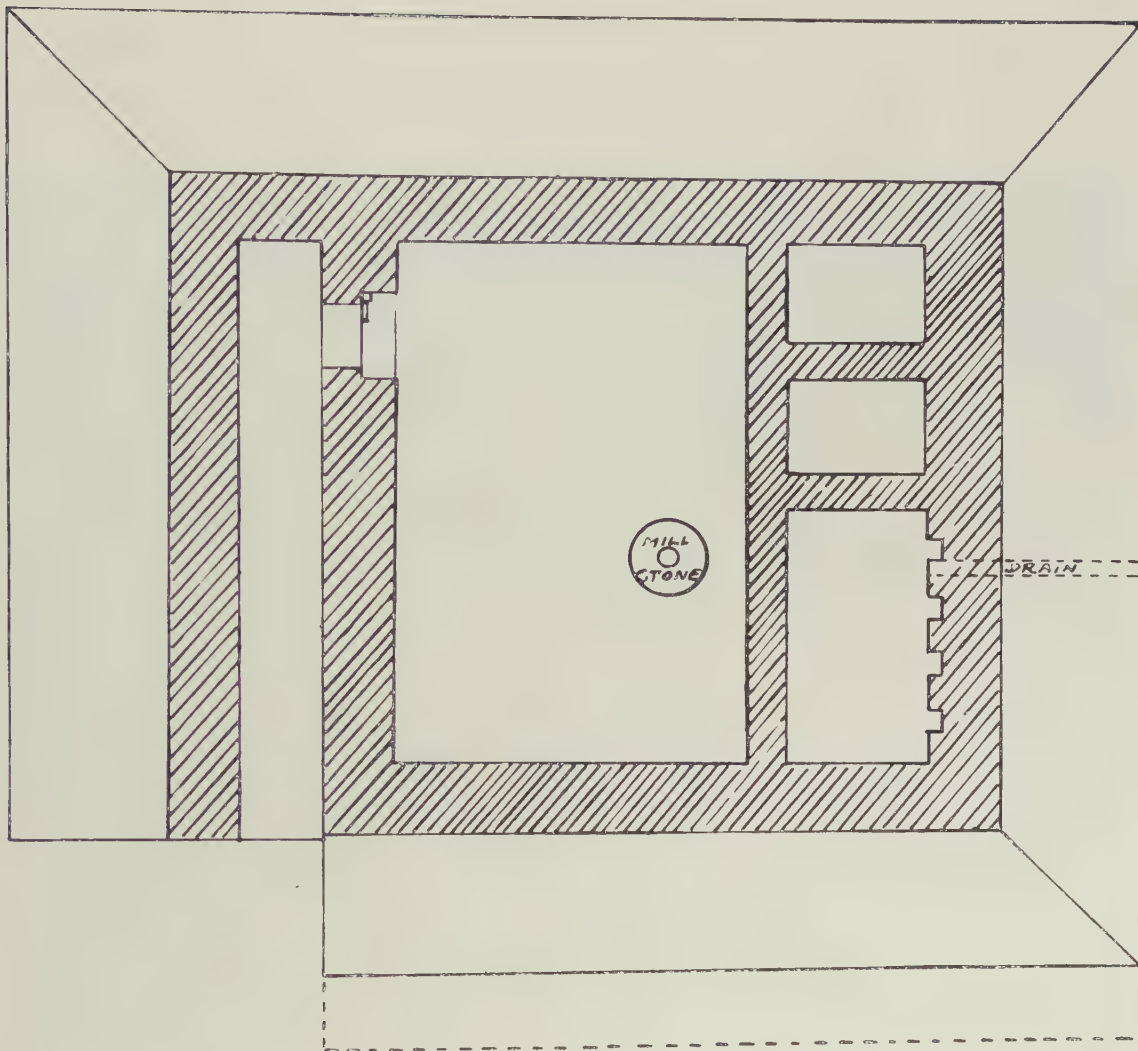
centimetres from the inner end of the corridor a doorway (Fig. 31) at the right gives access to the interior of the structure proper. This door is 0.80 m. wide and well preserved to a height of 1.50 m. The jambs are of stone. The lower socket of the door post is preserved. The door opened inward and was fastened by a bar.

The interior of the pyramid is 7.10 m. square. Most of the interior was dug to bed-rock—a soft sandstone with limestone outcroppings which in places (e.g., southwest



Fig. 31. Inner Doorway of Pyramid at Cephalaria from Within

corner) formed the foundation of the structure. Cuttings in this soft sandstone show the bedding for an east-west wall dividing the interior roughly in half, and one course of a second wall running from this wall to the south wall of the pyramid is preserved (see Fig. 22). There is also a rough wall of small stones bedded in earth which runs north from the east-west wall to the north wall of the pyramid and also east along the edge of the tank (see below). The mortar which appears in this flimsy wall is probably



0 ————— 10 M

Fig. 32. Ground Plan of the Pyramid at Cephalaria, after Wiegand

the work of earlier excavators. There is no trace of the other cross walls indicated in Wiegand's plan (Fig. 32), the inference being that he took them with him.

At the east end of the east-west wall and partly underlying it is a small bowl-like pit 0.90 m. in breadth and 0.52 m. in depth. This has been partly overlaid by the east wall of the pyramid. It clearly, then, antedates the pyramid. A few fragments of Helladic pottery were found here.¹



Fig. 33. Floor Level of Pyramid at Cephalaria, West Side

The floor level of the pyramid is clearly indicated by the level of the threshold of the inner doorway (Fig. 33) and by a line of demarcation in the foundations which coincides with the exterior foundation line.

In the northeast corner there is a cement-lined tank (Fig. 34) surrounded by a wall of broken tile and mortar (see above). The corners of this tank are filled with a quarter-

¹ See Scranton's article on "Pottery from the Pyramids," end.

round molding of the same cement. The southeast corner of the tank is occupied by a rectangular structure of unknown purpose. Its corners are also beveled and its construction is identical with the cistern. Its upper surface is not level but is in two planes, each of which may have held a small settling basin. There is also in the floor of the tank at its lowest point a circular depression 0.27 m. in diameter. This is, no doubt, a settling basin. This tank overflows into a drain which pierces the north wall. This



Fig. 34. Tank in Floor of Pyramid at Cephalaria

drain is part of the original construction of the pyramid and is at the original floor level. The cement of the cistern is carried into the mouth of the drain, clearly indicating the connection of the two, but there is no evidence to show that the cistern is not a later construction. The drain may have been originally intended to carry off the water from the pyramid floor.

In the north wall there are four cuttings for beams to support a second story floor or a roof (Fig. 35). A fifth cutting appears in a wall block slightly displaced but still

lying on the wall. These cuttings are 0.20 m. \times 0.21 m. Above this floor—if it was a floor—the outside wall rises 0.50 m., not enough to protect a fighting man unless the height of the wall were increased by a supplementary wall of brick. This wall would have to be vertical, for if the slope of the outer wall were continued, the supplementary wall would soon become too thin to afford protection. The pyramid was, of course, never anything but a frustum.



Fig. 35. Cuttings for Beams in Pyramid at Cephalaria

The mortar used in this structure does not belong to the building but is a repair—perhaps very late in date. It is not used throughout the building, does not appear below the floor line (except perhaps in the cistern) nor on the outside. It was used to repair the interior of the building and in many places it is possible to see how it has been forced in between stones already in place. It is in the nature of “chinking” and cannot be used to determine the building date of the pyramid. The character of the polygonal work indicates the fourth century, and the evidence of the blockhouse is corroborative.

III

The Pyramid near Ligurio

Pausanias says:¹ "On the straight road from Argos to Epidaurus there is, on the right, a building very like a pyramid" (*πυράμιδι μάλιστα εἰκασμένον*). He further says that it was adorned with shields of the Argive pattern (i.e., round) and concludes that it was the tomb of the inventor of shields. He continues to say that turning off here (*ἐντεῦθεν*) to the right one reaches Tiryns. After describing Tiryns, he says:² "returning to the direct road you reach Midea on the left hand." The most natural interpretation of these passages would be to conclude that one turned off at the pyramid (making *πυράμιδι* the antecedent of *ἐντεῦθεν*), but two arguments may be used against this: (1) No structure "like a pyramid" had ever been seen and reported on the road from Argos to Epidaurus before or at the point where one would diverge right for Tiryns—nor, in fact, anywhere in this plain. (2) Having come back from Tiryns to the direct road to Epidaurus, Pausanias mentions Midea on the left and then Lessa at the border of Epidaurus. He then describes the Sanctuary of Aesculapius. I think, therefore, it is a fair inference that he intended in the previous paragraph to cover the points of interest between Argos and Epidaurus, mentioning the pyramid. He then digresses to Tiryns, returns to the "direct road" (not the pyramid) and takes up the tale of the Sanctuary at Epidaurus after mentioning Midea and Lessa. Thus the antecedent of *ἐντεῦθεν* is not *πυράμιδι*, but the "direct road" and Pausanias diverges right for Tiryns from it but not necessarily at the pyramid. The use of the English translation instead of the Greek text is responsible for the confusion. If this be correct, then the Pyramid near Ligurio is the one actually seen by Pausanias and to his mind it is, like the one near Cephalaria, a tomb.

This pyramidal structure is situated north of the modern road from Nauplia to the Sanctuary of Aesculapius, a few rods east of the Byzantine church of Hagia Marina, at the very foot of Mt. Arachnaeus (Fig. 36) and about one and a half kilometres west of the village of Ligurio. There are evidences in other structures built along the valley and in cuttings in the rock of the mountainside near Hagia Marina to show that the ancient road from Argos to Epidaurus passed near this structure and probably between it and Mt. Arachnaeus so that it would lie, as Pausanias says, "on the right hand."

Excavations were conducted here on December 18 and 19, 1936 and August 1–9, 1937, under the direction of Mr. Robert Scranton.

Of this pyramid—built of limestone—no more than two courses above the foundations are now standing. Some few stones went to the building of Hagia Marina, but most of them—some even very recently—have been used in the neighboring village of Ligurio.

¹ II, 25, 7.

² II, 25, 9.



Fig. 36. The Pyramid near Liguio, at the Foot of Mt. Arachnaeus

The batter of the sides and especially the northeast corner, still *in situ* (Fig. 37), clearly show that the structure was pyramidal. Its dimensions are: north side, 14 m., west side, 12.50 m., south side, 12 m., east side, 12.75 m., including the door—one metre wide. The east wall is not continuous but has a "jog" of 2 m. projecting east just north of the doorway (see plan, Fig. 39). These dimensions and the pyramidal construction clearly show that it was similar in form and probably in purpose to the pyramid of Cephalaria.



Fig. 37. Northeast Corner of Pyramid near Ligurio

The interior of the pyramid was much encumbered with large blocks which had fallen from the walls. Most of these were removed, and with them a layer of stiff clay that lay beneath the destruction débris and which contained, besides those structural blocks, fragments of tiles of all sorts in great abundance (Fig. 38). This layer varied in thickness from 0.30 m. to 0.70 m. Below this, at about the level of the lower of the two preserved courses of the outer wall, began a fill of earth encumbered with broken tiles. These were found to come from a lining of tiles which had been placed around the entire interior of the pyramid. In the northwest corner this facing had fallen in a mass into the interior. In this fill were found fragments of lamps dating from the fourth

century A.D. This may give an approximate date for the wrecking of this interior lining.

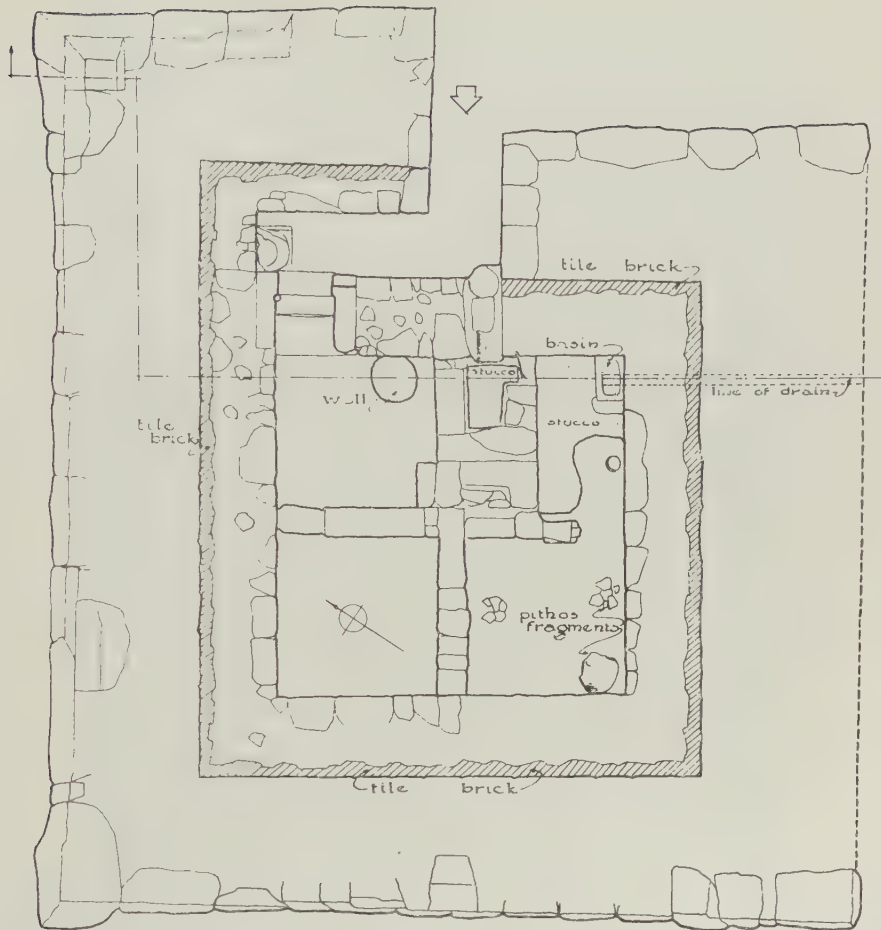
The pyramid (Fig. 39) was entered from the east (the side toward Epidaurus) through an opening 1.15 m. wide, just south of the point where the north half of the eastern wall projects 1.72 m. beyond the south half (Fig. 40). There is no trace of a door at



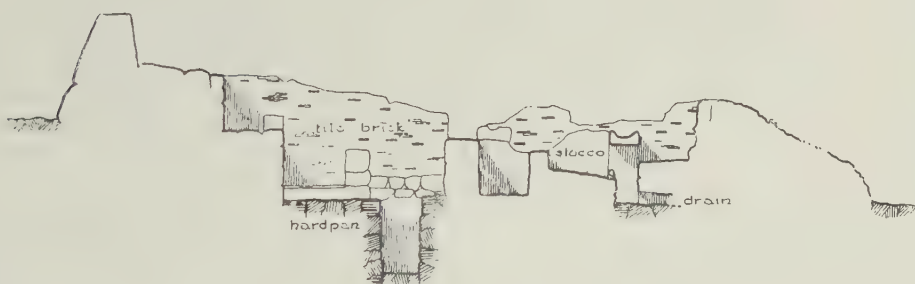
Fig. 38. Fallen Débris in Pyramid near Ligurio

this point, for the opening is blocked by a stone sealed in with mortar. This was not removed, as it formed part of a sort of room or shelter built in the angle of the east wall formed by the "jog." Here traces of fire were found on the stones and there was a deposit of loose ash.

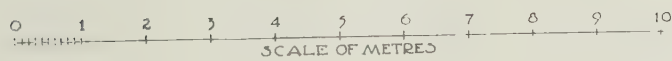
Passing through this entrance and turning right, one enters a corridor one metre wide and 2.63 m. long (see Fig. 39). The right hand wall is the exterior wall of the pyramid, the left hand wall is formed by the extension of the "bench" described below.



PLAN



SECTION



L. LAMOS

Fig. 39. Ground Plan and Section of Pyramid near Ligurio

At the farther end of this corridor, standing upright, is a washing tub similar to those in the gymnasia at Eretria and Nemea. About one-third of the upper end is gone (Fig. 41).

Turning left, the pyramid is entered through a doorway 0.85 m. wide. The threshold is still *in situ* and the lead socket in which the door post turned is beautifully preserved (Fig. 42). The door opened inward. The original floor level is also indicated by the threshold and the block of stone just inside the doorway.

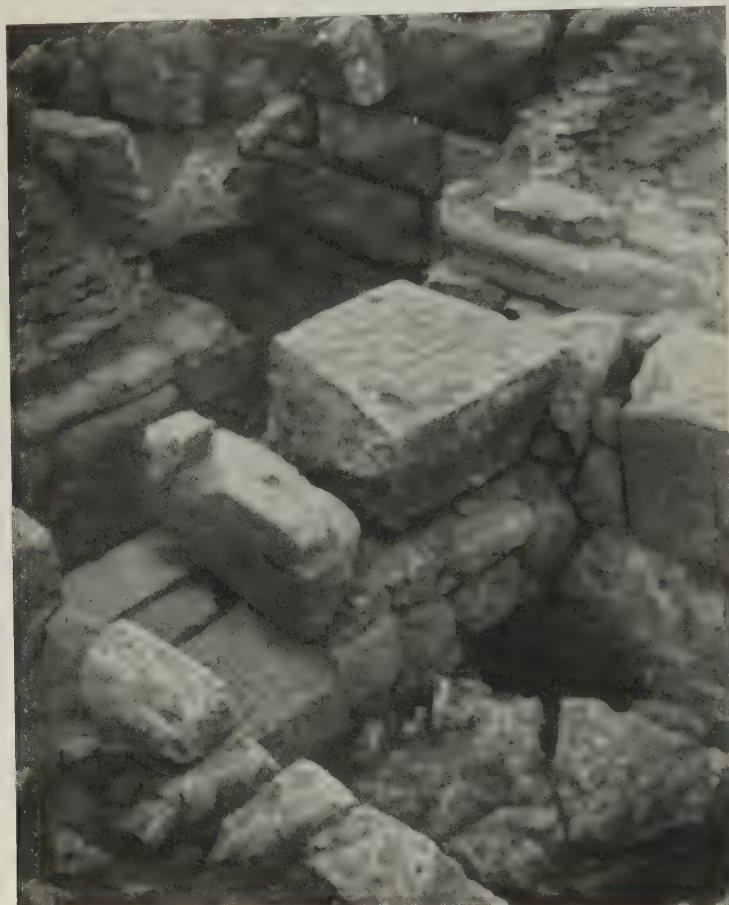


Fig. 40. Entrance to Pyramid near Ligurio

The entire interior of the pyramid above the "bench" is lined with rough tiles laid in courses, forming a lining about 0.15 m. thick. Mr. Scranton assigns this tentatively to the Augustan period.¹

All around the interior of the pyramid runs a supplementary wall which is part of the original construction.² This supplementary wall is about one metre high on the north

¹ See Scranton's notes, III, 2, and article on "Pottery from the Pyramids."

² See Scranton's notes, IV, 2.



Fig. 41. Entrance Corridor of Pyramid near Ligurio, showing Washing Trough



Fig. 42. Doorway of Pyramid near Ligurio, showing Door Socket

side; on the west side it is partially destroyed; on the south and east sides it is only 0.50 m. high. Its thickness is uniform—about 0.75 m. On the south side it has been repaired with tiles similar to those used in lining the interior of the pyramid wall (Fig. 43). This projecting wall is not too well built. The stones are of irregular sizes and carelessly laid. It is flat on top and gives the impression of a bench running entirely around the



Fig. 43. Southwest Corner of Pyramid near Ligurio, showing "Bench" and Tile Lining

pyramid. On the eastern side it is continued as an independent wall till it reaches the interior door, its exterior surface forming the left hand wall of the corridor as one enters the structure.

The interior was divided approximately in half, as in the blockhouse and the pyramid at Cephalaria, by a wall running, in this case, north and south. It is made of stones of varying sizes and its workmanship is exactly like that of the "bench" wall. It is overlaid by a later wall composed partly of carefully cut ashlar blocks which belong to a later building period (Fig. 44).



Fig. 44. Cross Walls in Pyramid near Ligurio



Fig. 45. Northwest Corner of Pyramid near Ligurio

A transverse wall also belonging to the original construction crosses this at right angles. It too is overlaid with the ashlar blocks of the later period, but its two lower corners can be seen beneath the later wall in the view of the northwest corner (Fig. 45). The north end of this north-south wall where it abuts the wall of the bench can be seen 1.60 m. south of the entrance (Fig. 46). All traces of doorways in these cross walls have been obliterated.



Fig. 46. North End of North-South Wall of Pyramid near Ligario

The original purpose of the building has been entirely obscured by a later rebuilding as follows:

On the interior wall of the entrance corridor (see Fig. 40) is a stone hollowed out like the bottom of a pithos. This is lined with cement and from it under stones, one of which is *in situ*, leads a channel about 0.05 m. in diameter and one metre long, which empties into a basin formed of stones set on end and lined with cement. This measures 0.98 m. \times 0.88 m. and is 0.90 m. deep. At the time of the excavation, this actually



Fig. 47. Deep Basin near Entrance of Pyramid near Ligurio



Fig. 48. Cement Flooring of Pyramid near Ligurio (extreme right)

contained slaked lime—solid on top but below still soft and saturated with water (Fig. 47). This tank had an outlet on the southwest corner which gave onto a heavy cement floor 5 m. in length (Fig. 48). This flooring has a moulded edge preserved at the west end (Fig. 49). It could contain liquid about 0.10 m. deep. This slopes southwest and empties between two upright slabs which support a rectangular trough hollowed out



Fig. 49. Moulded End of Cement Flooring

of a stone (Fig. 50). From this point the liquid would enter a drain that is roofed by tiles leaning together in the shape of an inverted V, and appears to pass out through the south wall of the pyramid (Fig. 51). The whole construction can be seen with its relation to the bench and the cross walls in the view of the southeast interior (Fig. 52).

At the north side of the first tank, a pit or well was discovered and excavated to the depth of 1.50 m. Time did not allow the completion of the excavation, but it seems probable that a well was dug here presumably either to supply the original pyramid with water or for water to use in connection with the structure described above.



Fig. 50. Cement Flooring and Stone Trough

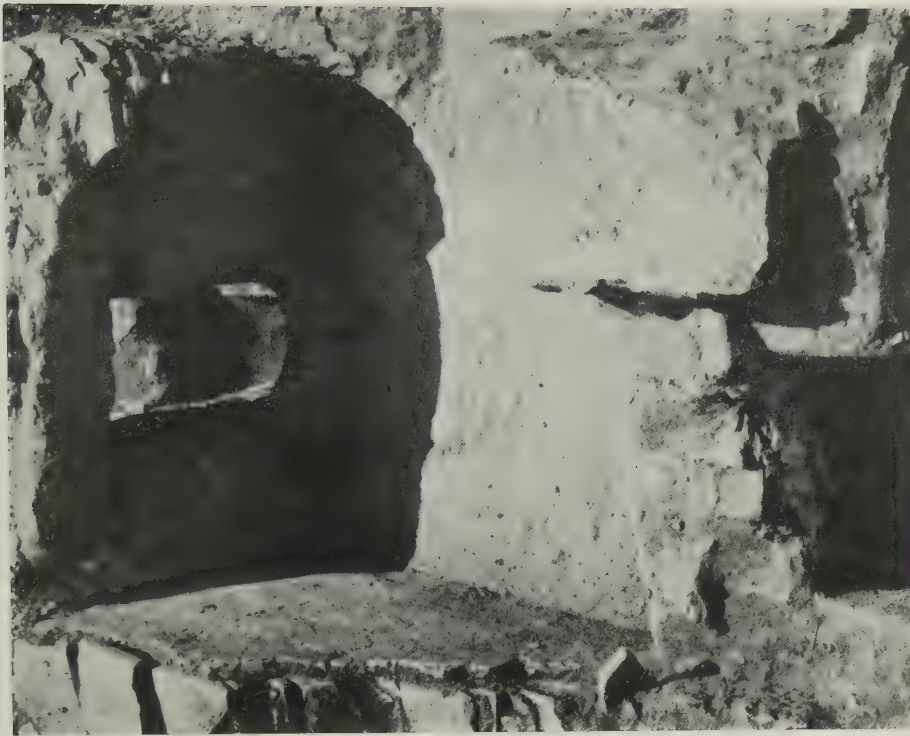


Fig. 51. Drain in Pyramid near Ligurio

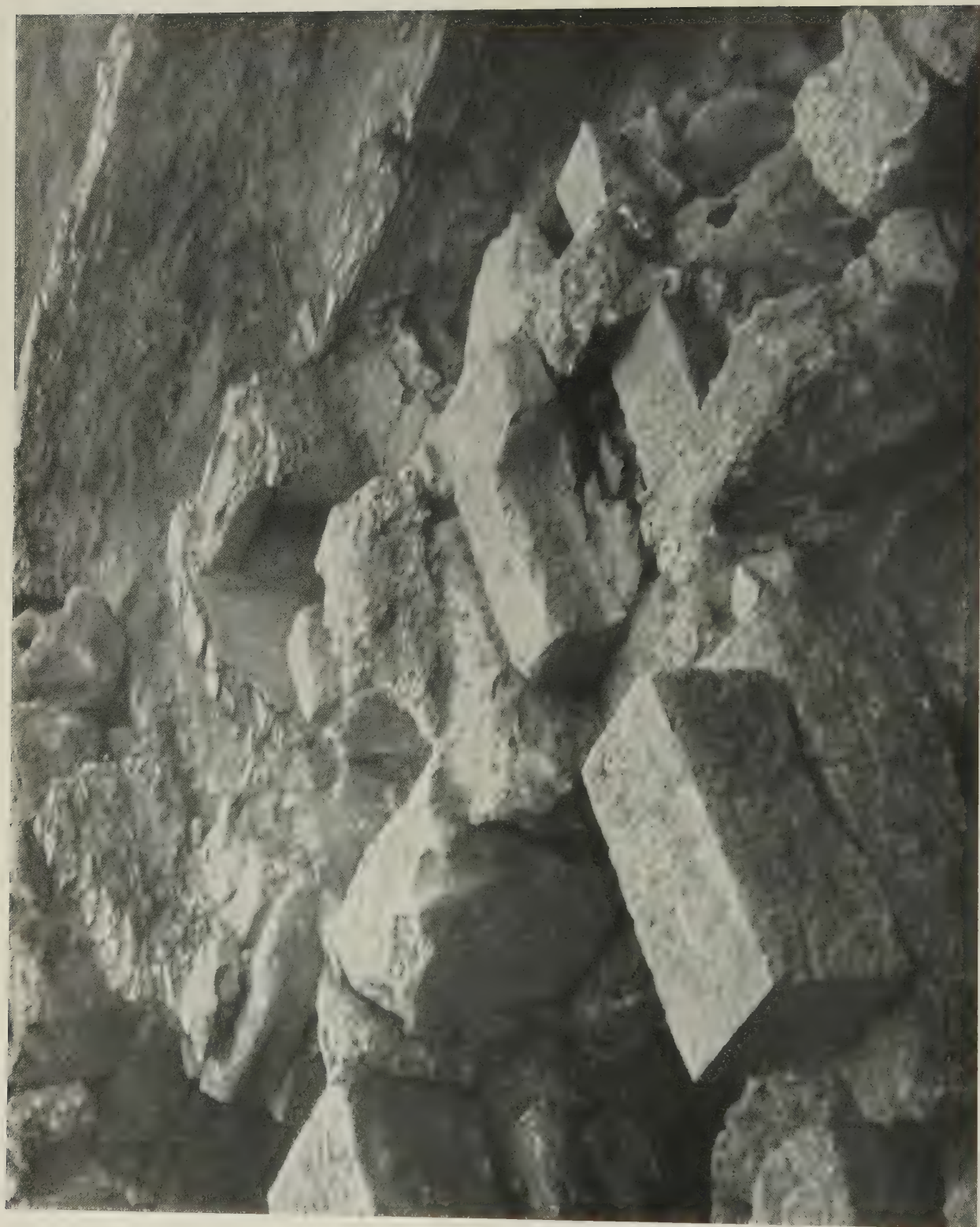


Fig. 52. Southeast Interior of Pyramid near Lignirio

In the southwest room was discovered another tank at a lower level, its bottom bed-rock, cement-lined, with a settling pool, 0.10 m. deep, at one side (Fig. 53). This room also contained the bottoms of three pithoi—one of them repaired, which had been bedded in the earth floor (Fig. 54). It is uncertain whether or not these belong to the period of the constructions in the east half of the pyramid, but the fact that the pottery found over them dates from the first century B.C. seems to indicate that they were used in the original building.



Fig. 53. Cement Basin in Southwest Room of Pyramid near Ligurio

The use of the complex described above is uncertain. Clearly some liquid, probably water, was passed through a small orifice where its flow could be readily controlled into a deep vat or tub. There some article taken from the vat was placed on, or wrung out onto, a larger stone. It was not desirable that the liquid or water should spread about the room, and it was drained off underneath a bowl in which rinsing might be performed. It seems to me most likely that a primitive dyeing establishment was installed here on the lines of the elaborate fulling shops of Pompeii. There was no trace of burial except a very late grave containing nothing more pathetic than a modern horseshoe.¹

¹ See Scranton's notes, II, 3.

Mr. Scranton sums up the building periods of the pyramid as follows: (1) The original construction; (2) the period at which the pithoi and the lower water basin were built (periods 1 and 2 may be identical); (3) the large shallow water basin floor (end of the fourth century B.C.); (4) The remodeling of the establishment and the construction of the elaborate water basin complex and the brick and tile lining (Augustan period). The



Fig. 54. Pithoi in Southwest Room of Pyramid near Ligurio

destruction occurred in the late fourth or the fifth century A.D. I should be inclined to date the tile lining and the remodeling much later, partly from the appearance of the tile construction resembling Byzantine work in style. I am also not convinced that the destruction occurred so early. The chances of slaked lime remaining soft, even when well sealed up, for one thousand years, seem to me very slight. With the date of the original building—before or in the fourth century B.C., I readily concur.

These three structures, then, date from the middle to the end of the fourth century B.C. They are almost exactly the same size; their ground plans are identical. Their

entrances are strikingly similar—all of the fortress type. The blockhouse and the pyramid at Cephalaria are of the same height, and a projection of the walls of the pyramid at Ligurio shows its height to have been the same. There was no second story and no wall of brick superimposed on the stone wall of these structures.

The purpose for which the pyramids and the blockhouse were built now seems clear. They were not tombs, for the doors all fasten on the inside. Such an arrangement for a tomb is as ironical as the fence about a modern cemetery. They were not signal towers (*φρουρώρια*), for the one at Ligurio has no outlook and that at Cephalaria and the blockhouse only a limited view. They must all have been guard houses capable of accommodating a small garrison who could control the countryside and be safe behind their walls from surprise attacks by a few persons. Without loop-holes for arrows and with no defensive battlements, they could hardly resist a serious attack from a superior force. They must belong to a period when the country needed patrolling and when perhaps tolls could be levied on travellers. Their use had been completely forgotten in Pausanias' time and the fact that he mistook them for tombs or cenotaphs shows that they were disused and unoccupied. But why two of them were pyramidal in form—probably the only pyramids in Greece—is a question still unanswered.

LOUIS E. LORD

THE POTTERY FROM THE PYRAMIDS

The pottery recovered in the investigation of the buildings discussed in the preceding article was as interesting in one way as it was disappointing in another. No ceramic evidence for the exact dating of the original construction of any of the buildings was found, but the pottery discovered during the course of the digging, particularly at Ligurio, has an interest of its own in reflecting the culture existing at various periods on or near these modest sites.

LIGURIO

The only group of sherds with any significant relation to the structure of the pyramid itself was dug out of the earth in the filling of the entrance hall. This earth seemed to be all below the floor level, but it would be impossible to say whether or not this was the original floor. In view of the fact that the pyramid underwent changes as to its internal arrangements more than once, it is possible that this fill belongs to some period other than the earliest. The sherds were few in number, and for the most part quite undistinctive. None of them is necessarily later than the late fifth or early fourth century B.C.

The only identifiable coin was discovered in cleaning between the stones of the interior structure. At the northern end of the upper waterproof pavement, between this pavement and a small stone built closely against it, was a coin of Epidauros from the period 323-300 B.C.¹ The coin shows almost no signs of wear and must have been lost almost as soon as it was issued. Whether it was actually lost by a workman engaged in laying the stones, or whether it happened to be in the earth that was brought in to raise the floor level of the room, can scarcely be proven. But the former would seem more probable, and the possibility remains that this floor, which seems to belong to the second of the series of modifications to the pyramid, was laid at the end of the fourth century B.C. This date would correspond roughly to that of the pottery found in the entrance hall.

At a later period, when the upper waterproof floor had been somewhat broken up in its northwestern corner, and the tile, brick, and mortar lining was applied to the walls, a mass of earth and débris was brought in to fill the pyramid to a uniform level. Considerable quantities of ash mixed with the lower strata of this fill might suggest that the new arrangements were made after damages to the pyramid from fire within.

¹ Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, II³, p. 490, no. 682; pl. ccxvii, no. 70.

In any case the fill must have been brought from a place nearby which had been used as a rubbish heap by the people living in the neighboring village (see page 537). A surprisingly large amount of pottery was included in it, some pieces fairly well preserved. The greater part of this material must date from the second and first centuries B.C., although a few sherds come from the early first century A.D. (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Pottery and Lamps

- a. (L 51) Fragment of Megarian Bowl. Medallion not preserved; row of ribbed leaves, between tips of which uncertain objects; above, a zone of elephants(?) walking left. Black glaze, coarse and cracked outside; red inside. Cf. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, (hereafter, Thompson), C 24, and p. 457. Date, early second century B.C.
- b. (L 43) Megarian Bowl, two-thirds preserved. H. 0.064 m.
Plain medallion, from which spring elongated petals. The tops of the petals were impressed in the clay in part of the bowl only. Upper zone, plain. Light red glaze, much flaked, mostly gone. Light buff clay. Cf. Thompson, D 39, also p. 456 f. Date, middle of the second century B.C.
- c. (L 28) Megarian Bowl, fragmentary. Preserved height 0.075 m.
Preserved are the tops of long petals; above, high zone, undecorated. Glaze burnt unevenly, brick red to black, fairly firm. Chocolate colored clay. Cf. (b), L 43.
- d. (L 47) Fusiform Unguentarium. H. 0.16 m.
Red clay fired grey on surface. White lines on neck, shoulder, body. Foot missing. Cf. Thompson, B 6. Late third century B.C.
- e. (L 49) Clay Lamp, resembling Broneer Type XVI. H. 0.034 m., Diam. 0.058 m.
Red glaze on top and sides; bottom unglazed. No handle; unperforated lug on side. Professor Broneer suggests that it is an early, local variation on the normal type. Second century B.C.
- f. (L 48) Clay Lamp, Type XVI. H. 0.029 m., Diam. 0.063 m.
Flaked red glaze on soft buff clay. Otherwise like (e), L 49.

In addition were found fragments of a plate (L 55) of greenish grey clay, with a metallic grey glaze covering the interior and running over outside, which resembles Thompson E 151, as well as the top of a bowl with incurving rim (L 37), to which may be compared Thompson E 46. The glaze is red inside, and fired black in streaks outside.

This material, together with other fragments of Megarian bowls and lamps of similar or earlier types, will bring the date of the fill no later, certainly, than the early part of the first century B.C. There are, however, numerous small fragments of plates with rim profiles similar to Thompson E 1, and some even more advanced. Fragments of lamps of Broneer's Types XVI, XVII, XXI were found, the latest of which was a small sherd from the back and handle of a Type XVI, 3, lamp, which will date from the earliest years of the first century A.D.

Surprising as it was to have come on so representative a collection of current Hellenistic wares in this remote spot, whose very proximity to the sanctuary of Aesculapius might lead one to expect a relative dearth of finds, even more interesting was the group of pottery which must commemorate the attempts of small potters' establishments in the Argolid to produce a supply of satisfactory substitutes for the more expensive imported utensils. Some of the pieces included under this group may, indeed, have been inferior products imported from the centres of the vase making industry, but in any case they seem to represent the kind of pottery that was used in country places where the metropolitan civilization was only reflected (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Bowls

a. (L 1) Bowl. Diam. 0.105 m.; H. 0.064 m.

The glaze is inferior and thin, black in color, inside and outside at the top; outside below the rim it is black to metallic grey. Clay, grey buff. Although the sole decoration consists of two grooves

in a band at the shoulder, the shape is identical with that of the Megarian bowl. It may be regarded as a cheaper, perhaps late, version of that ware. Similar shapes occur in early *terra sigillata*.

- b. (L 25) Bowl. Diam. 0.10 m.; H. 0.06 m.

The rim is slightly incurving; cf. Thompson, E 46, p. 436, but this example is considerably deeper and perhaps later. Thin brown glaze imperfectly applied inside and running over to the outside. Greenish clay.

- c. (L 13) Bowl. Diam. 0.105 m.; H. 0.06 m.

Slightly outcurving rim. Red glaze inside, somewhat porous; outside, at top, glaze black from firing, imperfectly applied. Similar wares are found in earliest Roman deposits at Corinth. Cf. Waagé, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 279 f., no. 63, for profile.

- d. (L 41) Side of Bowl. P.H. 0.095 m.

Above a hemispherical bottom, a groove and a ridge; then a slightly outcurving rim, inset. Metallic grey glaze of inferior quality; grey-buff clay. The shape is close to that of the Megarian bowl, and there is a strong general resemblance to L 1.

- e. (L 14) Fragment from Rim and Side of Bowl.

Rim rolls outward, sharply undercut. Above shoulder is strap-like band set off by grooves. Red glaze on buff clay.

- f. (L 3) Fragments of Bowl. P.H. 0.095 m.

Profile again seems to have been influenced by Megarian bowls. On the curved walls are traces of what may have been relief decoration. Other decoration consists only of grooves. Thin red glaze outside, fired black inside. Buff clay.

Several fragments of bowls similar to L 1 and L 41 were recovered. The type seems to have been fairly common at this site. Since the clay and glaze are like those in other pots most probably of local manufacture, these two examples may be considered local imitations, or rather modifications, from finer models. The pieces with red glaze do not seem to conform to any of the standard groups of early Roman wares, but the majority of these, also, may well be local imitations. The shapes of the bowls with red glaze (L 14 and L 41) are difficult to parallel accurately, but the general profile is certainly that of the Megarian bowl, so that in them may have met influences from two quarters.

In figure 3 are illustrated three of the larger pieces. The big red-glazed bowl is of a shape unusual among Samian wares, but in technique and glaze it is almost as good as the less perfect wares of that manufacture. It seems too fine in fabric and quality to have been made locally; in comparison with the plate it is much more delicately made. Yet, the shape would seem to exclude it from the body of standard red-glazed pottery, so that it may be regarded as a superior work of local artisans. The grey-glazed dish might attract notice in any company. The complicated shape is probably too much to expect from any workman outside of the shops of the great centres. It must have been a prized and wonderful object from the cosmopolitan world, in the quiet village. The antithesis is met in the matter-of-fact dinner plate, with its porous fabric, cheap gritty glaze and plain unadorned profile. The contrast is less with some fragmentary plates and saucers, in which the glaze is harder than that of the plate illustrated, of a brick red color, and the fabric is somewhat thinner and more brittle. In these, too, the profiles fail to resemble closely those found in civic centres like Athens.

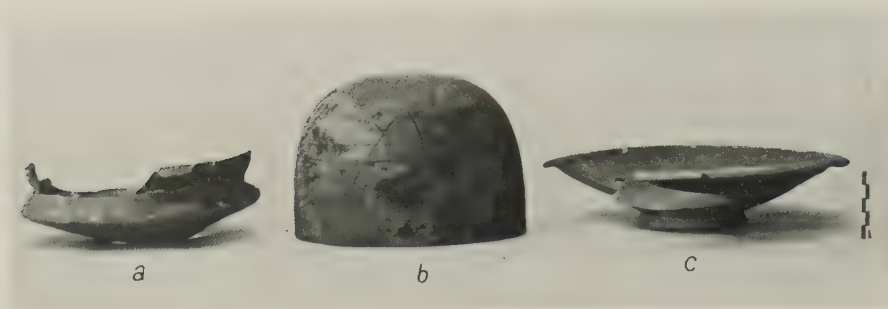


Fig. 3. Dishes and Bowl

- a.* (L 2) Dish. Diam. 0.187 m.; P.H. 0.07 m.

The base is missing; the bottom part of the dish is deep, with the side returning inward to cover the edges, and the rim flaring upward and outward. Rouletting around the base, inside. Black glaze, much flaked, on grey clay.

- b.* (L 7) Tall Red Bowl. Diam. 0.185 m.; H. 0.13 m.

Base indicated only by impressed circular groove; hemispherical bottom, straight sides, in smooth transition. Red glaze, much flaked, within and without. On the side, a black smear from firing. Pinkish buff clay. Local version of Samian (?).

- c.* (L 46) Plate. Diam. 0.237 m.; H. 0.05 m.

Heavy fabric roughly turned, with irregularities not smoothed off. Profile a weak version of Thompson E 1. Thin porous red glaze inside fired to black on parts of rim; outside the glaze was applied only to the under part of the rim but ran down in streaks on the lower sides. Clay buff and porous.

Some detail is added to our picture of the lives of these villagers from a few examples of purely utilitarian pottery with which are involved little of the aesthetic or scientific (Fig. 4). The small coarse salt cellar must have been in the price group of the large plate (L 46). The little grey-glazed cup, with the high handle, fulfilled some household duty, the nature of which one is free to surmise. Numerous cooking pots, or fragments of them, came from the same context as the pots under consideration; only the strainer, of those which must have been purely culinary, was glazed. The others are all of the customary brick red clay. Most unusual is the jug with the long spout. It seems admirably adapted for filling lamps, and it may well be that it was so used. Vases only vaguely similar have been called milk bottles for feeding babies;¹ the complete abrasion of the glaze on the under side of the spout on this specimen might be attributed to infant teeth, but the pot seems rather large and heavy for baby use. Moreover, the position of the handle might be awkward for holding the pot against the face.

¹ For vases called feeding bottles, see Shear, "The Current Excavation in the Athenian Agora," *A.J.A.*, 1936, p. 195, with fig. 11, and fig. 23. (The two vases to the left in the lower range.) The combination rattle and feeding bottle described is about as large as our vase.



Fig. 4. Household Ware

- a.* (L 39) Neck of Jar with Strainer. Diam. at top 0.082 m.

Preserved from rim to shoulder, handle on one side broken off. The neck had been closed with a clay floor, in the preserved part of which were pierced two holes. Black glaze, very porous and much flaked, fired red in places. Buff clay.

- b.* (L 35) Small Cup. H. to top of handle 0.068 m. Diam. at mouth 0.04 m.

Flat base, bottom flaring wide and sides diminishing toward top. Handle broad and asymmetrical. Metallic grey glaze inside and on upper part of outside. Grey clay.

- c.* (L 24) Salt Cellar on Ring Foot. H. 0.035 m. Diam. 0.07 m.

Chocolate brown glaze inside and on outside of rim, much flaked outside. Soft buff clay.

- d.* (L 11) Spouted Jug. H. to top of spout 0.12 m.

Heavy base ring; body a flattened spheroid. Traces of two grooves at level of spout. Spout long and narrow. Base of handle on one side suggests a basket handle at right angles to spout. Upper part of outside covered with glaze of light chocolate color, fired black in spots. Lower part and inside unglazed. Buff clay.

In addition to these were found numbers of very fragmentary pitchers, jugs, jars, basins, and the like, indicating that the usual supply of ceramic household equipment was available and used in the village. Some of these are of fair quality and may have been imported, although it seems more reasonable to suppose that the great majority of them were made at no great distance from the consumer by provincial factories following with greater or less freedom and care the designs developed in important centres.

The value in actual money which attached to even coarse pottery in such a community may be seen in the large pithos illustrated in figure 5 (P.H. 0.65 m.). The fragments illustrated were found in position in the northwestern corner of the structure. The pithos had evidently been badly shattered in antiquity, perhaps before it was set up in the building, for in the bottom it had been repaired with no less than eight lead clamps. Two of them unite three fragments, the others only two. Numerous clamps of similar type, broken, were found in the débris, and several sherds of finer fabric with parts of broken clamps still adhering to them.

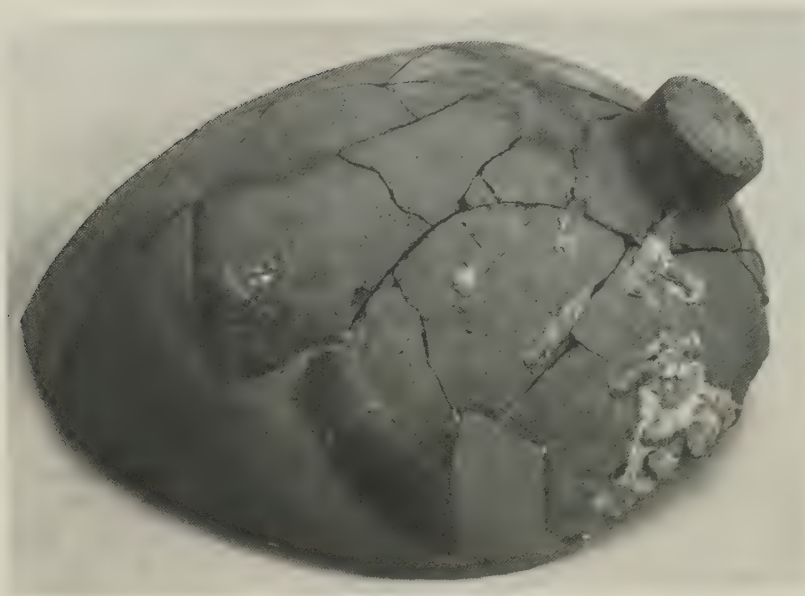


Fig. 5. Mended Pithos

The process of repairing a pot by this method was to drill holes through the fragments, about three centimetres from the edge if the piece was as large as this pithos, or about one centimetre from the edge if it were a thinner fabric. Hot lead was then poured onto one surface, in a long narrow strip, so that the metal penetrated both of the holes. A tool with a sort of mould on one end was impressed into the lead strip to insure the penetration of the metal into the holes, and to keep the metal from running too far afield on the surface. Then the operation was repeated on the opposite side, the metal welding itself to that which had already penetrated the holes.

A small but representative collection of "small finds" was discovered during the excavation of the pyramid at Ligurio. Only two—the largest of the loomweights, and the stamped amphora handle—come from the filling which yielded the pottery described above. The other objects all came from the destruction débris of the latest commercial establishment installed in the building. They are illustrated here (Fig. 6) in the same spirit as has governed the preceding account, to add detail to the scene of life as it passed in the roadside village. The amphora handle, indeed, would suggest that foreign produce other than pottery made its way to the place, although it is possible that shipments consigned to the inns of the sanctuary of Aesculapius made it convenient to include items for a village which in a locality less favored might have been compelled to satisfy itself with home-grown oil or wine. The same conditions may explain the relative profusion of imported pottery noted above. The celt, an isolated prehistoric object, scarcely proves the existence of neolithic settlement on the site. It may have been brought from a distance as a curiosity.



Fig. 6. Miscellaneous Objects

- a. Pyramidal Loomweight. H. 0.068 m. W. at base 0.04 m.
Red buff clay with large gritty particles.
- b. Conical Loomweight. H. 0.065 m. Diam. at bottom 0.047 m.
Buff clay with some gritty particles.
- c. Conical Loomweight. H. 0.068 m. Diam. at bottom 0.045 m.
Clay similar to (a).
- d. Conical Loomweight. P.H. 0.085 m. Diam. at bottom 0.045 m.
Clay at core pinkish buff, surrounded by a shell of dark green clay; surface slipped light greenish yellow. Gritty particles. Somewhat contorted in firing. Dr. G. R. Davidson, who has lent her advice to the consideration of the small finds, suggests a second century B.C. date. This object was found in the filling of the pyramid.
- e. Stamped Amphora Handle, Knidian.
Πολίτης Cf. Grace, "Stamped Amphora Handles found in 1931-1932," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 197 f.,
Κράτης nos. 174 and 184. On p. 241 she suggests a second to first century B.C. date for the parallel handles which she catalogues.
- f. Bone Lace Bobbin (?). L. 0.087 m.
- g. Head of Terracotta Figurine. H. 0.03 m.
Female, wearing polos with ornament. Clay white with greenish tinge; traces of red slip.
- h. Type A Celt. L. 0.052 m.

The objects listed above, although they do not all come from the principal deposit, belong to the period contemporary with or earlier than the pottery, and hence to the late Hellenistic—early Roman culture of the village. The following graffiti came from the destruction débris, and are probably part of the destroyed furnishings of the early Roman establishment set up inside the pyramid (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Pithos Rim and Roof Tiles

- a.* Rim of a Pithos bearing the scratched name *Ἐυάνθης*. W. of rim 0.077 m. H. of letters 0.025–0.03 m. Length of inscription *ca.* 0.21 m.

The *nu* looks more like *eta*, but can easily be a *nu*, which gives the only possible reading. Only the lowest bar of the final letter is preserved, but it can scarcely be other than *sigma*.

- b.* Fragments of Roof Tile bearing Graffiti. Maximum Dimension on square 0.165 m.

The underside of this roof tile has been covered with scratched letters, apparently meaningless, and various irrational lines. At least three are *epsilons*; a *xi* and a *mu* can be distinguished. Evidently the result of a few idle moments on the part of someone.

- c.* Roof Tile with Incised Letter "D." H. of letter 0.07 m.

The rim was found near the base of the large pithos at the doorway, and may well belong to that particular pot. The presence of the name of Euanthes in a workshop about three miles from the sanctuary of Aesculapius is interesting enough, and may well have some significance. Five men by the name of Euanthes are honored or recorded otherwise epigraphically in the sanctuary.¹ The most honored of these flourished in the triumvirate of Antonius, Lepidus and Octavius. The first, in the fourth generation before, was the founder of a distinguished family which allied itself with another family and maintained its distinction throughout the first century A.D. and perhaps longer. Presumably a man of wealth, or at least the creator of a fortune, he must have controlled various

¹ *I. G.*, IV², *proleg.* XXV, IV¹, p. 264, and Index under *Ἐυάνθης*.

money-making ventures. His possessions, or those of his descendants, may well have included the elaborate, if small, establishment which operated in the pyramid.

If the establishment is attributed to this family, a further significance may be found in the fact that the place was owned by a family of Epidaurus. This would suggest that the village on the outskirts of which the pyramid was located belonged to Epidaurus, not to Argos. Then the village cannot have been Lessa, as Frazer and others hold.¹ Pausanias described the town of Lessa, and then, as though he noticed the fact on leaving the village, remarked that the boundary between the territories of Argos and those of Epidaurus were to be found in that place. The impression is definitely that the village Lessa itself belonged to Argos. And the village of the pyramid belonged to Epidaurus.

Thus the site of Lessa must be sought farther westward than Ligurio, and may be conveniently located, as Cavvadias and others suggest,² at the remains called, in Frazer's time, Kazarma. Indeed the obvious opposition of this fort to the neighboring Kastraki would suggest strongly that the boundary lay between them. If Lessa was the site now called Kazarma, Pausanias failed to mention both the fortress at Kastraki and the village near Ligurio. Their names are not known unless the tentative suggestions of Cavvadias based on philological speculation include the true name for the village near Ligurio and the pyramid.

Near the southeastern corner of the pyramid, in the fill which had accumulated around its exterior walls, was found a block of white marble 0.38 m. in width, 0.40 m. in height, and 0.15 m. in thickness. It was broken on the lower edge; otherwise it was finished on all sides. It bore the inscription Ἀναξίων Ἀναξιδώρου, in well-cut letters (Fig. 8). The height of the *nu* is 0.036 m. Both names are known from other inscriptions.³ These cover the period from the fifth to the third centuries B.C. Our inscription dates probably from the latter part of the fourth century. This date corresponds to that given in the Corpus to *I.G.*, IV², 197, which preserves the name of one Thiares, son of Anaxidoros, and which was also found near Ligurio.

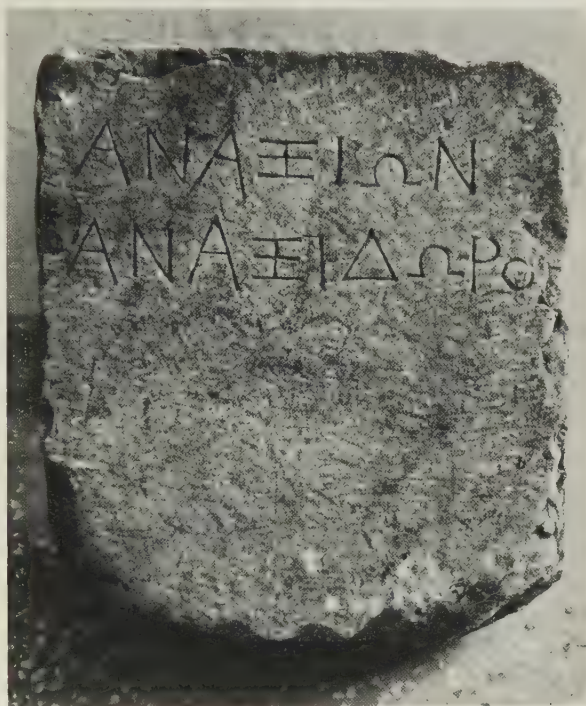


Fig. 8. Inscribed Marble Block

¹ Frazer, *Commentary on Pausanias*, note on II, xxv, 10.

² *Eq. Arch.*, 1884, p. 21; and Frazer, *loc. cit.* ³ *I.G.*, IV², 71, 48, 55, 65; 102, 202; 148 and 197.

The shop set up inside the pyramid apparently enjoyed a long and prosperous history. Nowhere did there appear any objects, excepting the smallest amount of pottery, from the Roman period of the first to the fourth centuries A.D. The handle of a Roman lamp of Corinthian make (Broneer's Type XXII), a sherd or two of second and third century pottery, are exceptions. This might seem to imply a period of abandonment, and yet there is no sign of deterioration during this period. The place fell into utter ruin during the late fourth or fifth century A.D., when the brick lining of the walls fell in, and quantities of Roman pottery of that period accumulated. It would rather appear that during the Roman period the establishment was kept in good repair and clean, and at the beginning of the early Christian period it was completely abandoned and left to disintegrate with the débris of the final years of use still on the site. The date of this period is amply attested by at least half a dozen sherds from lamps of Broneer's Type XXVIII and one large fragment of a Type XXXI. Abundant masses of very coarse pottery of contemporary date also permeated the débris from the falling walls.

PHYCHTIA AND CEPHALARIA

In both of these places all significant deposits had been disturbed at the time of destruction. Scarcely any classical pottery was found at all: a few sherds from very coarse cooking pots of uncertain date, a few relatively late Roman lamps.

At Cephalaria, where previous excavators had removed practically all of the earth, the process of examining the fill which still lay undisturbed in the hollows of the bed-rock produced evidence of prehistoric habitation on the spot, in the form of a few sherds. These sherds are all representative of the glazed or partially glazed ware of the Early Helladic period. There are a few fragments from the common larger shapes, such as jugs, askoi, and bowls with broad rims. The majority of the fragments belong to the usual sauce-boats and small bowls with incurved rims. Both shapes have the crude low ring feet. The clay is light buff in color, moderately well levigated. The biscuit is hard and breaks sharply. The glaze is generally black or metallic, dark grey, but a few pieces are reddish-brown. Although the glaze is frequently cracked, comparatively little has chipped off. As a whole, the group is representative of the later Early Helladic period.¹

¹ The observations on the prehistoric pottery from the pyramid at Cephalaria were offered by Dr. Saul Weinberg, who considers that their importance lies in the fact that they establish the location of another prehistoric site in the Peloponnesos. To him I owe further thanks for making the photographs from which the account of the pottery and small finds has been illustrated.

I want especially to express my thanks to Dr. Lord for the opportunity of taking part in this enterprise.

ROBERT L. SCRANTON

PERGAMENE INFLUENCE AT CORINTH

Whatever one's opinion may be as to the validity of attempting to separate the sculpture of the Hellenistic age into schools,¹ there is no doubt as to the uniformity and originality of the style of the sculptors, despite their varying antecedents,² who worked upon the large frieze of the great altar at Pergamon. Equally certain is the tremendous influence wrought upon contemporary and later art by the second century dedication of Eumenes II and by the earlier dedications of Attalus I, at Pergamon and Athens, these latter being known to us through copies of varying excellence.³ This influence was felt in Asia Minor and in the Aegean Islands, in Attica and in the Peloponnesos, in Hellenistic and Roman times.⁴ It is the purpose of this paper to discuss certain sculptures found at Corinth which appear to show Pergamene influence and, in particular, to present a group of sculptural fragments which show a curious and unique local variation from accepted Pergamene practice.

The earliest fragment at Corinth showing the influence of the Pergamene style is probably the fragment of the left leg of a Gaul, wearing tight-fitting trousers, preserved from thigh to knee (Fig. 1), which, as was pointed out by Johnson,⁵ bears a strong resemblance to a statue of a fighting Gaul in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The latter⁶ is almost certainly a copy of an early Pergamene figure of a Gaul, perhaps from

¹ For an attack upon the theory of independent local schools in Alexandria and Rhodes see Lawrence in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XI, 1925, p. 179, and the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXVI, p. 67 ff.

² The inscriptions giving the names of the artists who worked upon the great altar, only one of which is complete, appear to indicate that sculptors from Attica, Rhodes, Ephesus, and probably Tralles were employed along with local sculptors. Cf. Fraenkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, pp. 70–84.

³ The finer copies, such as the Dying Gaul of the Capitol and the Ludovisi group of a Gaul slaying himself and his wife, were generally considered to be contemporary until Furtwängler suggested that they were of Roman date, a position accepted by Bienkowski (*Darstellung der Gallier*, pp. 1 ff.) and Lippold (*Kopien*, pp. 23, 102): A Hellenistic dating has been reaffirmed by H. S. Jones (*Cat. of Sculpture of Museo Capitolino*, pp. 338, 339), Dickins (*Hellenistic Sculpture*, p. 10) and Lawrence (*Classical Sculpture*, p. 293, and *Later Greek Sculpture*, p. 20).

⁴ For a fairly complete list of Pergamene sculpture in the Hellenistic period see Lawrence, *L. Gk. Sculpture*, pp. 116–118. Less well known is the strong Pergamene influence in Etruscan art (*Ibid.*, pp. 58, 59) and in the Hadrianic and Antonine periods (*Idem*, *Classical Sculpture*, pp. 361, 373). Particularly important, because of its relationship to the Gigantomachy frieze from the theatre in Corinth, are the Gigantomachy sarcophagus in the Vatican (Amelung, *Die Skulpt. d. Vat. Museums*, II, pp. 643 ff., 414 a, pl. 53) and the fragments of a frieze with the same subject in the Vatican, Lateran and elsewhere (*Ibid.*, pp. 94 ff., pl. 10, with references).

⁵ *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, No. 97 (709), p. 62. The height of the fragment is 0.47 m.

⁶ Richter, *Handbk. of Class. Coll.*, 1927, p. 276, No. 54, fig. 194. Cf. Lawrence, *L. Gk. Sculpture*, p. 22, pl. 38.



Fig. 1. Left Leg of a Gaul

the dedication of 201 B.C., and it is probable that the Corinth figure was inspired by the same original. Another previously published¹ fragment is of a nude male figure (Fig. 2), from shoulders to left thigh, which suggests, in its extreme muscularity, the

¹ Johnson, *op. cit.*, No. 106 (736): Dimensions: H., 0.25 m. The right thigh is lost and the back of the statue roughly finished.



Fig. 2. Male Torso

style of the Pergamene altar. The left leg of the statue was extended to the side in vigorous action.¹

¹ Compare the Polydeuces of the altar (*Pergamon*, III, pl. XV) whose pose and treatment somewhat resembles the Corinth torso.

The Gigantomachy frieze from the Theatre¹ is undoubtedly of Pergamene inspiration although it no longer can be given a Hellenistic date.² The frieze with the Labors of Herakles, also found in the Theatre District, appears to belong to two periods. The finer portions, which perhaps can be assigned to the third or second century B.C.,³ show no indications of Pergamene influence, but the later fragments, particularly the plaque



Fig. 3. Head of Asklepios(?)

¹ For a preliminary report of this frieze, which is to be published by the writer along with the other sculpture from the Theatre, see Dr. T. L. Shear in *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 456, figs. 12-14, and *Art and Archaeology*, XXIII, 1927, pp. 109 ff. (Cf. also the abstract of a paper on the Gigantomachy and Amazonomachy friezes read by me in *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1931, pp. 188, 189.)

² So attributed by E. M. Gardiner when she published the fragments of the frieze found before 1909 (See *A.J.A.*, XIII, 1909, pp. 304 ff.).

³ See my article on "The Labors of Herakles from Corinth," in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, pp. 46-57, figs. 1-4.

of Herakles and Cerberus,¹ have all the earmarks of the second Pergamene School. If the Farnese Herakles in Naples is to be dated as late as the Hadrianic or Antonine



Fig. 4. Head of Asklepios(?)

period,² a second century dating perhaps is indicated for the Corinth plaques, which reveal a similar exaggerated muscularity.

¹ *Supra*, fig. 6.

² As suggested by Lawrence (*Classical Sculpture*, p. 382); for the view that the Farnese Herakles is earlier than the Baths of Caracalla see Lippold (*Kopien*, p. 56).

Although a complete discussion of the friezes from the Theatre must await its final publication, there are three heads recently found at Corinth which also show distinct Pergamene influence. They are a head of Zeus or Asklepios, found in the Asklepieion in 1930,¹ a bearded head of a statuette and a head of Serapis,² both found in the South Stoa in the campaigns of 1936 and 1937. The head from the Asklepieion (Figs. 3 and 4), which is beautifully preserved,³ was evidently intended to be set upon a herm. De Waele⁴ at once recognized the head to be a version of the Otricoli type of Zeus, which undoubtedly goes back to a fourth century original, perhaps to Bryaxis,⁵ although he was in doubt as to whether the god represented was Zeus, Asklepios or Poseidon. The Corinth head most closely resembles the Copenhagen⁶ and Villa Albani⁷ versions of the Otricoli type although the arrangement of the hair does not exactly correspond to either; it is also quite similar to a head recently found in Jerash.⁸ Whatever the ultimate derivation of the Otricoli type, the Corinth head is strongly Pergamene in style. The undulating and restless character of the hair and beard with its picturesque use of chiaro-scuro, the deeply-shadowed eyes, the heavy bulge of the frontal sinus over the nose, the wide nostrils, thick lips and open mouth recall the great altar and are strikingly paralleled in the head of the giant Klytios⁹ on the Pergamene frieze. Our head, however, lacks the agonized expression of the giant and the two wrinkles in the brow are not so deeply cut. It is difficult if not impossible to be certain as to the identification of the god. The types of Asklepios and Zeus are more or less interchangeable after the fourth century, and most statues which bear the attributes of the healing god appear to have been ultimately derived from an earlier type of Zeus.¹⁰ The mild expression of the Corinth head, the rather ascetic treatment of the cheeks and the beneficent gaze, par-

¹ De Waele in *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 439, pl. LII, 1.

² C. H. Morgan II in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 539ff., fig. 1.

³ Only the tip of the nose is missing; small chips from the hair and beard detract little from the general appearance. Dimensions: H., 0.50 m.; W. (of head), 0.28 m.; W. of shoulders, 0.37 m.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See Lippold, *Die Skulpt. d. Vat. Museums*, III¹ (with literature), No. 539, pl. 36, pp. 110ff. Johnson (*Lysippos*, pp. 140ff., 204) accepts the possibility that the Otricoli type may go back to an original by Bryaxis but insists upon the strong Lysippic character of the head.

⁶ Sieveking in *Brunn-Bruckmann*, text to No. 605, figs. 1, 4, 5.

⁷ *Brunn-Bruckmann*, No. 605.

⁸ *Illustr. London News*, July 31, 1926, pp. 193, 421. Other heads similar in style mentioned by De Waele are: Arndt, Amelung, etc., *Phot. Einzelaufn.*, 1517-1520; 1501-1503, and *Griech.-Ägypt. Samml. Ernst v. Sieglin*, I, B, p. 74 and pl. XXXVIII. The heads in Houghton Hall, Ince Blundell Hall and Madrid (*Einzelaufn.*, 1501-1503) do not appear to me to be particularly close to the Corinth head. Furthermore, they are not derived from the Otricoli type but go back to an original contemporary with and perhaps by the same sculptor who did the original of the Otricoli head (Cf. Poulsen, *Portraits in English Coll.*, pp. 11, 12, fig. 8, and Furtwängler, *Statuenkopien*, pls. i and iii).

⁹ Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, 441; *Pergamon*, III², pl. VIII.

¹⁰ See Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, pp. 188, 189. (Cf. the Asklepios or Zeus in Berlin, Blümel, *Römische Kopien, Berlin Kat.*, IV, No. K 132, pl. 15) which, according to Furtwängler, is one of the versions of an Asklepios in Leningrad.

ticularly when taken in conjunction with the place of finding,¹ suggest that the sculptor intended to represent Asklepios but derived his type from a third or fourth century head of Zeus. The immediate original from which the head was inspired, judging from the strong Pergamene influence, was probably a Hellenistic statue of the third or second century B.C. In confirmation of an early dating of the original is the strong resemblance between the treatment of the hair of our head, particularly when seen from the side (Fig. 4), and that of a head of Antisthenes in the Vatican,² which is derived from a fourth century type. The workmanship of the Corinth Asklepios, particularly the frequent use of the drill, suggests a second century dating for the copy.

The white marble head of a statuette found in the South Stoa in 1936 (Figs. 5 and 6) is of quite a different character from the head of Asklepios although it likewise shows indication of Pergamene influence. The head, which is broken off at the neck and has suffered slightly from chipping,³ depicts a man of middle age with curly hair and beard; he was evidently clad in a toga, the *sinus* having been lifted over the head and shoulders so as to form a head covering.⁴ The finely groomed beard contrasts with the more negligent treatment of the hair, the latter being brushed back over the forehead and ears while the locks have an oily, rope-like appearance so characteristic of Pergamene style,⁵ and terminate in corkscrew curls indicated with the drill. The eyes are placed level in the skull and, with the small, sensitive mouth, tend to give the person depicted a kindly air. The treatment of the hair somewhat resembles that of a head of Hadrian in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican;⁶ a head in Berlin, dated in the early second century,⁷ and an Eros(?) in Madrid,⁸ likewise exhibit a similar linear treatment of the corkscrew hair. The most striking parallel, however, occurs in another head from Corinth, a youthful god from the Gigantomachy frieze (Fig. 7), perhaps to be identified as Dionysus,⁹ which reveals an almost identical treatment of the hair. As in the case of the bearded statuette the god's stiff, greasy and mane-like locks are thrown backwards over the forehead and

¹ Unfortunately the head does not betray a direct connection with the sanctuary of Asklepios since it was found only 0.30 m. below the surface in the area of an old gymnasium (*A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 439, 451). The heads and statues of Asklepios collected by Reinach which appear to be closest to the Corinth head are: *Rép. de la Statuaire*, I, pp. 287-291, 297, Nos. 1147; 1151, B; 1155; 1163; 1167; 1158; 1157; 1160; 1160, A, B and D; 1155, A.

² In the Sala delle Muse (Lippold, *Die Skulpt. d. Vat. Museums*, III, No. 507, pl. 23).

³ The end of the nose is missing and there is a chip over the right eye and smaller chips on the hair and beard. Dimensions: H., 0.185 m.; W., 0.12 m.; Depth (forehead to back of skull), 0.13 m.

⁴ As in the Augustus of the Terme (Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, pls. 172, 173).

⁵ See Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, pp. 9, 11; this type of hair answers to the description of Diodorus (V, 28) who, when speaking of Gallic nobles, says, "their yellow hair they stiffen with clay into a sort of mane, which they throw backwards."

⁶ Lippold, *op. cit.*, III, No. 543, pl. 43.

⁷ Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse*, K 50, pl. 32.

⁸ *Phot. Einzelaufn.*, 1599-1601.

⁹ This head was at first identified as Apollo (Cf. Shear in *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 450) but since the head was found a torso, which almost certainly represents the Sun god, has come to light; as the two do not join the head may represent the youthful Dionysus.

the drill¹ is employed to render the corkscrew curls before the ear. The head from the Gigantomachy is not only strongly Pergamene in style² but also can be accurately dated because of its close resemblance to a Gorgoneion attached to the lappet of a *statua loricata* found in the Odeion in 1928, which Broneer³ has convincingly identified as a



Fig. 5. Head of Statuette

statue of Hadrian. The one important divergence between the head of the statuette and the "Dionysus" is in the finish, the former having a high polish in contrast to the

¹ The drill is employed to render curls in five places on the statuette; it is used more sparingly on the "Dionysus."

² The "Dionysus" has a strong resemblance to the head of the Serpent-giant to the right of Aphrodite and Eros on the Pergamene frieze (*Pergamon*, III, pls. XIV and XXVI).

³ *Corinth*, X, *The Odeum*, No. 6, pp. 125-133, fig. 120.



Fig. 6. Head of Statuette

rougher surface of the latter;¹ this can be explained, however, by the different uses of the two heads, the one being probably intended for close inspection and the other, as

¹ Not only is the flesh not polished but the inner cheek and neck are dragged with the rasp. The rasp was also employed to finish the flesh surfaces of the Gorgoneion and other heads on the lappets of the *statua loricata*.

part of a frieze, naturally to be seen from a distance and from below.¹ If the Gigantomachy frieze is Hadrianic, as seems probable because of the amazing resemblance between the "Dionysus" head and the Gorgoneion, then the statuette should also be assigned to the Hadrianic or early Antonine period.²

Also from the South Stoa is the beautifully preserved, life-sized head of Serapis (Fig. 8), which was uncovered in 1937.³ The head was brilliantly colored and gold leaf was applied



Fig. 7. Head from Gigantomachy

¹ The higher relief of the upper portions of the Gigantomachy frieze and the more careless working of such portions makes it almost certain that the frieze was intended to be seen from below. Cf. E. M. Gardiner, *A.J.A.*, XIII, 1909, p. 306.

² The finish of the Corinth statuette should be compared with the head of an unknown Semite in the National Museum, Athens, of the Antonine period (Hekler, pl. 261). A similar high polish is also employed on many Hadrianic works (Cf. Carpenter, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 258, 259).

³ In the storeroom of Shop XX. Although in a fragmentary condition, the upper right portion of the face and nose having split off, the pieces fit together perfectly (Morgan in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 539ff., fig. 1). Dimensions: Total H., 0.40 m.; H. (from tip of beard to base of modius), 0.224 m.; W., 0.176 m.; Diam. of modius, 0.12 m.; diam. of stump, 0.128-0.11 m.

to both hair and face on top of a red wash.¹ Beneath the undecorated *modius* the wild-appearing and deeply shadowed hair, parted in the centre, falls in clustering masses over the forehead, almost entirely concealing the temples and giving a mysterious appearance to the god of the underworld. The air of mystery is accentuated by the heavy-lidded eyes, the flat cheeks and the sensual mouth, whose thick parted lips are encompassed by the curling moustache and beard. The head is set upon an oval-shaped base, which was evidently inserted in a herm or torso. It is tempting to associate this head with a seated torso of Serapis found near the Northwest Stoa² in 1908. However, the peculiarly flat appearance of the base as well as some marks of burning, which are visible on the finished edges below the neck and on the upper portions of the stump, but which do not appear lower down, suggested to the excavators³ that the head formed part of an acrolithic statue or herm, the wooden portions having been destroyed by fire.

The Corinth Serapis conforms to the type generally associated with Bryaxis,⁴ although the question of whether the sculptor of the original was the fourth century Athenian or

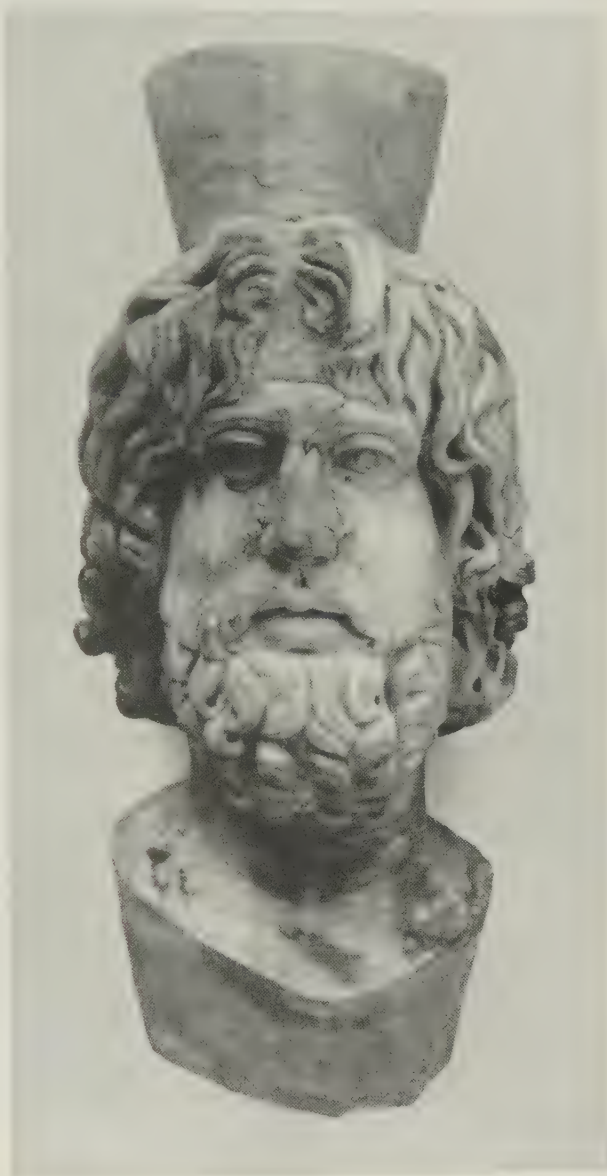


Fig. 8. Head of Serapis

¹ Traces of red and black remained on the eyes and the gold leaf and the red undercoating is well preserved on the hair although it has largely disappeared from the mass of the head.

² Cf. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, No. 23 (908).

³ Morgan (*Ibid.*) suggests that the flat tooling of the stump is reminiscent of a wood-carver's technique. In confirmation of the theory that the head was part of an acrolith is the fact that no traces of a body or herm were found.

⁴ See Amelung (*R. Arch.*, XI, 1903, pp. 117ff., and *Ausonia*, III, 1908, pp. 115-121), Lippold ("Serapis und Bryaxis," *Festschrift f. Paul Arndt*, pp. 115-127) and Johnson (*Corinth*, IX, p. 30).



Fig. 9. Draped Male Torso

another sculptor with the same name is still open to conjecture.¹ The Corinth head differs from all other heads of Serapis in one particular, namely, the central parting of

¹ Lawrence (*L. Gk. Sculpture*, p. 107), on the basis of the statement of Clement of Alexandria that "the artist was Bryaxis, not the Athenian but somebody else with the same name as the great Athenian" (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 1325) prefers a late third century dating for the original.

the hair and the resulting concealment of the temples beneath the clustering locks on either side of the forehead. In the Vatican Serapis,¹ and in practically all other heads of the god, the hair forms an even fringe of curls or wavy hair over the brow, revealing a relatively broad expanse of forehead. A minor variation occurs in the treatment of the moustache, both ends of which curl downward and terminate in neat spirals, instead of following the asymmetrical arrangement of having one end curl upward and the other downward, as on the Vatican head.² Stylistically the Corinth head is quite similar to the Parma Serapis³ and the Zeus in Copenhagen,⁴ the latter being closely related to the Zeus Otricoli cycle and to the Corinth Asklepios (Figs. 3 and 4). The corkscrew curls in the beard of the Corinth Serapis recall the hair of the statuette under discussion (Figs. 5 and 6), for the drill⁵ has been used to obtain a similar effect in each instance. The employment of the drill for hair and beard and the plastic treatment of the eye⁶ suggests a second century, and probably Hadrianic,⁷ dating for the Corinth Serapis.

In May, 1937, there were uncovered in the Church of St. John two torsos, as well as a number of smaller fragments comprising one or more draped figures, which present several peculiarities. One of the torsos (Figs. 9 and 10)⁸ represents a male figure clad in a chiton, draped

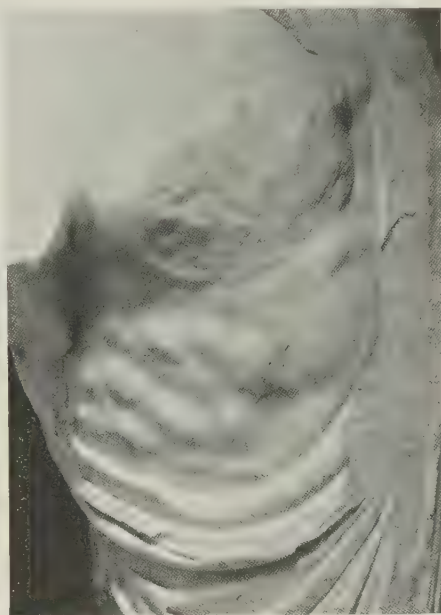


Fig. 10. Draped Male Torso, detail

¹ Lippold, *op. cit.*, fig. 8, and *Die Skulpt. d. Vat. Museums*, III, pl. 36, No. 549. I know of no example of a Serapis head which shows this treatment of the hair. The head in Cairo, No. 27432 (Edgar, *Cat. Gén. du Musée du Caire*, pl. II) appears to have a kind of part but the locks of hair, now broken off, originally hung low over the forehead forming an even fringe. The Serapis statues in Cambridge and Toulouse, as far as can be judged from Reinach's illustrations (*Rép. de la Statuaire*, II, 18, 3 and 9), may also have a central parting. The closest parallel for this arrangement of the hair that I have been able to find occurs on a statue of Pluto in the Borghese Gallery in Rome (No. cexxxiii, Room VIII; see De Rinaldis, *La R. Galleria Borghese in Roma*, p. 17).

² Cf. Note 1.

³ *Phot. Einzelaufn.*, 77, 78.

⁴ Lippold (*Festschrift f. Paul Arndt*, pp. 115ff., Fig. 7) associates the Serapis type with the Zeus Otricoli cycle.

⁵ At least 21 drill marks are discernible in the Serapis head, 15 in the beard and 6 in the hair.

⁶ According to Mrs. Strong (*Roman Sculpture*, pp. 374, 375), the pupil of the eye was not rendered plastically for single portraits until the time of Hadrian. The treatment found in the Corinth head, as far as can be determined from its present condition, appears to be most closely paralleled in the Cairo Serapis, No. 27432 (Edgar, *op. cit.*, pl. II). The Vatican Serapis shows a more advanced type of plastic pupil.

⁷ For the Serapis cult at Alexandria under Hadrian see Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des K. Hadrianus*, pp. 260ff.

⁸ Dimensions: H., 1.05 m.; W., 0.545 m. Cf. Morgan in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 340, fig. 4.

low from the left shoulder so as to expose the breast and most of the right side, leaving the left side of the body entirely bare, and an under tunic or kilt, the border of which projects from beneath the chiton over the right leg. Although the head, arms and legs are missing and the lower right-hand portion of the body badly calcined,¹ it is evident from the tightly-drawn cords of the neck, the slope of the right shoulder and upper arm, and the exaggerated musculature of the bared left side that the figure stood in a fighting pose, the right hand holding a weapon and the left, probably bearing a shield, held high in an attitude of defense. The head was undoubtedly turned to the right looking toward the enemy. The modelling of the nude portions, with their



Fig. 11. Fragment of Draped Figure

full, bulging musculature, is obviously based upon the style of the Pergamene altar, but the sculptor, although exhibiting a certain adroitness in his handling of the marble, was certainly more interested in his own virtuosity than in a faithful rendering of nature. The curiously stylized and exaggerated treatment of the rib-and-muscle structure at the sides of the body (Fig. 10), which is certainly not paralleled on the great altar,² nor on any extant sculpture as far as I know, although orderly in treatment, suggests a sack of nuts or potatoes rather than a portion of the human body. This decorative

exaggeration of the musculature, which is combined with a high polish on both nude and draped portions, along with the curiously uniform and extremely flat

¹ Suggesting that these statues were broken up and condemned to the lime kiln. This would also explain the fragmentary condition of most of the fragments.

² The muscles on the left side of Kabiras (*Pergamon*, III², pl. III) are bunched just below the armpit as on the Corinth statue but are much more naturally rendered. Other instances of exaggerated musculature on the great altar, which somewhat parallel the Corinth treatment but which always show an understanding of correct anatomy, occur on the Zeus, the giant Parthenios and the Triton (*Pergamon*, III, pls. XI, XVI, XXI). The giant fighting Helios and the serpent-giant in the group of Aphrodite, Eros and Dione (*Ibid.*, pls. IV and XIV), who take much the same pose as the Corinth "warrior," show almost no exaggeration of the rib-and-muscle structure. It is interesting to contrast the treatment of the Corinth figure with that of a rider from the Parthenon frieze (Richter, *The Sculptures and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 2nd ed., fig. 217; Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 66) who likewise takes a somewhat similar pose. The left arm of the horseman is raised, drawing taut the skin over the muscles and ribs, which, however, are treated with moderation and, more significant, the right side of the body, which is at rest, shows no strain; on the Corinth statue both sides of the body are treated in almost identical fashion.

folds of drapery, led Morgan¹ to suggest that we are dealing with a local group of Corinthian sculptors.

This same type of flat drapery, in each case highly polished, appears on four fragments² (Figs. 11 and 12) found at the same time as the "warrior" and on a fifth figure (Fig. 13), also from St. John's, which was discovered in 1907.³ Because of the shattered condition of these fragments it is impossible to determine how many statues made up the original group, a difficulty enhanced by the peculiarly unrealistic and archaistic⁴ drapery. It is probable that the group consisted of at least two life-sized draped figures in addition to the partially nude "warrior" (Figs. 9 and 10) and another nude torso (Fig. 14) to be discussed later.

The drapery is of two main types: One, represented by the edge of the "kilt"⁵ worn by the "warrior" (Figs. 9 and 10) beneath the chiton, consists of a parallel row of solid-appearing cylinders which give the illusion neither of cloth nor leather. The other type, which appears on all the draped figures, is characterized by extremely flat folds separated by shallow incisions or by the running drill.⁶ The first type finds its closest parallels in sculpture of the first half of the fifth century B.C. and appears



Fig. 12. Fragments of Draped Figures

to be a mechanical version of the bunched drapery appearing just below the waist in a number of figures of about 470-450 B.C.⁷ A statue of Artemis in the Lateran

¹ *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 542.

² Nos. 2331-2334. Dimensions: 2331 (Fig. 11): H., 0.45 m., W., 0.60 m.; No. 2332 (Fig. 12a): H., 0.145 m., L., 0.315 m.; No. 2333 (Fig. 12c): H., 0.85 m., W., 0.35 m.; No. 2334 (Fig. 12b): H., 0.25 m., L., 0.49 m.

³ Cf. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, No. 115 (773).

⁴ Johnson (*Ibid.*, in describing No. 773 says, "I do not understand the drapery. The stiffness of the folds is an indication of archaistic style; or possibly the figure is very late."

⁵ It is difficult to interpret the undercostume; it somewhat resembles the kilt on the warrior behind Nyx on the Pergamene altar (*Pergamon*, III, pl. XVII), which, however, terminates in a leather fringe. On the side and back of the Corinth figure this garment resembles ordinary drapery.

⁶ The running drill is also used to separate the folds of the "kilt."

⁷ As in the Athena of the Olympia metope illustrated by Miss Richter (*op.cit.*, fig. 319) and a female statue in Copenhagen of the same period (*Ibid.*, figs. 320, 321). A similar treatment occurs on such archaistic

Museum¹ employs much the same treatment for the folds of drapery on the back of the figure. A more archaic rendering of the same type of treatment occurs on two sixth century statues in the Acropolis Museum.²

The second type of drapery is particularly well illustrated by No. 2331 (Fig. 11), which reveals the parallel arrangement of flat folds so characteristic of the group, as well as a slightly more naturalistic form of drapery where the folds pass over the arm, shoulder, or around the body. The parallels for this treatment of drapery must be sought in the archaic period, in archaizing statues which imitate sixth century work, and in works



Fig. 13. Fragment of Draped Figure

executed at the end of the classical period. Thus the shallow folds of Fig. 11 recall the stiff drapery of the maiden from Attica in Berlin,³ the Korai of the Acropolis⁴ and

examples as the relief in the Villa Albani (No. 991. Cf. Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, pls. VIII, 2 and IX, 3), and a statue in Copenhagen (Helbig Museum, 15; Schmidt, pl. XXIII, 2).

¹ Arndt in *Brunn-Bruckmann*, text to No. 606, fig. 3.

² Payne and Young, *The Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, Nos. 592, 453, pls. 21, 2 and 43, 3, 4.

³ Richter, *op. cit.*, figs. 267-269.

⁴ In particular on the "Lyons" Kore, No. 269 (Payne, *op. cit.*, pls. 22; 23; 25, 3, 4; 26, 2) where the treatment is practically identical except that the surfaces are not smoothly polished and the running drill is not employed. Other occurrences of the same type of drapery rendering on the Korai of the Acropolis are found on Nos. 582, 678, 631, 681, 611, 672, 685, 620 and 627 (*Ibid.*, pls. 14, 34, 51, 60, 68, 72, 73, 84, 86, 117, 121).



Fig. 14. Nude Male Torso

the Branchidae statues,¹ while they are also duplicated on a limestone relief in Istanbul,² a work of the fifth century A.D. Among archaistic sculptures the closest parallel for this type of drapery which I have been able to find, is a statue from Laurium in the National Museum, Athens.³ The curious grooved folds, resembling the flutings of an Ionic column, which appear on the right side of Fig. 13,⁴ seem to be an imitation of the architectonic drapery employed on many Attic works of the middle of the fifth century, such as the Mourning Athena of the Acropolis and the Eleusinian relief in the National Museum, Athens,⁵ but which have their origin in the archaic period.⁶ The same sort of archaistic drapery likewise appears in late Roman art; the porphyry tetrarchs on the outside of St. Mark's, Venice,⁷ for instance, which are usually dated in the fourth century of the Christian era, reveal the same flute-like drapery.⁸

The task of dating archaizing sculpture is a difficult one at best. When, as is the case with the group of sculptures from St. John's, one finds the sculptors practicing eclecticism and borrowing an exaggerated musculature from the Pergamene School and their drapery types from the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., the difficulties are increased. A possible solution to the problem is suggested by a nude torso (Fig. 14)⁹ found with the others in the neighborhood of St. John's. The figure is badly shattered but enough of the surface remains to show that the musculature exhibits the same stylized exaggeration as occurs on the "warrior" (Figs. 9 and 10), although used in a more restrained fashion, and the flesh is similarly polished. Also the marble employed for the two figures is identical¹⁰ and, despite enough differences in detail as to suggest that the two statues are not by the same hand, they are undoubtedly a product of the same local school. Furthermore, the nude torso sufficiently resembles the group of portraits from the Julian Basilica, in particular the Lucius Caesar(?),¹¹ to make it probable that the St. John's figure should be assigned to the same century. A first century dating, probably late first century, is thus indicated for the whole group from St. John's.

¹ Richter, *op. cit.*, Fig. 264.

² Peirce and Tyler, *L'art byzantin*, I, pl. 128, a.

³ Schmidt (*op. cit.*, pl. XXII) associates this statue with the Hekate of Alcámenes; a statue in the British School, Athens (*Ibid.*, XXIV, 1) exhibits a similar technique.

⁴ The back of No. 2334, which is not carefully finished, has similar grooved drapery which, however, resembles the flutings of a Doric column.

⁵ Richter, *op. cit.*, figs. 206 and 481.

⁶ As on the back of a figure in the Acropolis Museum, No. 589 (Payne, *idem*, pl. 14).

⁷ Peirce and Tyler, *idem*, pls. 2 and 3; cf. a similar figure in Istanbul (*Ibid.*, pl. 6).

⁸ Cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff., and Broneer, *Corinth*, X, p. 120.

⁹ No. 2336. H., 0.90 m. Cf. Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

¹⁰ A white, crystalline "Island" marble is employed for all members of the group.

¹¹ Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, No. 135 and pp. 70 ff. The unusually flat treatment of the upper chest and the prominent line indicating the upper boundary of the ribs are similar.

EDWARD CAPPS, JR.

A WELL OF THE BLACK-FIGURED PERIOD AT CORINTH

In the spring of 1937 a well containing large quantities of Attic and Corinthian pottery, both fine and coarse, was found in the Agora at Corinth.¹ Thanks to the presence in its filling of a number of pieces of Attic black figure, the contents of the well may be securely dated; its vases provide a useful addition to our knowledge of Corinth, her pottery, and her relations with the rest of Greece in the second half of the sixth century and the early years of the fifth.

Although the well was filled up all at one time,² the pottery covers a rather long period. The earliest datable piece³ is the hydria, **1** (Fig. 1), which is closely related to the Tyrrhenian and Vourva vases. In shape, its rounded shoulders and stepped lip are midway between a hydria in the Louvre, with an even rounder shoulder, and another in the Vatican. In style, the animal frieze is fairly close to those both on Late Corinthian I vases and on works by Lydos; the figures recall an amphora by the painter of Berlin 1686, but seem a little later. We may safely place our hydria at about the middle of the sixth century. Fifty years, possibly more, separate it from the latest pieces found in the well: a nearly complete skyphos, **8** (Figs. 1 and 6); a fragment of another skyphos, **9** (Fig. 7); and a mesomphalic phiale in Six's technique, **7** (Fig. 1).

The first skyphos is rather unusual in shape; probably the closest parallel for it is a skyphos in the silhouette style, from Rhitsona. This piece, slightly more slender and a little later than ours, has been dated at about 490 B.C., and the beginning of the class to which it belongs has been set at about 500 B.C. Both in shape and in decoration, a

¹ Mentioned in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 547. The present study was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Charles H. Morgan II, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens from 1936 to 1938; I am indebted to Professor Morgan not only for the opportunity provided, but also for help and encouragement. Professor T. Leslie Shear has kindly permitted me to examine, and to cite, parallel material from the excavations of the Athenian Agora; to Mr. T. J. Dumbabin I owe the same privilege with respect to pottery from the excavations of the British School at Perachora, and to Mrs. Richard Stillwell with regard to material from the Potters' Quarter at Corinth. For help in dating the figured pieces, especially the lekythoi, I am much indebted to Miss C. H. E. Haspels. Dr. Oscar Broneer, Miss Gladys Davidson, Miss Lucy Talcott and Mr. Eugene Vanderpool have provided many suggestions. The profiles have been drawn by Dr. Wulf Schäfer; most of the photographs are by Mr. Hermann Wagner.

² Fragments of vases from the top layers of the well fitted others from the bottom, and some of the latest of the figured pieces came from the lowest part. There are many wells in this same area, and a little farther to the west several fifth century house floors have been found; it seems likely that there was a residential district here before the Agora was enlarged in the early fourth century, and that most of the pottery thrown into this well came from one of the houses. Possibly the owners of the well had some connection with the nearby sanctuary (*A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 545 ff.), a circumstance which might account for the large proportion of figured pieces.

³ References for the following discussion will be found in the catalogue.

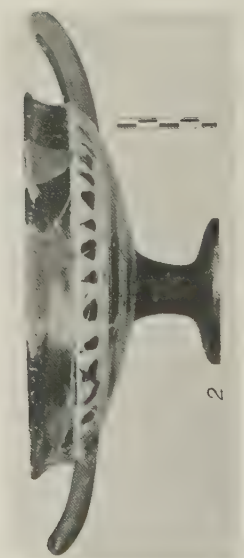
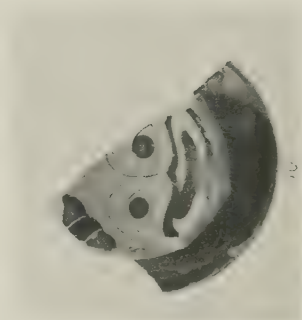
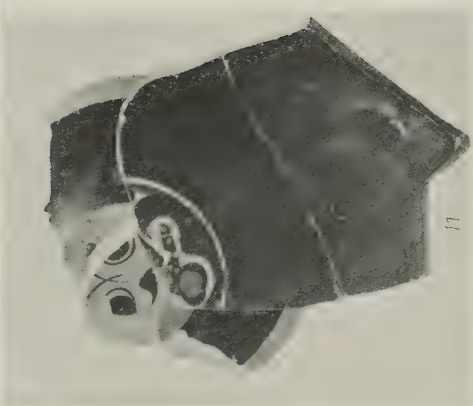


Fig. 1. Attic Black-figured Ware

date in the vicinity of 500 B.C. would seem to fit our example. The skyphos fragment, **9**, shows a bit of the story of Theseus and the Bull; only the rump and tail of the bull, painted white, and a spectator, perhaps a deity, remain. The fragment was painted by an artist of the "White Heron" group, and though not by its principal exponent, the Theseus painter, our piece belongs to the time of his greatest activity, the years around 500 B.C.



Fig. 2. Attic Black-figured Lekythoi

For the mesomphalic phiale with its bands of white dolphins and ivy leaves, **7** (Fig. 1), no entirely satisfactory parallel has appeared. Most phialai have large figures, usually four, either birds or human heads or both, painted in red and yellow as well as white. A few, however, have single continuous bands, and of these two from the Heraion at Delos with designs similar to ours were found with lekythoi dated as late as 480 B.C. Our example may be as late as that; on the other hand very similar designs appear on many of the amphoras of Nikosthenes, who was also fond of the phiale shape, though the examples known are plain. It is possible that our phiale is not so late as 480 B.C.;

at all events it can hardly be later. A lower limit for the well filling is thus set in the period 500–480 B.C.; an upper limit in the mid-sixth century is established by the hydria, **1**.

The rest of the Attic figured pottery falls easily within these boundaries. Most of it belongs to the last third of the sixth century. Slightly earlier than that, perhaps, is a Droop cup, **2** (Fig. 1), with a lotus bud pattern around the handle zone and conventionalized designs below. The shoulder lekythoi, **3** and **4** (Fig. 2), with two mantle figures and a palmette on the shoulder, and with a warrior and four spectators on the body, may be dated at about 530–520 B.C., and 520 B.C., respectively. Two more lekythoi, **5** and **6** (Fig. 5), each with a running figure between two onlookers, belong before the end of the century. Among the other pieces are two kylix fragments, **10** and **11** (Fig. 1), decorated with gorgoneia of the sort common in the last quarter of the sixth century. The floral band cup, **15** (Fig. 8), which has fired red instead of black, has parallels among those from graves of the late sixth century at Rhitsona and in Rhodes, and also among the finds of the same period at Perachora. In addition we may note fragments of several other skyphoi and of two oinochoai or amphoras. One of the skyphoi, **18** (Fig. 3), with rays at the bottom, is of interest because of an imitation of the type which appears among the Corinthian figured pieces (**28**, Fig. 3). With the exception of two small fragments, **14** and **16** (Fig. 7), the quality of these Attic pieces is hardly inspiring; their importance lies in their datable character.

Of much greater intrinsic interest are the Corinthian imitations of Attic black figure. Two of these vases, an olpe, **21** (Fig. 3), and a trefoil oinochoe, **20** (Fig. 4), were certainly painted by the same hand; a third piece, the amphora, **19** (Fig. 4), probably also belongs. Although many fragments of Corinthian imitations of Attic vase painting, both in the black-figured and in the red-figured techniques, have been found in the past few years,¹ no two vases by the same hand have hitherto been reported. It is not surprising, however, that we should find two or three pieces by the same painter in our well. Its contents belong to the period when Corinth was just beginning to copy Attic black figure; the number of painters engaged in this work can hardly have been large, and the possibility of finding two or more pots by the same hand is proportionally great. Further excavations in Corinth will no doubt produce more pieces which can be assigned to individual masters, and we shall be able to study as personalities those Corinthians who so quickly learned to make excellent imitations of Attic figured wares. It may indeed be that our painter signed one of his vases: on the olpe, **21** (Fig. 3), between the two heroes who sit playing draughts, is the fragmentary inscription **ΚΝΟ**[. Possible names are *Κνωσίων* and *Κνωσος*.

On the oinochoe, **20** (Fig. 4), two warriors fight; at either side stands a draped male figure holding a staff. In technique this piece and the olpe are identical. The black

¹ In addition to the vases from our well, a few black-figured imitations and a number of red-figured examples have been found at Corinth (cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 307 ff., and p. 316, note). A number of black-figured imitations have come also from Perachora, most of them rather earlier than ours.



Fig. 3. Three Corinthian Imitations of Attic Black-figure (21, 22, 28); an Attic Fragment (18); and an Imitation of Chalcidian(?) (29)

glaze is applied over a thin reddish wash of the same color as the surface of Attic ware; the reserved panel, also, is covered with this wash. Purplish red and white paint and incision are used for details. The style of the drawing on the two pieces corresponds no less closely; perhaps the most obvious comparison is that between the heads of the two warriors who appear at the right of the scene on either vase, but examination will show that the similarity of style is no less great in the other details both of drawing



Fig. 4. Corinthian Imitations of Attic Black-figure

and of painting. Note for instance the very thin forearms, the emphasis of the elbow bone, the fondness for long incised lines, and for very thin spears and staves; compare, too, the hand of the warrior and of the draughts player to the left on each vase; the ear, also, of the same draughts player and of the left-hand spectator. The execution is perhaps a little better in **21** than in **20**, but the vases must be closely contemporary; we may date them in the neighborhood of 530 B.C.

The amphora, **19** (Fig. 4), may be an earlier work by the same hand. In many details of drawing it shows renderings identical with those on our painter's olpe and oinochoe; but the technical problems of the imitator are solved less satisfactorily, especially in the

case of the red surfacing, here a thick slip which has flaked off in many places. The figured decoration, painted on this slip, occupies an unbroken band around the body; on either side Theseus is seen, struggling with the Minotaur; the compositions are the same, except for the reversal of the male and female spectators. Around the neck is a double lotus and palmette pattern, reversed on one side and on the other divided by a chain of linked circles. The figures on this vase seem earlier in style than those of **20** and **21**; they suggest the work of a painter who is unfamiliar with the technique he is using and who is in fact experimenting with the painting of imitations.

Among the other Corinthian imitations the most interesting is a fragment from a trefoil oinochoe, **22** (Fig. 3), with a horse and rider, and at the right looking back toward them a nude male figure. This piece belongs in the last third of the sixth century. Similar in style is a small fragment of an oinochoe, **23** (Fig. 14). The design of **25** (Fig. 8) is unusual and **28** (Fig. 3) is interesting because it is the same type of skyphos as the Attic **18** (Fig. 3), but larger and with a foot which flares upward rather than down and has a depressed ring between it and the body.

Perhaps the most important figured vase found in our well is a column krater, **29** (Fig. 3), neither Attic nor Corinthian, but possibly Chalcidian. With the exception of the foot, the shape of the vase¹ conforms to that of Chalcidian kraters; the foot is of a cushion type characteristic rather of Chalcidian oinochoai, amphoras and hydrias. The clay is a dark grayish yellow-brown, fairly soft; so far as can be judged from the available descriptions it corresponds closely to that of Chalcidian vases. The glaze, which had fired red all over, has largely disappeared, but enough remains to enable us to make out the decoration. There were wavy vertical lines on the lip, a tongue pattern on the shoulder, and rays just above the base. On the body there is a figured panel, bordered by vertical bands of ivy leaves on either side; in one panel are three figures wearing himatia with large folds, in the other a dancing figure and the heads of two other figures are preserved. Purple paint was used for details; if white was used there is no longer any trace of it.

Since Chalcidian vases have not hitherto been found in Greece, and since there has been no opportunity for comparing the clay of our krater with that of recognized Chalcidian ware, it would seem hazardous, in spite of the strong superficial resemblances, to describe the new vase as certainly Chalcidian. Another possibility is suggested by the presence in the well of a jug, **155** (Fig. 24), which is likewise clearly an import. Its fabric is the same as that of the krater. The jug is related in shape to some Lydian vases from Sardis, and also resembles certain so-called Ionian vases in Munich. Vases of this type have been found in Naukratis and in Thera as well as in Etruria. The jug indeed may be Chalcidian; but it is no less possible that the krater comes from Ionia, and is a local imitation of Chalcidian ware. The curious circumstance that the foot of the krater, though in fact it does belong to the Chalcidian repertory, here appears on

¹ The handles are incorrectly restored; clearly they are of the same type as those on Chalcidian kraters.

a shape with which it is not ordinarily associated, would be easily explained if the maker were an imitator who had got his models somewhat mixed in his mind.

The rest of the pottery found in this well includes a large quantity of both Attic and Corinthian black-glazed wares. Best represented of the Attic shapes is the kylix (Fig. 8). There are a number of types, all of which have a very short stem, or none at all, and a disk foot. Several have an offset lip, for example **30**, **35**, and **36**. One, **37**, is similar in shape to the eye kylikes. Another, **31**, has a deep bowl forming a continuous curve with the outflaring lip. The interior of the foot is sometimes black-glazed, sometimes reserved, and sometimes decorated with a dot, or a circle and dot, at the centre. The four skyphoi, **42–45** (Fig. 9), three black glazed and one red, are among the earliest vases of this shape yet found. The widest part of the body is still at the handle-zone; **43** in particular, with its unusually wide lip and squat body, shows clearly its relation to earlier Corinthian skyphoi. Two oinochoai of unusual shape, **46** (Fig. 9) and **47** (Fig. 10), are interesting. The one, with its ribbon handle, flat horizontal lip, round body and low false ring foot, presents a very strange appearance. The other, a large pitcher with pinched lip cut away at the back, long neck and rather round body, is very impressive. The hydria, **48** (Fig. 9), is not remarkable, but the two squat amphoras, **49** and **50** (Fig. 9), are, again, of unfamiliar shape. The short handles, round in section, are horizontal across the top; above them the neck is stepped in, to flare again in a lip of unusual type.

Among the Corinthian black-glazed pieces is an amphora, **51** (Fig. 9), which has certain affinities with these two Attic examples as well as with local shapes. It has a squat but oval body, short flat handles and a stepped-in neck shorter than those of the Attic amphoras. Its foot, its banded decoration and its lip are on the other hand more like those of the Corinthian amphoras, **51**, **52** (Fig. 9) and **54** (Fig. 12). In **51** and **52** we may note as unusual the unbroken curve of the body and neck. A single fragment of a hydria, **55** (Fig. 12), remains to show that Corinth was making this shape; column kraters, on the other hand, are well represented. Two types occur, one, **56–58** (Fig. 12), similar to the earlier variety in shape, the other, **59–62** (Fig. 12), more elongated, with handles which extend up above the level of the rim. One kind of oinochoe, **63–68** (Figs. 11, 12), was extremely popular. It has a long body, very slight false ring foot, round shoulder and trefoil lip, and was probably topped by a high ribbon handle. On one of these jugs is incised in archaic Corinthian characters: *Ἀνθέσιλας*, probably a name, running down the length of the body. These oinochoai, and also the column kraters of the second type, continue with only slight changes well down into the fifth century.

There are other round-bodied oinochoai with both plain and trefoil lips, and also cups and bowls among the local black-glazed wares. Three types of oinochoe are interesting because their presence in our well confirms Payne's late dating of these shapes, represented here respectively by **72** and **73** (Figs. 14, 13); by **74** (Fig. 14); and by **75** (Fig. 14). There can be no doubt that these types belong to the Late Corinthian II

period; the shape of **75**, indeed, was still in use toward the end of the fifth century. Miniature trefoil oinochoai (Fig. 14), and many miniature bowls of various shapes (Fig. 15), are much the same as other miniatures of our period; only **80**, a bowl with straight sides and slanting bottom, set on a high flaring foot, is particularly remarkable.

Among the decorated wares from our well the largest single class is naturally that of the late Corinthian conventionalizing vases. Skyphoi in particular occur in large quantities; most of them belong to two types, a small variety with fine rays at the bottom, **89–100** (Figs. 15, 16, 20), and a large sort with larger and more widely spaced rays, **101–114** (Figs. 15, 16). The shape of the two is approximately the same; apparently they were made at the same time and used side by side. The smaller variety was copied in large numbers by the Athenians, and then recopied once more in Corinth; a few copies of the larger type, also, have come to light in the excavations of the Athenian Agora. The decoration of the under side is the same in both varieties, all having the same arrangement of concentric circles, either red or black or both, around a central dot (Fig. 16). Two of the smaller examples, **98** and **99** (Fig. 20), have a pin-wheel design in red and black.

A single skyphos of the animal type, **116** (Fig. 17), reflects the degeneration of the traditional scheme. It is decorated with a sphinx, its wings outspread, flanked on either side by a siren; half-moons and dots are used as filling ornament. The drawing is extremely poor. Two floral skyphoi, **117–118** (Figs. 18, 20), each with a band of lotus buds below the level of the handles, also were found. The many miniature skyphoi, **120–127** (Figs. 15, 20), show a variety of patterns. The cone design on **123** and **127**, which apparently came in fairly late in the sixth century, is interesting; a variation of this decoration occurs also on a larger skyphos, **119** (Fig. 20), in which the cones are separated into two rows by a zigzag line. The pyxis with convex sides and cylindrical handles, **128** (Fig. 16), is similar to a variety cited by Payne; it has a tongue pattern on the shoulder. The other pyxis, **129** (Figs. 18, 19), is of a sort which has been found in the contexts of the sixth century at Perachora. The plate, **133** (Fig. 20), has a quadruple lotus design descended from an earlier Corinthian pattern. Four kothons, **135–138** (Figs. 18, 20), two of them fairly complete, and also fragments of others uncatalogued, show the popularity of this shape in our period. On the other hand, the aryballos was apparently becoming less popular, for only two small fragments were found; one of them, **139** (Fig. 20), has been catalogued. An interesting vase decorated with conventionalized designs is **140** (Fig. 15), probably a jug. It has an unusually high flaring foot and a round body which curves out sharply from the foot and is beginning to turn in again where it is broken off.

There are several partly glazed oinochoai of Corinthian manufacture. On one, **150** (Fig. 18), there are two handles set on one side; on another, **151** (Fig. 18), the surface is particularly well polished. In addition we may note partly glazed cups or bowls, **142–144** (Fig. 18), and an amphora, **152** (Fig. 21). The trefoil oinochoe, **153** (Fig. 21),

and the askos, **154** (Fig. 22), also partly glazed, are Attic. A similar askos has recently been found in the Athenian Agora in a well in use in the latter part of the sixth and the early years of the fifth century.

The kitchen ware, **159–165** (Figs. 21, 25), is of the sort widely used in classical times; the shapes include cooking pots, casseroles, and a shallow dish. The local coarse ware, **166–206** (Figs. 23–29), a very characteristic fabric, appears in a great variety of shapes. There are oinochoai, a hydria, basins, storage jars, lekanai, mortars, a lid, a small bowl, a plate, and a great many wine amphoras, the latter mainly of two types. The deep basin, **172** (Fig. 23), the larnax, **173** (Fig. 23), the mortar with a relief, **177** (Fig. 24), the amphora handle with a frog stamp, **200** (Fig. 28), and the inscribed wine amphoras, **190–199** (Figs. 25, 27, 29) are particularly interesting.

The imported coarse pots come from various places. Three painted amphoras, **207–209** (Fig. 29), and a painted jug, **210** (Fig. 29), are Attic. Six very elongated wine amphoras, **211–216** (Fig. 29), are of a type found both in South Russia and in Athens, but their place of origin is unknown. The fabric of **217** and **218** (Figs. 29 and 25) is apparently the same. The clay of **219** (Fig. 29) resembles that of Chian stamped amphoras, and the clay of **220** (Fig. 29) is much like Thasian; but in each case the shape is quite different from that of any known amphoras from these places.

The miscellaneous objects include an archaic head from a terracotta figurine, **221**; several loomweights, **222–226** (Fig. 30); a number of lamps, **229–242** (Fig. 30), both Attic and Corinthian, all belonging to the second half of the sixth century; a tool made of sandy poros stone, **242** (Fig. 30); and several cover and pan tiles (Fig. 32).

Corinth's continued importance and individuality are clearly reflected in the pottery from our well. The traditional supremacy of Corinthian vase-painters had certainly vanished, and the most skillful artists of the day were the copyists. But the loss of the export trade apparently did not affect the output of pottery. Its place was taken by an increased local demand, if not for fine decorated wares at least for simpler products of every description. The amazing range and variety of pots intended for daily use and, in particular, the excellently made and carefully diversified examples of local coarse ware indicate a considerable prosperity. At the same time, Corinth was importing from Athens a variety of finer wares both plain glazed and decorated, and her potters were beginning successfully to imitate these current fashions. We note evidence, too, for importations from Ionia, possibly also from Etruria, and the stocks of the Corinthian wine-merchants seem to have come from all parts of the Aegean. Corinth in the later sixth century was no longer exporting as many vases as before, but her own pottery manufacture continued undiminished, encouraged, it would seem, rather than interrupted by the new problems of copying and adaptation.

CATALOGUE¹

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

1. (2472) Hydria. Fig. 1

PH. 0.30 m.; D. of lip 0.142 m.; D. of body 0.69 m.

Handles, foot and a few pieces of the body missing.

The vase has a flaring stepped lip flat on top, a long neck with a raised ring at the bottom, a rounded shoulder and an ovoid body. The interior and the upper edge of the exterior of the lip are painted purplish red, the top is reserved. The rest of the vase is glazed black with the exception of figured panels on the shoulder and body in front and a reserved band, just above the foot, decorated with black rays. Purple and white paint and incision are used for the details.

On the shoulder is a siren flanked on either side by a lion. In the free spaces are rosettes of two types, either simple dots or large black dots cut into four parts by incised lines. The scene on the body shows a warrior, with a round shield, and two draped figures, carrying spears, facing him on either side. The headbands and the warrior's greaves are painted purple. The wide folds of the garments of the two inner figures are alternately purple and plain except for white dots. Those of the outer ones are plain with the exception of white dots on every other fold. The dots on the shield are alternately purple and white, and the streaks on the helmet white. Only the foundation of the white paint is now left but the purple is fairly well preserved. The other details are incised. On the sides bordering this scene are vertical bands of ivy leaves.

This hydria is related to the Vourva and Tyrrhenian vases. The execution is very poor and careless. Approximately the same quality of workmanship and a similar scene appear on a vase found at Gela (*Mon. Ant.*, XVII, col. 319–320, fig. 238). A hydria in the Louvre (*C.V.A.*, Louvre, III Hd, pl. 12, 1 and 3, and pl. 13) is similar in shape, with the same type of scene and the same division of decoration, but the stepped lip is straight, the drawing better and the shoulder even rounder. For another, somewhat later in date, with the same type of scenes but with three warriors and two spectators, and a flatter shoulder, wider body and plain lip, see Albizzati, *Vasi Antichi Dipinti del Vaticano*, pp. 109–110, fig. 51, and pl. 37, no. 315. Compare, also, *C.V.A.*, Oxford, III H, pl. V by the painter of Berlin 1686, which Beazley dates 560–550. The drapery is of the same sort but the figures are earlier.

Middle of the sixth century B.C.

¹ The number following the catalogue number in parenthesis is the Corinth inventory number; in each case the designation of the year, C-37, which in the excavation records precedes this number, has been omitted. These abbreviations are used: H. = height; PH. = preserved height; D. = diameter; W. = width; GD. = greatest dimension; T. = thickness; and PL. = preserved length. Plaster reconstructions can be seen in the photographs.

The following books, frequently cited, are referred to below only by the author's name:

- Brants, J. P. J., *Beschrijving van de Klassieke Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, II, 's-Gravenhage, 1930.
- Haspels, C. H. E., *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, Paris, 1936.
- Hoppin, J. C., *A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases*, Paris, 1924.
- Mingazzini, P., *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, Rome, 1930.
- Payne, H., *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931.
- Pfuhl, E., *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923.
- Ure, P. N., *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, London, 1927.

2. (941) Droop cup. Fig. 1

PH. 0.046 m.; D. of lip 0.184 m.

Foot, most of the handles and pieces of the lip missing.

All of the interior of the cup, except for a reserved band at the bottom of the lip and the exterior of the lip, are glazed black. The handle zone is decorated with a band of alternating lotus buds and degenerate lotus flowers joined by thin tendrils. Beneath this are three bands of black, alternately narrow and wide, a double row of black dots, divided by a black line, and the three bands of black repeated once more. Just above the stem are black rays.

This cup belongs to a group which Ure (*J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 55 ff.) has named IE and which is closely related to his class IC. The latter he puts at about 540 B.C. with the exception of three cups which are very carelessly painted and date probably about 530 B.C. For the decoration on the handle zone of ours compare Ure's no. 28 (p. 60 and Droop, *J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, p. 26, fig. 12 a) which he places *ca.* 540 B.C. and another in the National Museum at Athens, no. 12847 (Ure, p. 57, no. 7) which belongs to class IB and is earlier. Ours is of more careless workmanship than these. For Droop cups, see, besides the articles mentioned above, *Eph. Arch.*, 1915, pp. 123 ff. and *Clara Rhodos*, III, figs. 227 and 229.

Ca. 540–530 B.C.

3. (1069) Shoulder lekythos. Fig. 2

H. 0.20 m.; D. of lip 0.042 m.; D. of foot 0.05 m.

Large piece of shoulder and upper part of body and a few other pieces missing.

At the juncture of the neck and shoulder is a narrow raised ring, painted black, and at the angle made by the shoulder and body a black band. The neck, shoulder and upper part of the body are reserved, the rest glazed shiny black, worn away in spots.

On the front of the shoulder is a palmette with three black and two purple leaves standing upon two circles with a black dot inside of each. On either side of this palmette and facing toward it was a draped figure, one of which is preserved. The scene on the front of the body shows a departing warrior with a round shield, turned left, and, facing him on either side, two draped figures holding long staves or spears. The helmet, greaves and folds of drapery show traces of purple paint. The emblem \ddagger on the shield was painted white.

This type of lekythos, not particularly well painted, is common, especially at Rhitsona, where Ure (pp. 39–44) lists it as class F, which begins about 530 B.C. and has only a short life. Miss Haspels (p. 67), who finds it related to the "Phanyllis" shaped lekythoi, also puts its beginning about 530 B.C. Ours is one of the early examples.¹

For other examples of this class see *C.V.A.*, Denmark, Copenhagen, III He, pl. 109, 8; Mingazzini, no. 561, pl. 84, 10 and 11 and pl. 87, 4; Haspels, p. 205; and nos. 376 and 378 in the National Museum at Athens. A variation of this type occurs on a lekythos in Brussels (cf. *C.V.A.*, Bruxelles, III He, pl. 21, 14) in which the two figures next to the warrior are women whose faces are painted white, and who have more elaborate drapery and no spears.

Ca. 530–520 B.C.

4. (1067) Shoulder lekythos. Fig. 2

H. 0.19 m.; D. of lip 0.048 m.; D. of foot 0.053 m.

Most of the body and shoulder and half of the lip missing.

The proportions are more squat than those of 3 but the type of decoration is the same. Although only one figure of the shoulder scene is preserved, this lekythos clearly belongs to the same class as 3, for the scene on the body is also the same except for the figure to the right of the warrior who has a more elaborate himation thrown back over his shoulder. The figures are also more

¹ I am indebted to Miss Haspels for information as to the date of this vase and of 4.

squat and the heads (not shown on the photograph) larger than in 3. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Denmark, Copenhagen, III He, pl. 109, 7 for this squatter type of lekythos. For the figure to the right of the warrior see Collignon-Couve, *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, pl. XXXVIII, 1112, in which the drapery is slightly stiffer; also Robinson and Hareum, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, I, pp. 129-130 and II, pl. 42, 307, where it is a little more elaborate. The drawing of 4 is not so stiff as that of 3 and more purple paint is used.

A little later than the preceding, ca. 520 B.C.

5-6. (1080, 1003) Shoulder lekythoi. Fig. 5

5: PH. 0.083 m.; D. of foot 0.04 m.

6: PH. 0.075 m.; D. of foot 0.037 m.

Lower part of body and foot preserved in each case.

In these two vases the body curves in to the foot gradually, not abruptly as in 3 and 4. The glaze is rather dull black and on 5 it is very worn. The foot of 6 is flatter and more projecting than that of 5.

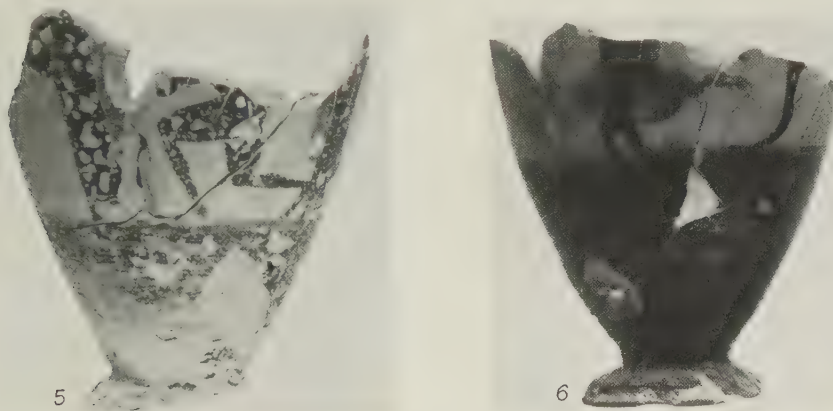


Fig. 5. Attic Black-figured Lekythoi

Very little of the figured scene is left on either, but there is enough to make it clear, after comparison with other lekythoi, that we have here the lower part of the bodies of two draped spectators facing a nude male figure placed between them in a running position. Although the drawing of 6 is extremely poor, comparison with no. 9699 in the National Museum at Athens, which is of similar quality, shows that it is the same scene. There are several examples of this class in the National Museum at Athens (nos. 9699-9701). For others see Haspels, pp. 16-17. Miss Haspels makes this class a late offshoot of the Dolphin class, which probably continued for some decades. Most of the vases of this type have rounder bodies than ours.

7. (937) Mesomphalic phiale. Fig. 1

D. 0.222 m.; H. 0.057 m.

Several pieces of body and rim and all of raised disk in the centre missing.

The exterior of this vase is reserved except for a wide band of black glaze around the edge. The interior is glazed black. Over the glaze the decoration is painted in white. Around the rim is a band of small white dolphins and below this, between two rows of white dots, are two bands of ivy leaves joined by tendrils. Around the disk in the centre are white rays.

Most of the phialai in the Six technique are painted with yellow and purple or red as well as white, and the figures are usually very large. Cf. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 68 and 73, 198–199 and pl. III, 323 and 325–326. All of these come from graves with late sixth or early fifth century pottery. Somewhat more like ours in style are those from the Heraion at Delos (*Delos*, X, pl. LII, 640–642 and 644 and pl. LXX, 641–642). Of these 640 is painted in the regular black-figured technique, with a lotus pattern all around the bowl. 641 has a dolphin pattern mainly in white and is more like ours than any of the others. The rest of those from Delos are more like the type found in Rhodes. According to Miss Haspels (p. 164) some of the Attic vases in the Heraion date as late as 480 B.C. Also similar to ours in type is a phiale in Leyden (Brants, pl. XIV, 87 and 88) with a leaf pattern. Dolphins similar to ours and ivy leaves of the same sort also appear on several vases by Nikosthenes. Cf. Hoppin, pp. 179, 191, 194 and 195. He made several mesomphalic phialai, but they are all plain except for the centre, and the sides are more rounded (Hoppin, pp. 208, 219, 288).

Since the closest parallels to our phiale are of the type found at Delos, which are not later than 480 B.C. and the patterns used by Nikosthenes are so close to those on our vase, it certainly is not later than 480 B.C. and possibly not much later than Nikosthenes.

For other bibliography on phialai and the Six technique see Picard, *Rev. Arch.*, XXII, 1913, II, p. 185 ff., Pfuhl, pp. 334–335, and *Gaz. Arch.*, 1888, p. 281 ff.

Not later than 480 B.C.

8. (945) Skyphos. Figs. 1 and 6

H. 0.098 m.; D. of lip 0.124 m.;
D. of foot 0.063 m.

One handle and several pieces of the lip and body missing.

The foot is nearly flat. The body forms an unbroken curve with the lip, which flares at the top; the handles are attached below the lip and slant upward. The cup is glazed a shiny black all over, with the exception of a reserved band with figures at the level of the handles and a plain reserved band a short distance below.

A. Dionysos stands in the centre facing right with a drinking horn in his hand. A dancing maenad and a satyr face him in three-quarter view on either side. Next to the handle on each side is a palmette. The details are indicated by incised lines of a careless nature and a little red and white paint which has almost entirely disappeared.

B. In the centre is a horse and rider turned to the right. On either side are a nude male figure and a draped figure of whom the two on the left and the one on the extreme right are facing the central group. The other, in three-quarter view, looks back at the horse and rider. Next to the handles are palmettes as on the other side. Incision and red and white paint are used for details.

Dionysiac scenes such as this are very common in the late sixth century. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, III He, pl. 22, 1–5, 23, 5, 24, 1–2, an amphora signed by Nikosthenes, 34, 2–3 and 8; Mingazzini, no. 445, pl. L, 2 and 4–6; and *C.V.A.*, Rodi, III He, pl. 18, 3 and 5; also *C.V.A.*, La Haye, III He, pl. 4, 1. These are all a little earlier than our cup and most of them use more red and white paint. Scenes with horsemen are also fairly common.

Although this is not a very usual shape of skyphos there are several similar to it. Most of them are earlier, with wider and shallower bodies and more nearly horizontal handles. Cf. a cup in Wurzburg signed by Hermogenes (E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen*, no. 406, pl. 113) and another



Fig. 6. Attic Black-figured Skyphos

which is perhaps signed by Klitomenes (*A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, pp. 432 ff.). The only decoration on these is the signature and palmettes next to the handle. They are definitely earlier in shape than ours. Also earlier is one in the Vatican (Albizzati, pl. 35, no. 337) and another from Cumae (*Mon. Ant.*, XXII, pl. LXIII, and col. 508). Very similar but slightly earlier is one from Syracuse (*Mon. Ant.*, XVII, col. 286, figs. 209–210) which has practically the same shape and division of glazed, reserved and decorated areas, as well as figures and palmettes of the same sort. For still other cups of this shape see Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, p. 3, note 6. A little later but still very much like ours is a cup of the silhouette style from Rhitsona (Ure, pl. XXII, 18.75). It is a little more slender and the figures are painted black without any added colors or incision. Miss Haspels (p. 109) dates this vase about 490 B.C.

Ca. 500 B.C.

9. (1068) Skyphos of the "White Heron" group. Fig. 7

PH. 0.078 m.; D. ca. 0.14 m.

Fragment of rim and upper part of body preserved.

The rim is set off slightly from the body; there is a reserved band inside near the edge of the rim. On the exterior a band of black ivy leaves runs around the top. Below, at the left, is the rump and tail of an animal painted white, presumably the Cretan Bull. Above the bull are sprays of leaves and to the right a spectator, perhaps a deity. This type of scene, with Theseus and the Bull in the centre and a figure on either side, occurs on several vases. On a lekythos from Athens the extra figures are simply spectators (Athens, 1124, C.C., 965, pl. 37 and Haspels, pl. 29, 4 and 27, 6) and similarly on another from Rhitsona (Ure, pl. XIV, 80.233). That in Tübingen (Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, pl. 22, no. E 56) has two warriors. Athena and Hermes are represented on still another lekythos from Syracuse (Syracuse, 21127, *Mon. Ant.*, XVII, p. 382, fig. 283) and possibly Aegeus on a red-figured vase (Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*, pl. CLXII, 1). Our spectator wears a short cloak painted with purple to indicate some of the folds. He leans on a crooked staff. Around his head is a wreath of purple leaves and his beard also is painted purple.

This skyphos was painted by a member of the "White Heron" group though not by the Theseus Painter himself. The majority of vases by the Theseus Painter, which date about 500 B.C. (Haspels, p. 163), seem to be of about the same time as our fragment. For other vases of this group see Haspels, pp. 142–144 and 249 ff., and Mingazzini, pp. 314–316.

Ca. 500 B.C.

10–11. (1029, 1055) Kylikes. Fig. 1

10: PH. 0.023 m.; D. of foot 0.064 m.

11: PH. 0.058 m.; D. of foot 0.088 m.

Part of foot and floor of each preserved.

10 has a disk foot from which the bowl starts without any stem between. The foot is glazed black except for the reserved edge, the resting surface, and the bottom of the body inside the foot, which is decorated with a black circle and central dot. In the centre of the bowl is a gorgoneion with the tongue, pupils of the eyes and alternate curls of the hair painted reddish purple.

11 has a wider foot which is separated from the body by a short stem with an unglazed raised ring. The foot is decorated in the same way as that of 10 except for the under side of the bowl which is reserved without any added decoration. On the interior of the bowl is a gorgoneion with white teeth and a reddish purple tongue. On the exterior is part of an eye.

Many gorgoneia of this type occur on cups from the last quarter of the sixth century. Compare, for instance, *C.V.A.*, British Museum, III He, pl. 19, 1a, 20, 1a, 22, 1a and 6a; *C.V.A.*, Compiègne, III He, pl. 11, 1–18; *C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, III He, pl. 37, 4–5; *C.V.A.*, La Haye, III He, pl. 39, 2–3; and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 270, fig. 25, 112; also Hoppin, p. 217, by Nikosthenes; and pp. 303 and 306, by Pamphaios.

Last quarter of the sixth century.

12. (1077 a) Skyphos. Fig. 7

PH. 0.075 m.; D. 0.18 m.

Small piece of the body and lip preserved.

The lip is set off from the body. The lip and the interior except a narrow reserved band near the edge of the rim are glazed black. On the body is a sphinx with a white face, neck and breast, a little white on the wing, and a red band around the head and on the inner part of the wing. She faces right toward a palmette with the top leaf and the central dot painted red. At the extreme right is the edge of the handle.

This scene is common on skyphoi and kylikes of the last third of the sixth century. Cf. Ure, pp. 40 and 63-66 and pls. XIX-XX; also *Clara Rhodos*, IV, pp. 181-182, fig. 195-196; *C.V.A.*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., pl. 70, 3 and 5. Many sphinxes of this type also appear on vases signed by Nikosthenes (*C.V.A.*, Louvre, III, He, pl. 36, 2, 6, 11, and 16; pl. 37, 2 and 6 and pl. 38, 2).

Last third of the sixth century.

13. (1077 b) Skyphos. Fig. 7

PH. 0.07 m.

Small fragment of body.

This piece is very much like 12 and, except for the black line under the figures, might be from the same vase. Only the lower part of the scene is preserved. It consists of a seated figure on the left, who may well be Dionysos, wearing a himation with folds indicated by red and white paint and incised lines, and, on the right, the back and wings of a sphinx. In front of the former, but facing away from him, is part of another figure.

For figures and scenes of this type cf. Mingazzini, no. 444, pl. L, 3; *Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 235, fig. 233; and *C.V.A.*, Bruxelles, III, He, pl. 19, 1 and 2.

Last third of the sixth century.

14. (1065) Skyphos. Fig. 7

PH. 0.05 m.; D. 0.20 m.

Small piece of the body and lip and edge of handle preserved.

There is an ancient hole in the rim. The lip forms a continuous curve with the body. Part of a very neatly painted palmette next to the handle is all the decoration which is now left. The glaze and workmanship are very good.

15. (1032) Floral band cup. Fig. 8

PH. to top of lip 0.047 m.; to top of handle 0.051 m.; D. 0.14 m.

About a third of bowl and lip and one handle preserved.

The lip is off-set; the handles, attached just below the lip, curve up above its edge. The glaze inside and out is red; there is a reserved band below the handle zone. In the handle zone is a band of palmettes standing upon a chain of linked circles and divided by a single leaf similar to an exclamation point. The leaves are much wider at the edge than at the centre and narrow rather abruptly.

Very similar is a cup from Perachora and another from Rhitsona, grave 82. For others see *C.V.A.*, Pologne, Cracovie, Musée Technique et Industriel, pl. I, 13; *Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 235, fig. 233; IV, p. 215 ff., fig. 244; VIII, p. 99, 8 and 9, fig. 83, and p. 95, fig. 81. For this shape of palmette leaf cf. also Haspels, pl. 20, 5, pp. 65-66, no. 549 from Delos, by the Chariot Painter, and *C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, pl. 18, 1-2, and pls. 5-8.

Last quarter of the sixth century.

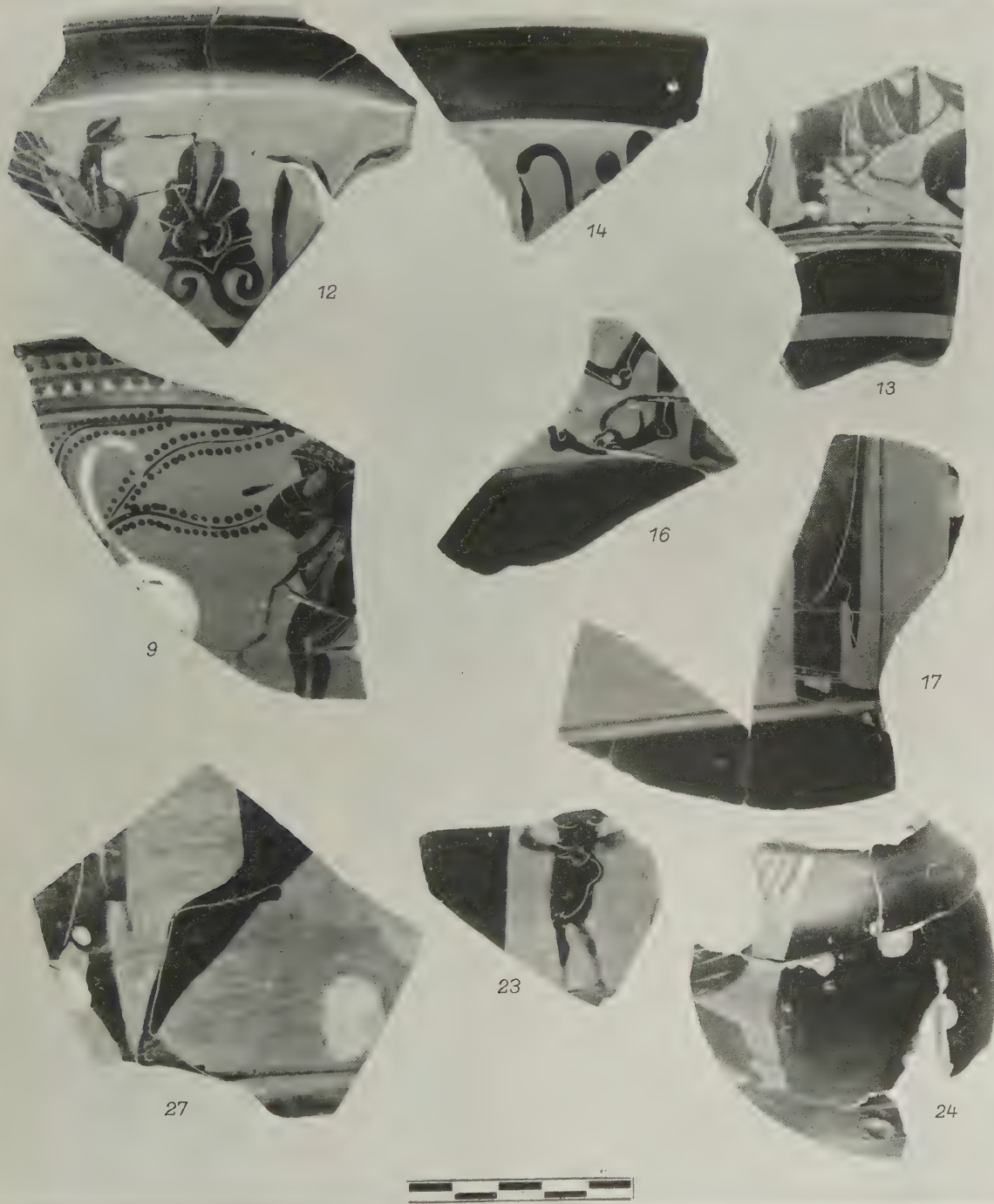


Fig. 7. Above: Attic Black-figure. Below (bottom row): Corinthian Imitations

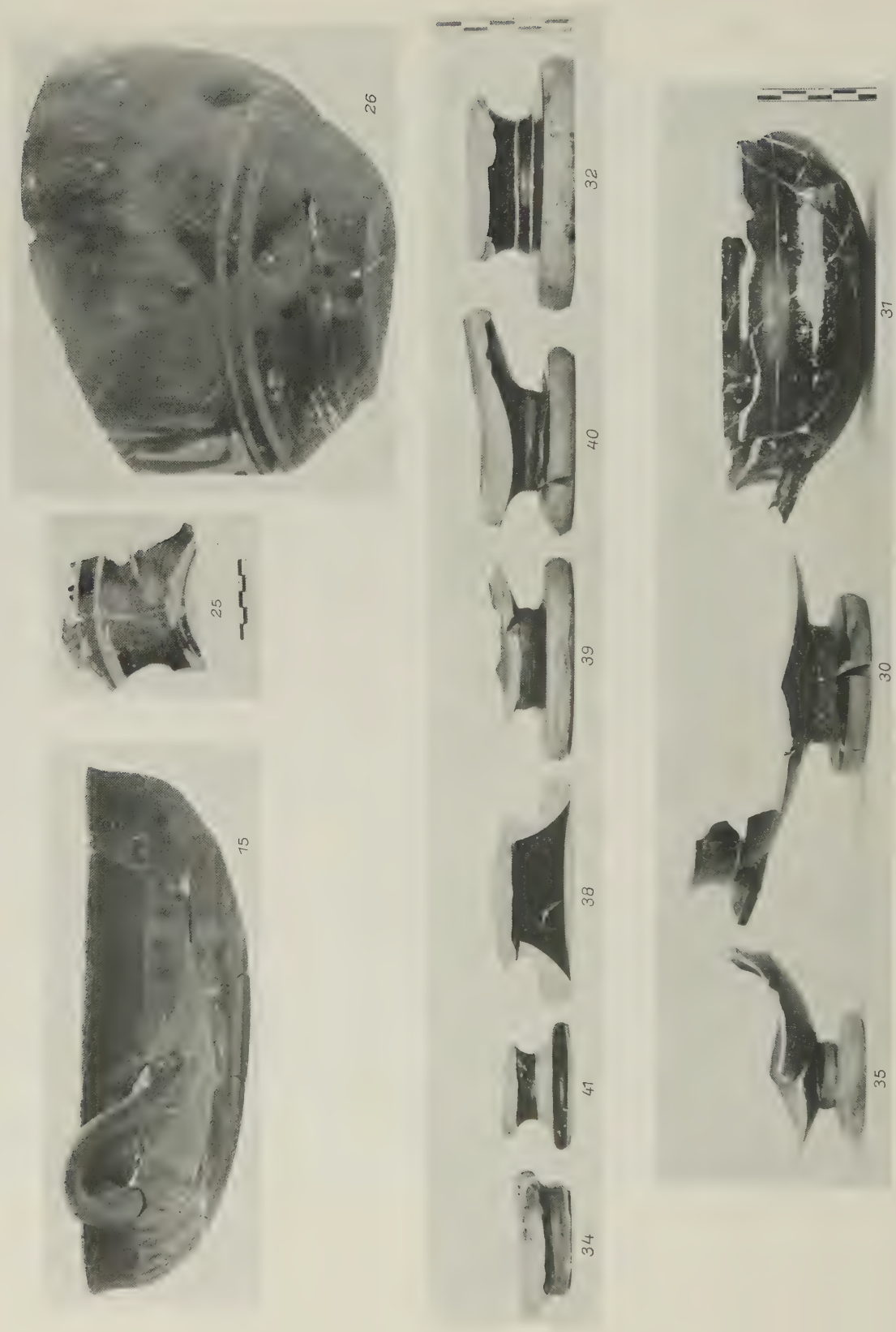


Fig. 8. Above: Attic Black-figure 15, Corinthian Imitations 25-26. Below: Attic Black-glazed Kylikes

16. (1078) Fragment of amphora or oinochoe. Fig. 7

PH. 0.06 m.

The fragment is from the figured part of some vase unglazed on the interior. Only a pair of feet facing left and a foot on each side of them facing right are preserved. The foot on the extreme right is painted white. The glaze and workmanship are both fairly good.

17. (1076) Fragment of oinochoe or amphora. Fig. 7

PH. 0.085 m.

This piece, also, is from a figured panel; the interior is unglazed. A draped figure with a staff faces right. Farther to the right is part of another figure. The himation shows traces of red paint all over, but the under-garment is plain. For the drapery compare an amphora in Toronto (Robinson and Hareum, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, I, pp. 129–130, and II, pl. 42, no. 307).

C. ca. 520 B.C.?

18. (2476) Skyphos. Fig. 3

PH. 0.039 m.; D. of foot 0.103 m.

Foot and bottom of body preserved.

The foot is glazed black except for the resting surface and the under side of the body. Between the foot and the body is a raised ring. Just above on the body is a band of black rays and above this, black glaze. This type of skyphos is very common at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, 1925, col. 114 and fig. 13; *C.V.A.*, Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, pls. 69–70; and Ure, pls. XVIII–XIX.

Late sixth or early fifth century.

CORINTHIAN IMITATIONS OF ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

19. (1028) Amphora. Fig. 4

PH. 0.121 m.; D. of lip 0.119 m.

Most of upper part to a short distance below handles preserved.

The flaring lip is set off from the long neck by a narrow groove and the neck is divided from the rounded shoulder by a thin raised ring. The ribbon handles are divided into three parts, the central part depressed, the outer parts raised. Handles and lip are glazed black.

On one side of the neck is a double band of alternating and reversed palmettes and lotus buds, and on the other alternating but not reversed palmettes and lotus buds divided into an upper and lower band by a chain of linked circles. Just below the neck on the shoulder is a band of alternating red and black tongues. On the body is represented Theseus slaying the Minotaur. The scene extends all around without a definite break at the handles, and is the same on both sides except for the reversal of the positions of the spectators. On one side, which preserves only a small part of Theseus and none of the Minotaur, a woman stands on either side of the central group, and beside each handle a man. On the other side, where the spectators are reversed, none of the central scene is left. Red is used for the hair and beards of the men and on the drapery and palmettes. The dots on the garments and on the palmettes and lotus buds are white.

The scene is painted on a thick clay slip exactly the color of the surface of Attic pots. Much of it has flaked off. The drawing and painting, particularly the latter, are very poor. The outlines of the figures are rather uncertain and the paint often does not fill the space for which it is intended.

The poor quality of the painting makes parallels difficult to find, but for the palmette and lotus pattern on the neck may be compared a vase of the time of Amasis and Exekias (Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, pl. 26, p. 50). See also some amphoras by Nikosthenes (Hoppin, p. 251,

249 and 269) and one in Compiègne (*C.V.A.*, pl. 3, 1-2). For the type of garment and features cf. Haspels, pl. 11, 3 and 12, 4 and 11, 1-2 and 12, 3, both of which date about 540-530, the latter by the Wraith Painter.

This vase very probably was painted by the same artist as **20** and **21**, though the resemblance is less obvious because of the experimental character of the work. Compare, for instance, the head of the spectator on the extreme left with those of the spectators on **20**, and the sharp elbow and narrow wrist of Theseus with those of the figures on both **20** and **21**. The ear of the woman behind Theseus, visible only when the vase is held in a certain light, and the profile of the woman on the other side, are practically identical with those of the lefthand spectator on **20**. The ray pattern on the shoulder, likewise, is the same.

Ca. 540-530 B.C.

20. (1019) Trefoil oinochoe. Fig. 4

PH. 0.157 m.; W. across lip 0.11 m.

Most of upper half except for front of lip preserved.

The glaze is black except for one side which has fired red. The lip is trefoil and the handle has a metallic appearance. The figured panel on the front of the shoulder and body has as a background a thin slip of the same color as the surface of Attic black-figured ware. The scene consists of two warriors with round shields, fighting, while on either side and facing toward the centre is a spectator in an himation, holding a staff. The helmet of the warrior on the right, the edge of his shield and the dots on the other shield, the greaves, the hair of the onlookers and some of the folds of the drapery are painted red. White is used for the maeander pattern on the edge of the outer garment of the left spectator and for dots on the helmet. Above this scene is a band of alternating red and black tongues very similar to those on **19**.

For features and drapery similar to those on this pitcher see Haspels, pl. 7, 4 and 11, 3 and 12, 4 and pl. 11, 1-2 and 12, 3.

Ca. 530 B.C.

21. (944) Olpe. Fig. 3

PH. 0.207 m.; D. of foot 0.092 m.

Pieces of body, the handle, upper part of neck and all of lip missing.

The glaze has fired red in places. In front is a reserved panel with the same type of slip as **20**. On this two seated heroes, probably Ajax and Achilles, are playing a game. The figure on the right carries a round shield while behind the other stands an oval shield with the sides cut out, a type common for Achilles (Cf. *Mon. Ant.*, XVII, fig. 219, col. 297-298, and *Mon. Ant.*, XXVIII, col. 259 ff., fig. 2) and also for Ajax (*J.H.S.*, XIII, 1892-1893, p. 213 ff.). The helmets, hair and drapery are painted red. The emblems on the shields, V's on the round one and vertical, parallel lines on the other, were probably white. Below the figured scene are two red bands, and another on the foot. Running down between the two figures are the letters ΚΝΟ, perhaps the beginning of the artist's name. The only possibilities I have been able to find are *Κνωστων* and *Κνωσος*.

This vase was clearly painted by the same hand as **20**.

Ca. 530 B.C.

22. (1082) Trefoil oinochoe. Fig. 3

PH. of figured piece 0.176 m.

Three pieces of this vase are preserved. One is the lower part of the body with part of an inverted echinus foot, another a piece of the back with the bottom of the handle, and the third part of the figured panel and a piece of the neck. As in the case of **19-21** the figures are painted on a background of thin reddish slip. Below the neck is a band of alternating red and black tongues similar to those on **19** and **20**. On the body are a horse and rider moving to the left, and,

on the right, a nude male figure, standing in three-quarters view, looking back at the rider. A little remains of a figure between the other two. The short jacket of the rider is painted white, the hair of the men and the mane of the horse red. The drawing and painting is rather careless.

These figures are a little later than the horse and rider on the amphora from the Athenian Agora (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 377, fig. 12), more like one on a vase signed by Nikosthenes (*C.V.A.*, Louvre, III He, pl. 35, 10-13).

Ca. 530-520 B.C.

23. (1079) Oinochoe. Fig. 7

PH. 0.047 m.

Small piece of the body preserved.

Over a slip is painted a nude figure in three-quarters view, facing left. It is similar in type to that of **22**. For figures of the same sort see Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 77, 1324 a, and *C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, He, pl. 28.

Ca. 530-520 B.C.

24. (1020) Oinochoe. Fig. 7

PH. 0.067 m.

Part of one side of the body including a small piece of the figured panel and the lower edge of the neck preserved.

At the top of the panel is a band of tongues and below this the hind quarters and part of the wing of a sphinx facing left. The very careless drawing is put on over a thin reddish slip. The wing of the sphinx is decorated with white paint. For similar animals compare *C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, III He, pls. 21, 1-2, 47, 3-5, and 48, 3-4. They are also very common on skyphoi of the type of **18** and **28**.

Last quarter of the sixth century.

25. (1061) Fragment of a skyphos. Fig. 8

PH. 0.052 m.

Small piece of lower part of body and beginning of base preserved.

On the body is a narrow reserved band and above that a wider one with a design of an unusual type (see fig.). Some of the glaze on the exterior has fired red; the interior is black.

26. (1074) Fragment of an oinochoe. Fig. 8

PH. 0.109 m.

Piece of lower part of body with a small corner of figured panel preserved.

On the panel is the lower half of a male figure wearing a short chiton and facing right. Below this panel are two bands of red running around the body. The painting is rather sketchy.

27. (1075) Fragment of an amphora(?). Fig. 7

PH. 0.086 m.

Over a thin reddish slip are painted the lower parts of the bodies of two male figures striding to the right. The one on the left wears a short garment and the other, of whom only the right leg remains, wears a greave.

28. (1015) Skyphos. Fig. 3

PH. 0.098 m.; D. of foot 0.111 m.

Foot and lower part of body preserved.

This cup is very similar to **18** but the ring at the juncture of the foot and body is depressed instead of raised and is painted purplish red. The top of the foot also is depressed. See references under **18**.

CHALCIDIAN WARE(?)

29. (1018) Krater. Fig. 3

H. 0.314 m.; D. of foot 0.123 m.; D. of lip 0.285 m.

Handles, most of neck and lip and large part of body missing.

The handles have been improperly restored.

The clay is a grayish yellow-brown, and certainly not Corinthian. The glaze, which is fired red, has nearly all worn off. The foot, of Chalcidian cushion type, is, according to Payne (p. 330, note 1), never found on Corinthian kraters. The foot, however, is not the same as that on recognized Chalcidian kraters (Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, pls. XXVII–XXXIII, CXXVI–CXXVII and CXXIX–CXXX) but instead is like those of several oinochoai (pls. CLX, CLXIII–CLXV), of a hydria (pl. CXXXIX), and of some amphoras (pls. LXVII–LXIX), being cut out on top and having a depressed rather than a raised ring between it and the body. The long body, straight neck and slightly offset lip are similar to those of the kraters.

Most of the figured scene is gone, but on one side may be seen traces of three draped figures wearing himatia with wide folds and on the other a dancing figure and the heads of two others. There are also traces of purple paint. On the shoulder was a tongue pattern and just above the base a band of rays. The figured scenes were bordered on the sides by vertical bands of ivy leaves.

On Chalcidian vases see also H. R. W. Smith, *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, Vol. I, pp. 85 ff., "The Origin of Chalcidian Ware."

ATTIC BLACK-GLAZED WARE

30–41. (974, 986, 1000, 1004, 1012, 1021–1022, 1024, 1046–1048, 1054) Kylikes. Fig. 8

30: H. 0.073 m.; D. 0.18 m.; D. of foot 0.077 m.

31: PH. 0.057 m.; D. 0.158 m.

32: PH. 0.04 m.; D. of foot 0.092 m.

33: PH. 0.051 m.

34: PH. 0.02 m.

35: H. 0.054 m.; D. 0.12 m.; D. of foot 0.053 m.

36: PH. 0.063 m.; D. 0.18 m.

37: PH. 0.035 m.; D. 0.162 m.

38: PH. 0.027 m.; D. of foot 0.08 m.

39: PH. 0.031 m.; D. of foot 0.074 m.

40: PH. 0.039 m.; D. of foot 0.069 m.

41: PH. 0.025 m.; D. of foot 0.044 m.

32 and **39–41** preserve the foot and centre of the bowl and **38** half of the foot; **34**, the ringed stem and centre of the bowl; **30** and **35** the foot and part of the body and lip; **31** most of the bowl and lip and part of a handle; **36**, a piece of the bowl and lip; **33** part of the bowl and stem; and **37** about a third of the bowl and lip and all of one handle.

Several forms of kylix are represented here. The commonest and best preserved is that of **30**, **35** and **36** with a metallic offset lip and a disk foot separated from the bowl by a raised ring which is painted reddish purple. The stem of **35** is narrower, the ring more pronounced and the bowl less shallow than in **30**. The side and resting surface of the foot, and the under side of the bowl are reserved. Many others like this were found in the well. A few had the under side of the bowl glazed black. For similar cups see *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 181, 273 and 277.

31, with its deep bowl forming a continuous curve with the lip, is earlier. For decoration there is a narrow red line just above the handles. A kylix in the Robinson Collection (*C.V.A.*, III He, pl. XX) and the Little Master cups by Anakles and Nikosthenes and Glaukytes and Tleson (Pfuhl, III, figs. 250-251 and 253) are similar in shape.

32, **33** and **38** are later. In the centre of the bottom of the bowl of each is a large black dot. **32** and **33** have a longer stem and **32** a raised ring on the stem, which is emphasized by incised lines. The foot of **38** flares out more abruptly on the under side than that of **32**. Similar to **32** is a kylix in the Castellani Collection (Mingazzini, pl. XCH, 2, no. 612).

Probably even later are **34** and **39-40**. Each of these has a raised ring between the body and foot painted purplish red and a circle within a dot on the bottom of the body. The inner side of the foot of **40** flares out more gradually than in the others. Kylikes with this sort of foot have been found in the Athenian Agora in similar contexts. For another see *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 45 and 244. Slightly later than ours are those from the North Slope (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 228 ff.) which were used as ostraka and figs. 63, A.O. 42 and A.O. 147, 64, A.O. 103 and 66, A.O. 22, date before 483 B.C.

37 is similar in shape to the eye kylikes of the last quarter of the sixth century. It is thinner and finer than any of the others. **41**, with its stepped and unglazed ring at the top of the foot, longer stem and black glaze all over, except for the resting surface, is quite different. In the centre of the bowl are two reserved concentric circles.

42-45. (940, 965, 1041, 1052) Skyphoi. Fig. 9

42: H. 0.092 m.; D. 0.125 m.; D. of foot 0.075 m.

43: H. 0.095 m.; D. 0.123 m.; D. of foot 0.077 m.

44: PH. 0.079 m.; D. 0.122 m.

45: PH. 0.066 m.; D. of foot 0.073 m.

42 and **43** are nearly complete; **45** is the base and lower part of the body; **44**, part of the body and rim.

42-43 and **45** are practically identical. All have a torus foot, horizontal handles slanting upward a little and bodies which curve in very slightly at the rim. **43**, whose proportions are somewhat heavier and squatter, is a little earlier than the others. **42** and **45** are glazed black all over except for two thin reddish purple lines under the handles of the former. On **43** there is only one such line and on the reserved under side of the body are two concentric circles and a dot in black.

These skyphoi are earlier than those in the Athenian Agora (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8, P 2732) dating "before 480." In the graves at Rhitsona, Ure (pp. 23 and 24, Class II C₁₁) found many black glazed skyphoi, some of which are nearly identical with ours in shape and decoration, and others wider and shallower. All of these, however, are of buff clay, with the exception of one which has fired dark gray, while ours most certainly are Attic.

44, which is very thin and fine, is fired an even, bright orange-red all over. This was probably intentional. The wall thickens a little at the top and just below the handles are two fine reddish purple lines.

46. (978) Oinochoe with high ribbon handle. Fig. 9

H. to top of handle 0.22 m.; to top of lip 0.195 m.; D. of foot 0.102 m.

Most of false ring foot, lip and few pieces of body missing.

Since the neck was preserved all around to the level of the lip, the only possible restoration was a flat lip. Black glaze rather worn, all over.

The narrow neck and round body are joined by a thin raised ring. The foot is broad and low. Below the handle are a white, a purplish red and two more white bands and around the middle of the body another of white.

For a similar vase see *Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 81, fig. 60. Another from Rhodes (p. 76, fig. 53) has a smaller base, trefoil lip and shorter handle.



Fig. 9. Attic and Corinthian (51, 53) Black-glazed Ware

47. (983) Oinochoe. Fig. 10

H. 0.361 m.; D. across lip 0.10 m.; of base 0.137 m.

Nearly complete. Dull black, somewhat worn, glaze.

This vase is of an unusual shape. It has a very slight foot, a wide, rather round body, long neck, pinched lip cut away at the back, and ribbon handle. I know of no parallel.

48. (981) Hydria. Fig. 9

H. 0.262 m.; D. of lip 0.151 m.; of foot 0.085 m.

Half of lip, one horizontal handle and a few small pieces of body and foot missing. Black glaze all over, except at back, where it has fired red.

The foot flares out, the body is long and the shoulder flat, with a narrow raised ring between it and the neck. The edge of the horizontal rim projects both upwards and downwards. The broad horizontal handles are set just below the shoulder. The vertical, double ribbon handle has a depression at the base and a projection above it on the rim.

The hydria of the last quarter of the sixth century in the Metropolitan Museum (Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, figs. 78 and 79) is a little later. Also later, but similar in the general shape of the body are three in the Louvre (Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, II, pl. 82, F 285-286, and pl. 83, F 296).



Fig. 10. Attic Black-glazed Oinochoe

49-50. (979-980) Amphoras

49: PH. 0.101 m.; D. of lip 0.153 m.

50: H. 0.268 m.; D. of lip 0.144 m.; of foot 0.104 m. Fig. 9.

Upper part of 49 preserved; 50 nearly complete.

These vases, which are very squat, have an unusual combination of neck, lip and handle. The foot flares out a little and the body is round. At the juncture of the neck and shoulder is a raised ring. The squat handles, nearly horizontal across the top, are attached to the lower part of the neck. Above that point the neck steps in, to flare out again at the lip.

Somewhat similar in shape are some amphoras in the Castellani Collection (Mingazzini, pl. LXII, 2 and 3, and pl. LXIII, 2, 3 and 4). None, however, has the same lip or neck as ours. For the same lip on an amphora see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 336, fig. 3, dated ca. 470 B.C.

CORINTHIAN BLACK-GLAZED WARE

51-52. (982, 998) Amphoras

51: H. 0.277 m.; D. of lip 0.118 m.; of foot 0.114 m. Fig. 9.

52: D. of lip 0.115 m.; of foot 0.114 m.

51 nearly complete; middle of body of 52 missing; black glaze partly fired red.

These amphoras have an inverted echinus foot and flanged handles. The round body and the neck form an unbroken curve. The lip projects slightly inward and outward. Below the handles of 51 are four narrow stripes of red with two narrower stripes of white above and below, and around the middle of the body a wider red stripe. 52 has only two red lines between the white ones. Somewhat similar but later in date is one from the Athenian Agora (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 336, fig. 3) in which a raised ring separates the neck and body and the lip is like 50, and another from Corinth (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 291, no. 147, fig. 25).

53. (953) Amphora. Fig. 9

H. 0.211 m.; D. of lip 0.114 m.; of foot 0.097 m.

One handle, most of neck and lip and some pieces of body missing; black glaze all over.

The shape is very unusual. The flaring foot is midway between 50 and 52. The squat, wide body narrows rather abruptly to a fairly flat shoulder. At the juncture of the neck and shoulder is a raised ring. The neck is stepped in as in 50 but the lip flares out more as in 52. The handles resemble those of 50 but are attached nearer to the rim. On the interior of the rim is a narrow red line. On the body below the handles are two more, as in 54. An amphora in the Castellani Collection (Mingazzini, pl. LXXVIII, 1, no. 498) is similar in some respects, though the rim and foot are different and ours is more squat.

54. (999) Amphora. Fig. 12

PH. 0.155 m.; D. of lip 0.129 m.

One handle, lip, most of neck and upper part of body preserved; glazed black all over.

This vase has an echinus-shaped lip, a long neck with narrow raised bands at the top and bottom, a rounded shoulder and double loop handles. At the top of the neck on the interior is a narrow band of red, and on the body just below the handles two more. It is very like 19 in shape and similar also to another slightly later figured vase of the late sixth century (*C.V.A.*, Cambridge, III H, pl. XI, 2).



Fig. 11. Corinthian Black-glazed Oinochoe

55. (1059) Hydria fragment. Fig. 12

PH. 0.082 m.; D. of lip 0.14 m.

A piece of neck and lip preserved.

The hydria has a horizontal, out-flaring rim, projecting both upward and downward and making a ridge around the edge. At the side of the handle is a projection. For this type of hydria cf. Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, figs. 78-79.

56-58. (1025, 1026, 1057) Column kraters

56: PH. 0.229 m.; D. of rim 0.31 m.; across handles 0.398 m. Fig. 12.

57: PH. 0.262 m.; D. of rim 0.318 m.; D. of foot 0.18 m.

58: PH. 0.104 m.; D. of rim 0.26 m.

Most of the upper part of **56** and **57**, the foot of **57**, and a piece of the neck and rim of **58** are preserved.

These kraters are of the typical Corinthian shape with a straight neck and flat projecting overhanging rim. The double handles support flat pieces coming out from the rim. These examples are midway between two given by Richter and Milne (*op. cit.*, figs. 43-44 and 45). Also similar but earlier is one in Oxford (*C.V.A.*, III II, pl. XII, 1-4 and 8).



Fig. 12. Corinthian Black-glazed Ware

59-62. (942, 984-985, 1066) Column kraters. Fig. 12

59: H. 0.226 m.; D. of rim 0.258 m.; across handles 0.263 m.; of foot 0.144 m.

60: H. 0.261 m.; D. of rim 0.271 m.; of foot 0.145 m.

61: H. 0.233 m.; D. of rim 0.256 m.; of foot 0.135 m.

62: PH. 0.145 m.; D. of rim 0.259 m.

59 and **60** nearly complete, **61** less so; part of the upper portion of **62** preserved.

Unlike **56-58** these kraters have a longer body and handles set closer to the neck and rising above the level of the rim. They are not covered by rectangular pieces, and the flat rim does not project downward. This seems to be a later type of krater than the preceding, continuing well down into the fifth century, when it becomes much more elongated, with a wider neck and handles placed even closer. (See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 291, no. 146 and fig. 24.)

63-68. (949, 972-973, 975, 1051, 1081) Oinochoai. Figs. 11, 12

- | | |
|--|--|
| 63: H. 0.158 m.; D. of foot 0.061 m. | 66: PH. 0.105 m. |
| 64: PH. 0.085 m.; D. of foot 0.051 m. | 67: PH. 0.065 m.; D. of foot 0.059 m. |
| 65: PH. 0.091 m.; D. of foot 0.05 m. | 68: PH. 0.103 m.; D. of foot 0.062 m. |

All but handle and part of lip of **63** preserved; upper part of **66** except for handle and part of lip; lower half of **64-65** and **67-68**. All of the glaze on **67** and most of that on **64-65** and **68** gone.

This type of jug has a very slight ring foot, almost non-existent in **65**, and a long body which curves out a little from the foot and then in, to form a rounded shoulder. The neck is fairly long and the trefoil lip small. Probably there was a high ribbon handle from the shoulder. Running practically the length of the body of **63** is an inscription in the archaic Corinthian alphabet reading *Ανθέρσιλας*, probably a proper name.

This shape with a flatter shoulder and narrower body continued well down into the fifth century (cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 287, no. 124, fig. 23). Many similar to ours have been found in contemporary deposits at Corinth.

69. (1064) Trefoil oinochoe. Fig. 14

PH. 0.084 m.

Most of neck, part of lip and upper part of body preserved; black glaze on all exposed surfaces.

The shoulder and body form a sharp angle. The handle is cylindrical. For a similar vase see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 196, fig. 31, A.P. 1030.

70. (996) Round-mouthed oinochoe. Fig. 12

H. 0.175 m.; D. of rim 0.091 m.; of foot 0.095 m.

Complete except for a few small pieces; black glaze, much worn, all over.

This vase has a broad false ring foot and round body and shoulder. The straight neck, with a raised ring at the bottom, flares out a little at the top. The handle is round in section. Two red lines run around the body below the handle.

71. (967) Trefoil oinochoe. Fig. 12

H. 0.162 m.; D. of foot 0.074 m.

Handle, a few small pieces of body, back of neck and lip missing; traces of black glaze all over exterior, on interior of lip and on under side of foot.

The jug is more slender than **70**, and has a flatter shoulder and a trefoil lip. The restoration of the handle as shown in the figure seems probable.

An earlier, rounder vase of this type with a less pronounced foot was found in the North Cemetery at Corinth (*A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 541, fig. 21).

72-73. (1005, 1011) Squat oinochoai with trefoil lips

72: H. to top of handle 0.14 m.; D. of foot 0.088 m.; D. across lip 0.059 m. Fig. 14.

73: PH. 0.116 m.; H. to top of lip 0.092 m.; D. across lip 0.096 m. Fig. 13.

Part of lip and good deal of body and foot of **72** missing; upper part of **73** preserved.

Both of these jugs have a high ribbon handle, trefoil lip, and extremely short neck set off from the shoulder. **72** has a very squat body with almost vertical sides and a false ring foot. It is

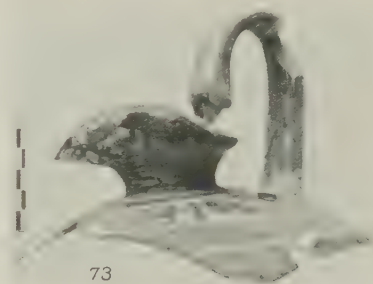


Fig. 13. Corinthian Black-glazed Oinochoe

glazed plain black, most of which has worn off. 73 has a band of incised verticals on the shoulder painted alternately white and red with a plain one between, and below them five bands of purplish red between double bands of white.

These vases are the same shape as Payne's 1552 A (p. 337, figs. 193-194), confirming his conviction that they belong under Late Corinthian II. Besides the examples given by Payne see *C.V.A.*,

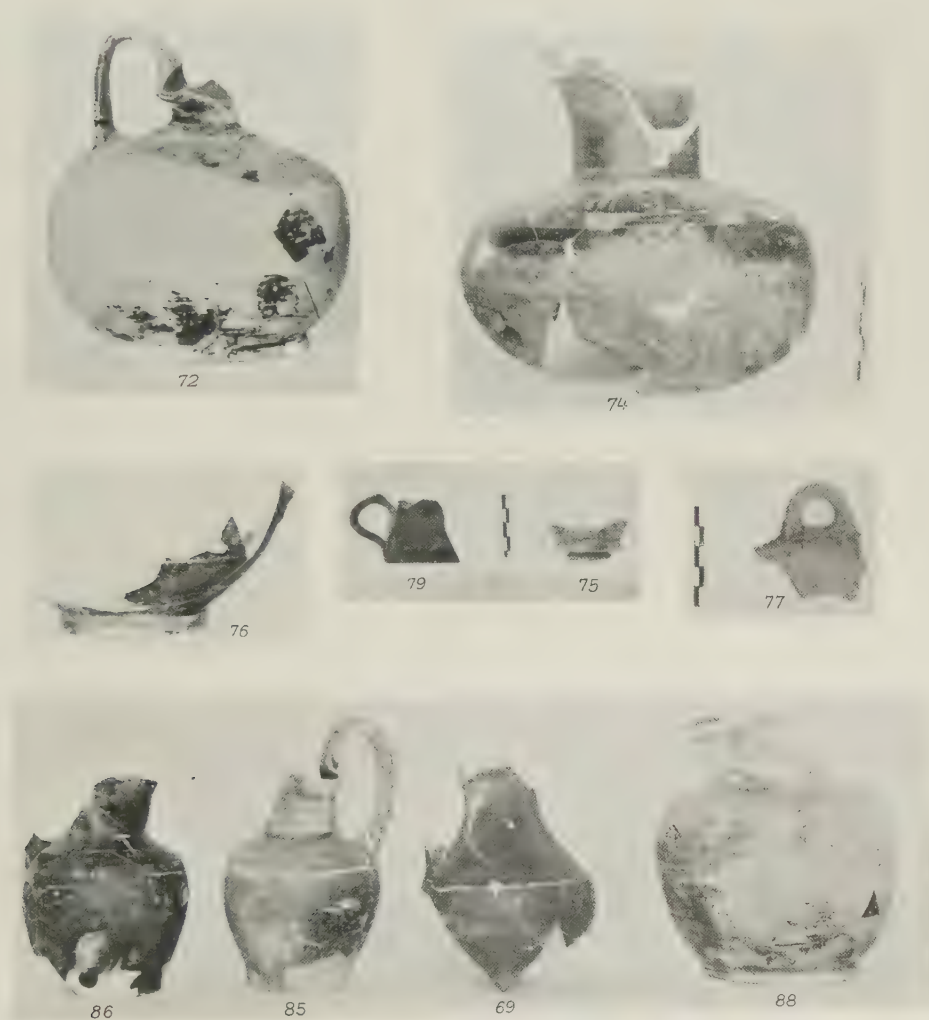


Fig. 14. Corinthian Black-glazed Ware

Copenhagen, III c, pl. 83, 8 which is plain, and 9 and 11 with incised verticals; *C.V.A.*, Madrid, III, C, pl. 2, 7 with incised lines on the shoulder, and 8 which is an intermediate type; Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, II, pl. 43, 430, and Brants, pl. XIV, 78. There is slight variation among these, some being a little more or less squat or rounder bodied, but all are essentially the same in shape. This type of vase was also found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth.

74. (939) Oinochoe. Fig. 14

PH. 0.15 m.; D. across lip 0.058 m.

Upper part of body and most of neck and lip preserved; clay very reddish but Corinthian.

The body is round, the shoulder nearly flat, and the neck long, with a lip pinched out in front and cut down at the back. There is a raised ring at the base of the neck. On the shoulder are incised verticals with the space between painted alternately reddish purple, plain, and white.

This oinochoe, except for the lip, which is not trefoil, resembles two vases (*C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, III, C, pl. 83, 13, and *C.V.A.*, Madrid, III, C, pl. 2, 8) which Payne calls "intermediate" in his discussion of 1552 A-B (p. 337). It is a development of an earlier form of Corinthian vase. For an example see one from a well of the early Corinthian period at Corinth (*A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 232, fig. 30, no. 43) which has a rounder shoulder, shorter neck and more curved body. There are also two plain spaces to each painted one.

75. (2473) Neck and lip of oinochoe. Fig. 14

PH. 0.034 m.; D. of lip 0.059 m.

Fragment of neck and lip and part of handle; glazed black.

This vase is like Payne's 1552 B (p. 337). A later one with an almost identical neck and lip was found in a fifth century well at Corinth (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 287, nos. 125-127, fig. 23). Others have been found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth and at Perachora.

76. (1023) Cup. Fig. 14

H. 0.05 m.; D. 0.102 m.; of foot 0.051 m.

Most of upper part of body missing; all but bottom of foot glazed black by dipping.

The foot of this cup is nearly straight and the top edge very thin. In the centre is a raised disk. It may have had either one or two handles.

Cups of this shape are very common in the fifth century at Corinth (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 294, nos. 154-162, fig. 24). There is very little change in shape, perhaps a slight flattening of the sides, a greater curve to the rim, and a wider mouth and foot.

77. (1034) Bowl. Fig. 14

PH. 0.036 m.; D. 0.098 m.

Piece of body and one horizontal loop handle attached just below top of body; traces of red glaze all over interior and exterior.

This vase has a rounded body which widens to a flat-edged top.

78. (1058) Fragment of large bowl

PH. 0.041 m.; D. 0.199 m.

Piece of body and rim preserved; black glaze all over.

This bowl was apparently large, with a flat horizontal rim projecting slightly on the exterior.

79. (2474) Fragment of wide-mouthed jug. Fig. 14

PH. 0.065 m.

Handle and piece of body preserved; black glaze on interior and exterior.

The vase has a wide mouth and body with a broad ribbon handle from the lip to the shoulder. For a later example see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 310, nos. 228-229, fig. 37.

80. (959) Miniature bowl. Fig. 15

H. 0.026 m.; D. 0.041 m.; of foot 0.03 m.

Half of upper part of body missing; all the exposed surfaces glazed black by dipping.

This unusual shape consists of a high flaring foot on which is set a bowl with slanting bottom and straight sides.

81. (961) Miniature bowl. Fig. 15

H. 0.018 m.; D. 0.047 m.; of bottom 0.028 m.

Complete except for small piece of side and rim; traces of black glaze all over outside and inside.

The base of the vase is very slight. The sides slant out at a sharp angle and then in again abruptly to form a rim with a sharp edge. A similar, but later, bowl comes from a grave in Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 166, fig. 166).

82-83. (960, 1044) Miniature bowls. Fig. 15

82: H. 0.02 m.; D. 0.052 m.; of foot 0.033 m.

83: H. 0.031 m.; D. 0.072 m.; of foot 0.035 m.

About half the body of each preserved; both glazed black by dipping.

Each of these has a nearly straight foot from which the body flares out, and a rim which projects slightly on the exterior and is flat on top. The body of **83** turns out at the rim; that of **82** is straight. For bowls of the same type but later in date cf. *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 341-342, fig. 9, P 5147.

84. (1031) Miniature plate. Fig. 15

H. 0.01 m.; D. 0.067 m.; of base 0.039 m.

Piece of one side missing; very soft clay fired reddish; traces of red glaze on interior.

The sides of this plate form a slight angle with the very low base and then flatten out into a horizontal rim.

85-87. (951, 1002, 1040) Miniature trefoil oinochoai

85: H. to top of handle 0.11 m.; to top of lip 0.088 m.; D. of base 0.042 m. Fig. 14.

86: H. to top of lip 0.086 m.; D. of base 0.045 m. Fig. 14.

87: PH. 0.073 m.; D. of base 0.039 m.

85 complete except for front of lip; most of body and front of lip of **86** preserved; handle, neck and lip of **87** missing; all dipped in black glaze which does not cover entire bottom of **85** and **86**.

All three have very slight flat bases, curved bodies, rounded shoulders, long necks, trefoil lips and high loop handles. On the shoulder of **86** is an incised T and on the front of the body a large dot within a circle. The same shape, but squatter, is found in the fifth century at Corinth (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 299, no. 183 and fig. 30).

88. (1006) Miniature trefoil oinochoe. Fig. 14

H. to top of lip 0.105 m.; D. of foot 0.063 m.; across lip 0.065 m.

Handle and few small pieces of body missing; glazed black by dipping.

This jug has a low false ring foot, a slightly rounded body, flat shoulder and trefoil lip. Probably it had a high handle.

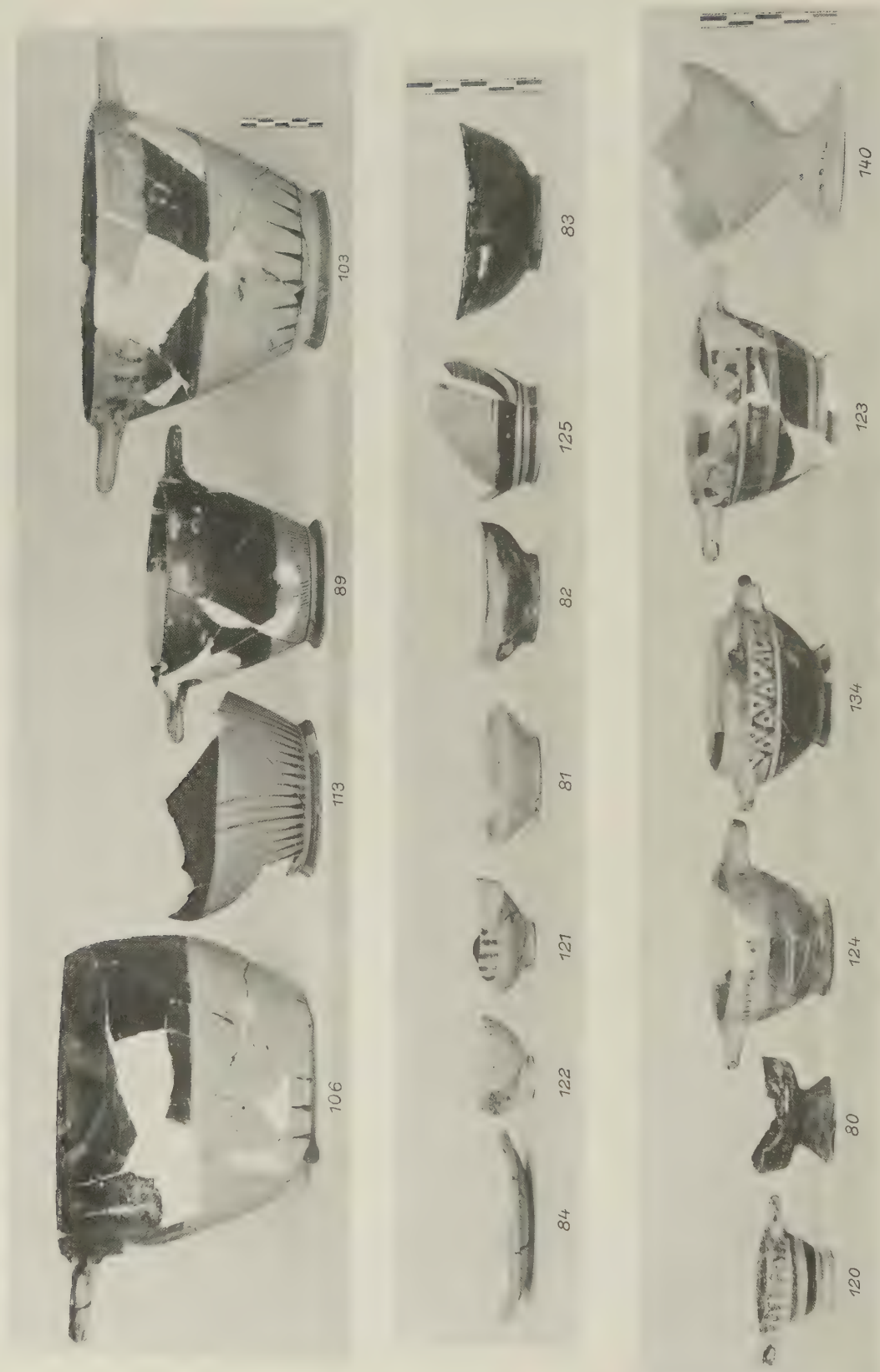


Fig. 15. Late Corinthian Conventionalizing Skyphoi and Miniatures

LATE CORINTHIAN "CONVENTIONALIZING" WARE

89-100. (938, 947-948, 957, 963, 977, 989, 994-995, 1009, 1037, 1042) Skyphoi with fine rays. Figs. 15, 16 and 20

H. where preserved 0.10 m. to 0.089 m.; D. 0.126 m. to 0.116 m.

These skyphoi are glazed on the interior and on the upper part of the exterior and all have closely spaced rays on the reserved, lower part of the body. In addition, most of them have narrow bands of purplish red paint at the top and bottom and sometimes half way up the inside of the body, usually one just below the rim, two below the handles and one at the bottom edge of the glaze on the outside. The exterior of the foot also is glazed. The decoration on the under side of the foot varies (see figure 16), some, such as **89** and **94**, having black concentric circles and a central dot, others, as **96** and **91**, having the inner circles red and the dot black. The circles are all divided as on one from the Louvre (*C.V.A.*, III, Ca, pl. 27, 16). Others, such as **98** and **99** (Fig. 20), have a pinwheel design. The proportions of all, however, are very much alike and there does not seem to be any difference in date.

For skyphoi of this type dating in the second half of the sixth and in the early fifth century see *C.V.A.*, Louvre, III, Ca, pl. 27, 10 and 16; Payne, pp. 334 and 324; and Ure, p. 24, Class II C, i. The latest grave in which Ure finds them is 46, which he dates *ca.* 490 B.C. (p. 39), and which Miss Haspels (p. 141) puts a little later, *ca.* 480 B.C. He does not illustrate these late ones, but that given in *Hesperia* (V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8) as before 480 B.C. is later than ours. In it the widest part of the body is already moving downward, while in ours it is still at the level of the handles. Many others similar to ours were found in a deposit of the same period in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth. There were far more in our well than have been catalogued. This is the type which was copied by the Athenians and later recopied by the Corinthians. It is a direct descendant of those of the Middle Corinthian period (see Payne, p. 309, fig. 151, no. 973).

101-114. (966, 968-971, 988, 990-993, 1033, 1038-1039, 1056) Skyphoi with widely spaced rays. Figs. 15, 16

H. where preserved 0.138 m. to 0.114 m.; D. 0.177 m. to 0.148 m.

These cups are similar in shape to the preceding group but are larger. A greater proportion of the body, almost half, is reserved. The rays at the bottom are spaced much farther apart than in the smaller type. The decoration of the underside of the foot varies from black or red concentric circles with a dot to both black and red. The pinwheel design does not occur on any of them. Although the proportions differ slightly from cup to cup, in all of them the widest part of the body is still at the level of the rim and handle.

These larger skyphoi were found in the same graves as the others at Rhitsona and in the contemporary deposit in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth. The larger type continued in use well down in the fifth century (cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 283, nos. 65-67, Fig. 20) but became more elongated, with more carelessly drawn rays. This kind was not generally copied by the Athenians, although there are some, made of Attic fabric, in the Athenian Agora.

115. (1001) Skyphos

H. 0.071 m.; D. 0.102 m.; of foot 0.057.

Part of body, one handle and half of foot preserved.

The shape is the same, but the glaze is red and there are no rays on the lower part of the body, only two or three incised lines running around the vase. Around the rim is a band of purplish red, and below the handles are two more. The exterior of the foot is glazed red and there are concentric circles of red on the under side of the foot. Similar skyphoi were found in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth.

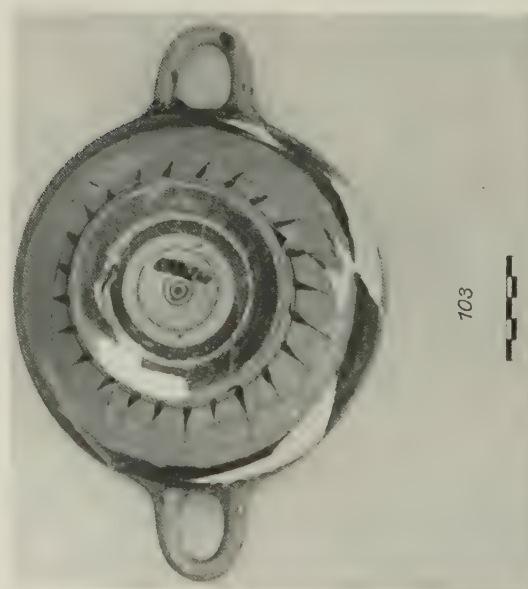
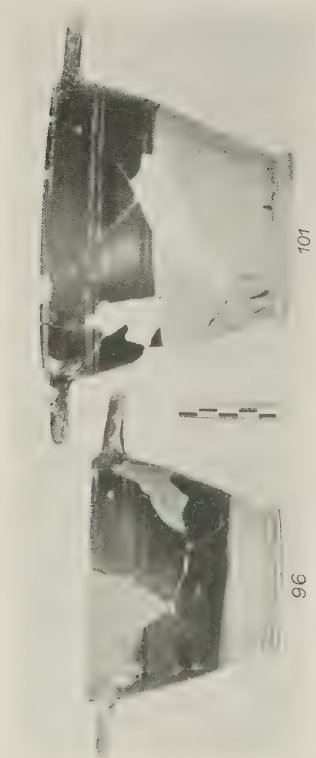
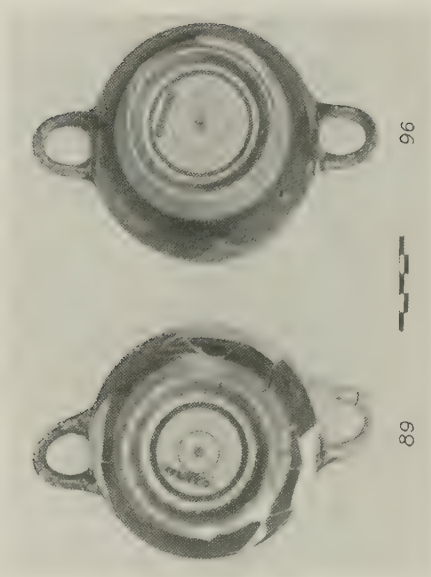


Fig. 16. Late Corinthian Conventionalizing Ware

116–118. (946, 943, 1062) Skyphoi with animal or floral decoration

116: H. 0.10 m.; D. 0.13 m.; of foot 0.068 m.; across handles 0.188 m. Fig. 17.

117: H. 0.158 m.; D. 0.214 m.; of foot 0.122 m.; across handles 0.322 m. Fig. 18.

118: PH. 0.075 m.; D. 0.218 m. Fig. 20.

These skyphoi resemble the larger type described above (101–114), but are distinguished by a band of animals or a floral pattern on the upper part of the body. **116** has a sphinx with outspread wings, flanked on either side by another sphinx. Half-moons and dots are used as filling. The two sides are identical. Below the main band and running through the upper part of the rays is a wide band of black glaze. The details are incised. On the under side of the foot are black circles like those on **89–100**. The drawing is extremely poor and this particular cup must certainly belong to the very end of the animal series. This is Ure's Class II B (p. 23; *J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, p. 337, fig. 2, Grave 51.33; and *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907–1908, p. 266, 51.34 and 51.35).

117 and **118** belong to the same class but have a band of interlaced lotus buds, alternately purplish red and black on the upper part of the body. Above them is a zone of wavy vertical lines and below, three narrow bands of black and red. The decoration on the under side of the foot is like that on **101–114**. Ure (p. 23) thinks that the floral type continued later than the animal style, and this conclusion is supported by the presence of one floral example in grave 126 (see *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 57, and Payne, p. 334) and by the fact that the lotus bud type is found in the late fifth century (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 283, no. 76, fig. 21: the buds are much thinner in this vase). **117** and **118** are later than the example found in grave 126 at Rhitsona but earlier than the fragment found on the North Slope of the Acropolis in Athens (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 212, fig. 47, A.P. 1109). For others of this class see *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907–1908, p. 266, 51.28 and 51.29; and Ure, p. 23 and pl. VIII, 126.87.

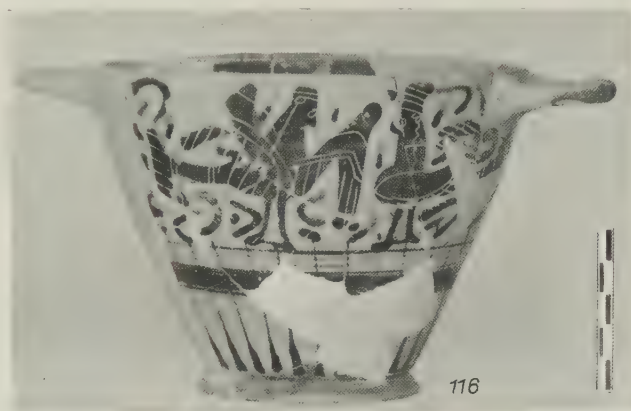


Fig. 17. Late Corinthian Conventionalizing Skyphos

119. (1063) Skyphos. Fig. 20

PH. 0.06 m.; D. 0.10 m.

Two pieces of upper part of body and part of one handle preserved; interior and lower part of exterior glazed black.

On the handle zone is a band of black triangles or cones separated into two rows by a zigzag line. Below this is a double row of black dots within black lines and underneath two more black lines. This vase resembles **123** in pattern. For the cone pattern see Payne, p. 334.

120–127. (950, 958, 962, 952, 1027, 1043, 2465–2466) Miniature skyphoi. Figs. 15, 20

H. 0.02 m. to 0.05 m.; D. 0.032 m. to 0.071 m.; of foot 0.015 m. to 0.043 m.

120–122 are much smaller than the others. All three have black glaze on the interior. **120** has zigzags and **121–122** straight lines on the exterior at the level of the handles, with bands of black glaze in varying widths below. **120** is taller for its diameter than the other two and has a flaring foot, while their feet are nearly straight.

The others, 123-127, have a greater variety of designs, as a double row of leaves or cones on 123, a band of wavy lines on 124, plain horizontal bands on 125, and zigzags on 126, all on the handle zone, and a double row of cones on 127 just above the base. On the bottom of the larger ones are circles. These miniature skyphoi, both large and small, are common all through the sixth and early fifth centuries and occur even well down in the fifth century (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 284,



Fig. 18. Late Corinthian Conventionalizing and Partly Glazed Wares

nos. 79-81, fig. 20) without any very noticeable change in shape. The zigzag pattern seems to be later than the plain vertical lines (Ure, p. 23), and the cone pattern is also fairly late (Payne, p. 334). The smaller skyphoi belong to Ure's Class IA1 and the larger ones to IA11 (Ure, p. 23). For other examples see, besides Ure, Payne, pp. 334-335; *C.V.A.*, Hoppin and Gallatin Collection, Gallatin Collection, pl. 2, 1; *Mon. Ant.*, I, 897, for grave CCLXXXII at Megara Hyblaea which contained thirty-six of these skyphoi with lines, zigzags, triangles or cones; *Mon. Ant.*, XX, 762, fig. 22, for an archaic grave at Gela with one decorated with the cone pattern; *C.V.A.*, La Haye, III, C, pl. 1, 11; Johansen, p. 79, fig. 50; Kinch, *Vroulia*, pl. 28, 7; *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, pl. 85, 10-13

and 15 16; *Mon. Ant.*, XXII, pl. 68, 1 and pl. 69, 1; *Tiryns*, I, p. 103, fig. 40; Dugas, *Délos*, X, pls. XXXV, E and XXXVI, E; *C.V.A.*, U. of Michigan, III, C, pl. XI, 4 and *C.V.A.*, Robinson Coll., pl. XV, 4.

128. (1073) Pyxis with convex sides and cylindrical handles. Fig. 16

PH. 0.165 m.

Lower half missing.

This vase has a round body, two vertical handles, round in section, set on the shoulder, and a straight neck with a slight ridge at the juncture of neck and shoulder. Around the lower part of the body run two wide black bands. On the shoulder is a zone of alternating red and black tongues, below which is a double row of black dots. The neck and handle tops are glazed black and below the black on the neck is a thin red line. Payne (p. 331) puts this type of pyxis in the second half of the sixth century, giving examples from graves of the late sixth century at Megara Hyblaea and Rhitsona. Other examples are: *Mon. Ant.*, XXII, pl. 70, 3 and 5; XVII, 138, fig. 101; *Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 166, fig. 158 and pp. 185–186, fig. 180; *C.V.A.*, U. of Michigan, pl. 32, 8 and 9; *C.V.A.*, Rodi, III, C, pl. 8, 5; and *C.V.A.*, Pologne, Cracovie, Coll. de l'Université, pl. 5, 3.

129. (2468) Pyxis with concave sides and cover. Fig. 18

PH. with cover 0.053 m.; D. of base 0.115 m.

Small portion of lower half of box and piece of cover.

The box is decorated with a band of vertical lines, above which are thick black horizontal bands. On the side of the cover are two thick black bands with a row of dots between and on top more bands of black. For the profile see Fig. 19. Pyxides of this type have been found in similar contexts at Perachora. For the design see Ure, p. 96, where he describes a pyxis lid from grave 127, no. 25. This cover is stepped, while ours certainly is not, but the patterns are the same, although arranged differently. Grave 127 is dated by Ure in the late sixth century.

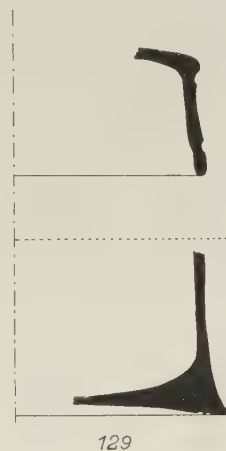


Fig. 19. Profile of
Pyxis and Cover

130–132. (1070, 2463, 2464) Lids. Fig. 20

130: PH. 0.033 m.; D. 0.16 m.

131: PH. 0.024 m.

132: PH. 0.015 m.; D. 0.147 m.

Small part of each preserved.

130 and **131** are decorated with bands of black and **132** with bands of red and black. **130** and **132** have vertical sides and **131** a knob handle. These simple glazed bands are very common in the second half of the sixth century. Cf. *C.V.A.*, Pologne, Cracovie, Coll. de l'Université, pl. 5, 3 and *C.V.A.*, Rodi, III, C, pl. 8, 5.

133. (1035) Fragment of plate. Fig. 20

GD. 0.077 m.

Small piece of centre preserved.

On the polished bottom is a narrow band of yellowish glaze and on the top, over a thin wash, a lotus design of Corinthian type in red glaze with purple details. For the origin of this quadruple lotus see Payne, p. 146, fig. 53 A and B. Ours is related to one on an Attic kotyle of the "Comast" group (Payne, p. 196, no. 29, pl. 52, 2–3) and to another on a Boeotian alabastron (Payne, p. 202, no. 2, pl. 53, 8). Very similar is one on an aryballos in Munich (Sieveking-Hackl, *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, Munich, 1912, pl. 10, 318; Payne, no. 1286, p. 321).

134. (1008) Miniature lekanis. Fig. 15

H. 0.043 m.; D. 0.059 m.; of foot 0.038 m.

Complete except for small piece of upper part of body and rim.

The small deep bowl has an inset vertical flange at the lip, to take the lid. It has an inverted echinus foot and horizontal loop handles with projections at the sides. There is black glaze on the interior and exterior with the exception of a band of dots and zigzags in black at the level of the handles. The underside of the foot is decorated with two concentric circles in black. The same pattern appears in a neater and earlier form on a vase given by Payne in his catalogue of Middle Corinthian (p. 308, fig. 148) which he says, however, may be Late Corinthian. Ours seems, in view of the more careless workmanship, greater heaviness of the design and rounder profile, to be later.

135-138. (987, 1049, 2460-2461) Kothons

135: H. 0.06 m.; D. 0.16 m.; of foot 0.113 m. Fig. 18.

136: H. 0.052 m.; D. of foot 0.103 m. Fig. 18.

137: PH. 0.027 m. Fig. 20.

138: PH. 0.03 m. Fig. 18.

135 nearly complete; handle and part of body of **136** missing; **137** and **138**, fragments of top of body.

135 has a wide, slightly flaring foot, broad ribbon handle with projections on either side, squat, convex sides and a lip which projects vertically downward inside. The bottom of the interior is glazed black with a reserved space in the centre, decorated with two concentric circles in red, one at the edge of the black and the other in the middle. On the lip at the bottom is a band of red, and higher up one of black which extends over the top to the exterior, where, between two bands of red, is a row of degenerate leaves or tongues, alternating red and black. Below this are one black and two red bands. All this decoration is above the level of the handle. Below it is a narrow black band. The juncture of the body and foot and the outside and inside of the foot are glazed black. The underside of the vase is reserved except for concentric circles in red and a central black dot. **136** is similar in shape but has a shorter foot without any flare and a more angular body. The interior decoration is also much the same, but on the lip are three bands, alternately black and red, and on the top are narrow black bands and a double row of black dots. On the underside are black circles without a central dot. **137** has a band of alternating red and black tongues on top and **138** a lotus bud pattern. The handle of the latter is less metallic in appearance and rounder than that of **135**.

All these kothons belong to Burrows' and Ure's Class A II (*J.H.S.*, XXXI, 1911, pp. 72 f.). They are found at Rhitsona all through the black-figured period and in the early red-figured period (*ibid.*, p. 79), becoming commoner towards the end of the black-figured period. Payne (p. 335) lists quite a number of examples as "White style" kothons. For others see Sieveking-Hackl, pl. 12, no. 339, which is very neat and seems earlier than ours; *J.H.S.*, XXXI, 1911, p. 75, fig. 4, nos. 16 and 17; *J.H.S.*, XXIX, 1909, p. 318, 12.26-34, p. 323, 46.45-55, p. 330, 36.3; *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, pp. 252 f. from graves 49, 50, 51, 31, 26, 18, 22 and Ure, pp. 82 f. from graves 80, 82, 102, 112, 113, 115, 120, 127, 130, 133 and 135, all from Rhitsona. Also Dugas, *Délos*, X, pl. XXXVI, 512-523, particularly 517-523 which are type A II. In practically every collection there is at least one. The tongue and dot patterns are by far the most popular. For later examples see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 284, figs. 20 and 22.

139. (2462) Fragment of aryballos. Fig. 20

PH. 0.027 m.; D. of lip 0.034 m.

Small piece of body, neck, handle and most of rim preserved.

The rim is flat and overhanging. On it and on the handle are bands of red paint, and on the body traces of red. Not enough remains of this vase to assign it to any one of Payne's classes,

but its general appearance is late. The fact that only one other fragment of an aryballos was found in this well bears out Payne's statement (p. 331) that the output diminishes after the third quarter of the sixth century.

140. (1010) Jug? Fig. 15

PH. 0.064 m.; D. of foot 0.054 m.

Lower half preserved.

This vase has a high, flaring foot and deep rounded body, broken off above. On the foot is a zone of dots within diamonds, with a band of black above and below. On the body are traces of black bands. The design seems late.

141. (2459) Bowl fragment. Fig. 20

PH. 0.054 m.; D. of rim 0.092 m.

A piece of the body and rim.

The body is round; the flat rim projects outward. There is a band of red on the interior a little below the rim and another of black farther down on the exterior. Another fragment of this type but of a much larger bowl has not been catalogued.



Fig. 20. Late Corinthian Conventionalizing Ware

CORINTHIAN PARTLY GLAZED WARE

142-143. (954-955) Cups. Fig. 18

142: H. 0.052 m.; D. 0.102 m.; of foot 0.053 m.

143: H. 0.049 m.; D. 0.112 m.; of foot 0.056 m.

Foot and piece of body and rim of each preserved; interior and upper two-thirds of exterior dipped in black glaze.

These cups are similar in shape to **76** except for the more flaring foot, which is more like some of those of the fifth century. See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 294, nos. 154-162, fig. 24 for fifth century examples. Others have also been found at Corinth in fifth century context.

144. (956) Two-handled bowl. Fig. 18

H. 0.045 m.; D. 0.11 m.; of foot 0.049 m.

Complete except for a few pieces of body and rim; inside and upper half of exterior dipped in black glaze.

The inverted echinus foot of this vase is higher but less wide than those of **142** and **143**, and the sides are straighter and more flaring. The rim is flat and projects slightly. On either side of the horizontal handles are projections. Bowls of this type, sometimes without the projections on the handles and occasionally with a pattern, occur from the Early Corinthian period on. (Cf. Payne, nos. 713-715, p. 297 and fig. 148, p. 308, and *Clara Rhodos*, VIII, p. 137, fig. 123, which has a smaller foot than ours.) From about 500 B.C., well on into the fifth century, an unglazed type with a stepped lid (Payne, p. 336, fig. 186) is very popular.

145-149. (976, 997, 1017, 1060, 2470) Oinochoai. Fig. 18

145: PH. 0.133 m.; D. of foot 0.098 m.

146: PH. 0.17 m.; D. of foot 0.097 m.

147: H. 0.176 m.; D. of lip 0.102 m.; of foot 0.094 m.

148: PH. 0.127 m.

149: PH. 0.087 m.; D. of lip 0.098 m.

Piece of upper part of body and neck of **145** and **146** and most of foot of **146** missing; **147** nearly complete except for upper part of handle; **148** is piece of lower part of body and **149** lip, neck and part of body.

All of these oinochoai have a small broad ring foot and round body decorated with two broad bands of black glaze. Part of a broad ribbon handle is preserved on **145**. Probably the handle came up high above the lip. **146** has a raised ring, glazed black, at the top of the shoulder and a neck which is beginning to flare out at the top where it is broken off. **149** has the same raised ring, but unglazed, and a flat horizontal lip painted red on top. There is also a band of red glaze around the bottom of the shoulder. Cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 294, fig. 25, nos. 148-149 and 151-153 for a similar vase of the fifth century. In **147**, the neck is not set off from the shoulder, but is carried in an unbroken reverse curve to the flaring lip, flat on top. The flat ribbon handle seems to have been high. Somewhat like these is an oinochoe of the fifth century from the Agora (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 342, fig. 10, P 5154), which however is less squat and has a more pronounced base.

150. (2056) Two-handled oinochoe. Fig. 18

H. to top of neck 0.167 m.; to top of handles 0.20 m.; D. of foot 0.111 m.

Most of neck and pieces of body and foot missing.

The foot and body are similar to those of **145-149**. The neck is straight and makes an angle with the shoulder but there is no raised ring. On one side are two high flat loop handles. Two narrow bands of black glaze run around the body and on the shoulder a short irregular wavy line is painted vertically in reddish black glaze.

151. (2469) Fragment of oinochoe. Fig. 18

PH. to top of lip 0.07 m.; D. of lip 0.114 m.

Neck, part of handle and shoulder preserved.

The shoulder is rather flat with a red glazed ridge at the top where it joins the neck. The flaring lip, with a pointed edge on top, the dot on the shoulder and the band around the top of the body are glazed black. Attached to, and curving in over, the lip is a high ribbon handle. On the interior of the neck are bands of red. The surface of this vase has been polished very smooth.

152. (2067) Amphora. Fig. 21

H. 0.266 m.; D. of lip 0.121 m.; of foot 0.087 m.

Most of body, part of one handle and some small pieces of the rim and base are missing.

The slightly flaring foot is flat on the bottom. The body, which is ovoid, narrows to a straight neck with a raised band at the base and an offset lip. The loop handles are very angular and squat. The interior and exterior of the lip and the upper part of the neck are glazed black. In addition there are bands of black glaze at the bottom of the neck and below the handles, and black glaze on most, if not all, of the body and foot. For this shape see under **49-50**.

IMPORTED PARTLY GLAZED WARE

153. (2055) Trefoil oinochoe (Attic). Fig. 21

H. 0.32 m.; D. of foot 0.118 m.

Most of lip and pieces of body and foot missing.

This large jug has a low flaring foot, flat loop handle and trefoil lip. The clay, which has fired a reddish buff, seems to be Attic. It is covered with a cream slip, over which bands of red are painted on the body, at the bottom of the neck, and on the foot.



Fig. 21. Partly Glazed and Kitchen Wares

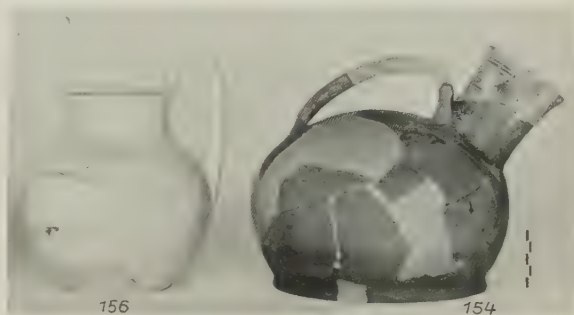
154. (2046) Askos (Attic). Fig. 22

H. to top of lip 0.20 m.; D. of foot 0.176 m.

Some small pieces of base, neck and lip and several large pieces of body missing.

The base of this vase is low and nearly straight, and the body round. The nearly horizontal grooved handle extends from the back of the body to the neck. The long neck which has depressed bands around it and a rounded lip is set at a decided angle to the body. On the neck, lip and body are bands of black or reddish black glaze, and, along the top of the handle, black.

The archaic type of askos varies somewhat in shape. Some have the handle attached to the spout instead of to the body, as one of bronze from Marmaro in Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, VIII, fig. 189, p. 195). Similar to ours is one from Ialysos in *Annuario*, 6-7, p. 284, and p. 287, fig. 184. Earlier is another from there (*Annuario*, 6-7, p. 302, fig. 199). Cf. also *Arch. Anz.*, 1912, 27, col. 357, fig. 47 from Olbia, with shorter spout and very pronounced lip. For others see *Arch. Anz.*, 1929, p. 235 ff. Very similar to ours but with the lower wall slightly straighter, steeper, and longer is one found recently in the Athenian Agora (Agora P. 12785), in a well in use during the latter part of the sixth and the early years of the fifth century. The clay is similar to that of ours, which has fired a dark grayish red on the interior and reddish buff on the exterior.



155. (2467) Jug. Fig. 24

PH. 0.08 m.

Most of rim and base missing; the clay is the same as that of the krater 29 (Fig. 3).

This vase has a long neck, flaring out at the lip, a flat shoulder and a body which tapers sharply and steadily to the base. The neck is glazed red and traces of glaze are also left on the shoulder.

The shape is similar to a type of Lydian vase from Sardis which has been found at Corinth (*A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 422, fig. 15) but ours has a longer body and different clay. It is more like some so-called Ionian vases in Munich (Sieveking-Hackl, pl. 19, particularly 544-545, and pp. 44 and 53-54), which vary from reddish and orange-yellow to brownish and grayish yellow clay. There is a large group of such vases from various places. See Sieveking-Hackl for bibliography.

Fig. 22. Corinthian Oinochoe and Attic Askos

CORINTHIAN UNGLAZED WARE

156. (2057) Round-mouthed oinochoe. Fig. 22

H. 0.163 m.; D. of base 0.089 m.

Handle and several pieces of neck and body missing.

This vase has a flat base, a round body, and a slightly flaring neck. Probably it had a high loop handle of the sort which has been restored.

157. (1036) Oinochoe with bell lip. Fig. 18

PH. 0.14 m.; D. of lip 0.045 m.

Lower part missing.

The round body of the jug curves in sharply to the neck which has raised rings at the top and bottom and a bell-shaped lip. A ribbon handle extends from the shoulder to the top of the lip. Almost identical is a vase found in a fifth century well at Corinth (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 298, no. 180, fig. 31). Except for the handle it is very like Payne's 1552 B (p. 337).

158. (1007) Miniature bowl. Fig. 18

H. 0.047 m.; D. of rim 0.084 m.; of base 0.053 m.

Most of rim missing.

This bowl has a flat base, rounded body, and slightly flaring rim. Around the body near the base are three incised lines.

KITCHEN WARE

159-161. (2058-2060) Cooking pots

159: H. 0.21 m.; D. of rim 0.133 m. Fig. 21.

160: PH. 0.092 m.; D. of rim 0.175 m.

161: H. 0.29 m.; D. of rim 0.182 m. Fig. 21.

159 nearly complete; upper part of **160** preserved; most of body of **161** missing.

These pots have round bodies, showing traces of burning on the bottom, and outflaring rims. They show the vertical marks of the paring knife all over the body. The clay is hard and reddish brown, sometimes rather light gray in the centre, with small particles of sand, gravel and mica. Similar vases are found in Athens and in many other places. For this ware in Corinth cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 304; see *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 401, no. 39 and fig. 23, of the second half of the sixth century, and, for the shape, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 343, fig. 10, of the first half of the fifth century.

162. (2061) Two-handled casserole. Fig. 21

PH. 0.259 m.; D. of rim 0.398 m.

About two-thirds of upper part preserved.

The body contracts at the shoulder to a vertical rim which projects slightly at the top both inward and outward. There are two vertical loop handles attached at the shoulder and slanting upward. On the exterior are marks of paring. Fragments of the lower part of another, which is uninventoried, show us that this type of pot had a flat bottom. The clay is the same as that of **159-161** but fired a little redder on the exterior and a yellowish gray in the centre. There are no traces of burning except on one side.

163-164. (2062-2063) Covered casseroles. Fig. 21

163: H. without cover 0.073 m.; H. of cover 0.045 m.; D. of cover 0.22 m.

164: H. 0.084 m.; D. of rim 0.186 m.

Part of bottom, handles and most of cover of **163** missing; half of body and rim of **164** preserved.

The body is rounded below. The rim projects slightly both outside and inside to form a shallow groove for the cover. The clay is like that of the other kitchen pots and shows the same signs of paring and burning on the bottom.

For the shape see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 305, no. 206, fig. 36, which is, however, shallower and has a more pronounced ledge.

165. (2475) Shallow kitchen dish. Fig. 25

PH. to top of handle 0.05 m.; D. 0.28 m.

Small piece with handle preserved; same type of clay, white in centre.

This dish has a very shallow bowl, above the top of which extends a ribbon handle. It probably had two handles. There are traces of paring and burning on the exterior.

CORINTHIAN COARSE WARE

166-169. (2052-2054, 2087) Oinochoai with trefoil lip. Fig. 23

166: H. 0.255 m.; D. of base 0.095 m.; W. across lip 0.14 m.

167: H. 0.271 m.; D. of base 0.082 m.; W. across lip 0.121 m.

168: H. 0.32 m.; D. of base 0.09 m.; W. across lip 0.131 m.

169: PH. 0.123 m.; W. across lip 0.124 m.

166-168 complete except for few pieces of lip and body; neck, lip and handle of **169** preserved.

These oinochoai all have a round handle, trefoil lip, vertical neck and bulging sides curving in to a flat bottom. The width of the base, neck and lip varies. The clay also differs, being much finer in 169 than in the others and greenish in 167, while it has fired reddish buff in the others.

Similar in shape, but later, with a false ring foot and plain echinus lip, is another from Corinth (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 303, no. 203, fig. 32). This type of jug is common at Corinth both earlier and later. Fragments of many more were found in this well.

170. (2089) Oinochoe. Fig. 23

PH. 0.108 m.; to top of handle 0.129 m.; D. of neck 0.087 m.

Neck, handle and small piece of body preserved.

The neck of this vase is straight, with a plain round mouth. A high loop handle extends from the mouth to the bulging shoulder. The light reddish buff clay is coarse but has been smoothed on the exterior.

171. (2069) Hydria. Fig. 23

H. 0.40 m.; D. of base 0.112 m.

Many pieces of neck, lip and body missing.

This hydria has a small flat base, very round body, straight neck and simple echinus mouth. The proportions are very squat. The clay is coarse and reddish buff. Fragments of others were found but have not been catalogued.

172. (2048) Deep basin. Fig. 23

H. 0.23 m.; D. of rim 0.305 m.; of base 0.17 m.

Complete except for a few small pieces.

The base is wide and flat and the sides vertical except near the bottom. On the sides near the top are two lug handles, above which the body flares out to a horizontal rim. It is very thick and heavy. The interior, which is much worn, indicates hard usage.

173. (2049) Fragment of basin or larnax. Fig. 23

H. 0.155 m.; W. 0.33 m.

One end preserved.

The base is flat and the sides slightly curved. The horizontal rim projects outward.

Although slightly higher and wider than the fifth century larnax found in the Athenian Agora (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 345-346, fig. 13, P 5191), and unglazed inside, it is similar in shape and may be its predecessor.

174. (2065) Large storage jar. Fig. 23

PH. 0.46 m.; D. of lip 0.215 m.

Base and most of body missing.

The jar has a short straight neck, two flat horizontal handles on the shoulders and a very round body with three raised bands around the middle. Fragments of another were found. The base was probably similar to that of a storage jar of the fifth century at Corinth (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 303, no. 196, fig. 34), for the walls of the body are becoming thicker at the point where they are broken off, as if for attachment to such a base.

175. (2051) Large lekane. Fig. 26

H. 0.175 m.; D. of rim 0.465 m.; of base 0.145 m.

Several pieces of body missing.



Fig. 23. Corinthian Coarse Ware

The horizontal projecting rim is sharply undercut. The body flares out from the flat base. Interior and exterior are smoothed or slipped.

176. (2050) Mortar. Fig. 26

H. 0.09 m.; D. of rim 0.37 m.; of foot 0.239 m.

One side and centre of base missing.

This has a false ring foot, raised underneath in the centre, convex side and flat rim projecting out from the body. It is coated or smoothed on both interior and exterior.

177. (2079) Fragment of mortar with relief decoration. Fig. 24

PH. 0.056 m.; D. 0.44 m.

Piece of rim and body preserved.

On the horizontal rim, which projects outward, is a double band of leaves made by fingering and, in the centre of it, a lug made of five raised beads. Interior and exterior are covered with a fine coating.

For designs on the rims of lekanai see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 296–297, figs. 25 and 28, nos. 174–175.

178. (2080) Fragment of mortar with handle. Fig. 25

PH. 0.046 m.

Small piece of rim and body with one handle.

This fragment has a horizontal rim which is widened out and pierced to form a handle. It is smoothed on the interior and exterior.

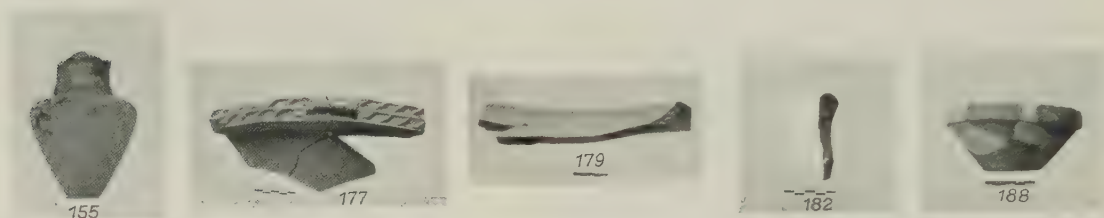


Fig. 24. Corinthian Coarse Ware and an Ionian(?) Import (155)

179–183. (2081–2085) Fragments of mortars

179: PH. 0.075 m. Fig. 24.

180: PH. 0.65 m.

181: PH. 0.074 m. Fig. 25.

182: PH. 0.048 m. Fig. 24.

183: PH. 0.06 m. Fig. 25.

In each case a piece of the body and rim is preserved.

The rim of **179** is similar to that of **175** but the body is much shallower. **180** resembles **178** in shape but has a narrower lip. The rim of **181** steps out a little from the body and is rounded on top. That of **182** is simply a thickening of the body, while **183** has a groove added on the exterior. All are coated or smoothed on both the interior and exterior and **180**, **181** and **183** are worn on the inside.

Many other fragments of mortars were found in this well.

184–186. (2076–2078) Fragments of lekane stands

184: PH. 0.11 m.; D. of base 0.203 m. Fig. 26.

185: PH. 0.124 m. Fig. 25.

186: PH. 0.15 m. Fig. 25.

Lower half of **184**, piece of lower part and small piece of bowl of **185**, and piece of upper part and centre of bowl of **186** preserved.

The base of **184** has vertical sides which contract at a sharp angle to meet the straight stem. On the outer edge of the shoulder are two grooves, and at the bottom of the stem three raised rings. **185** has a vertical projecting band around the bottom decorated with six grooves. On the stem is a raised wavy band. Below the bowl of **186** is a band of six grooves. All are smoothed on the exterior. The bowl of **186** is worn.

For lekane stands cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 296–297, nos. 174–175, figs. 25 and 28.

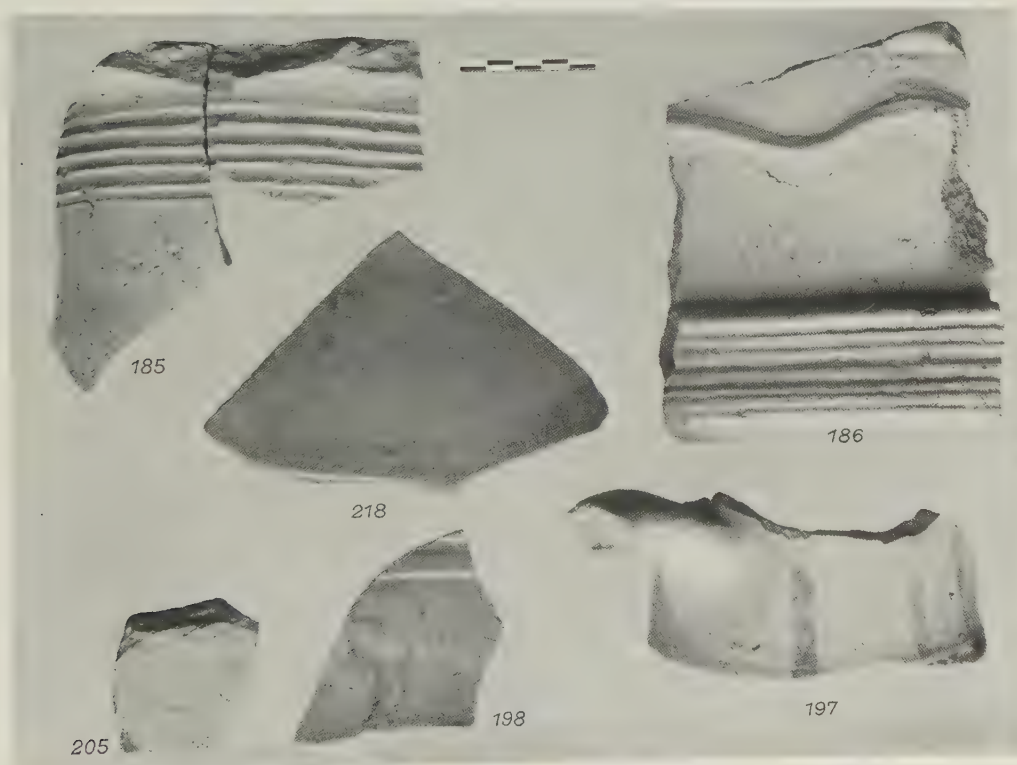


Fig. 25. Fragments of Coarse Ware

187. (2047) Lid. Fig. 26

H. 0.033 m.; D. 0.168 m.

Nearly complete except for handle which has been restored.

The sides are straight and the nearly flat top rises slightly toward the centre.

For a similar lid see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 303, no. 197, fig. 34.

188. (2066) Small bowl. Fig. 24

H. 0.06 m.; D. of lip 0.116 m.; of base 0.049 m.

Many pieces of sides and lip and half of base missing.

This small bowl has a flat base and slanting sides. The offset lip is drawn in toward the top and forms a thin edge which does not project on the interior.

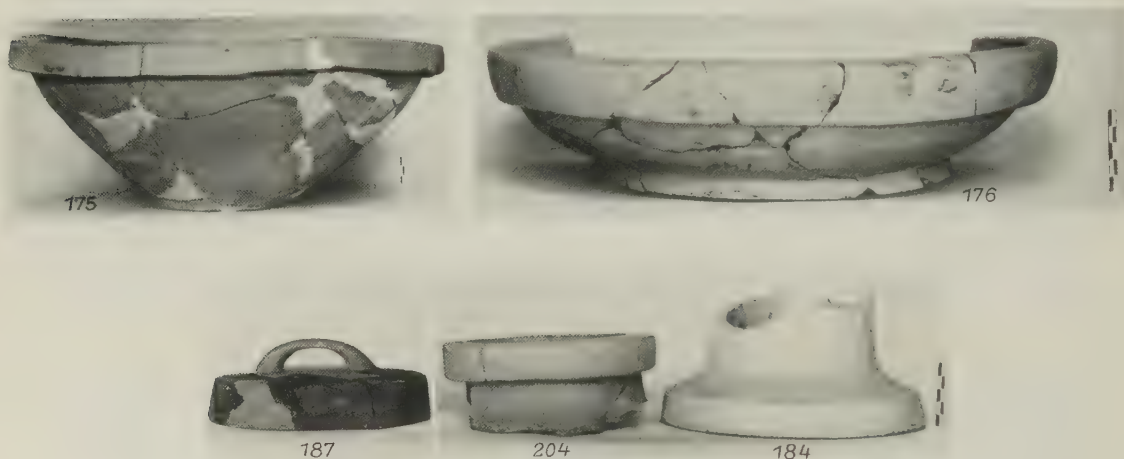


Fig. 26. Corinthian Coarse Ware

189. (2086) Fragment of plate

PL. 0.27 m.; PW. 0.23 m.; T. 0.25 m.

Piece of one side preserved.

This fragment seems to be part of a very coarse flat rectangular plate. The long side, top and bottom are finished.

190-199. (2040-2042, 2044-2045, 2070, 2073, 2074 a, b, 2471) Amphoras

190: PH. 0.45 m.; D. of body 0.42 m.

194: PH. 0.35 m. Fig. 27.

191: H. 0.465 m.; D. of lip 0.15 m.; of body 0.39 m.

195: GD. 0.11 m. Fig. 28.

192: H. 0.485 m.; D. of lip 0.145 m. Fig. 27.

196: PH. 0.1335 m.; D. of lip 0.16 m. Fig. 29.

193: PH. 0.46 m.; D. of body 0.395 m.

197: PH. 0.065 m. Fig. 25.

Fig. 27.

198: PH. 0.08 m. Fig. 25.

199: PH. 0.097 m. Fig. 25.

Upper part of **190** missing; **191-192** fairly complete; part of body, most of neck and lip and one handle of **193** missing; part of body of **194-195**; one handle and half of neck and lip of **196**, part of neck of **197-198** and piece of neck and lip of **199** preserved.

These amphoras are all of the same type, with a round flaring lip, vertical neck, bulging body tapering toward the bottom, round, short, vertical handles and a small straight base. In **192** the base slants in at the bottom and in **193** the lip has been pared around and is angular.

194 has the letters OM scratched on the shoulder, and **195**, a small piece of the body, has an illegible inscription (ΛΔΑΛΛΑΜ) scratched on it. Incised on the handle of **196** are the letters ΑΣ. **197** has a dipinto in red glaze: Π, **198** another, Ξ, and scratched to the right at the edge of the piece and broken off, Ε. On **199** is still another dipinto: ΜΠ. These last three may stand in each case for the value of the contents of the amphora. Π might be one drachma, five obols. For other inscriptions of this type see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 515-516.

Fragments of over thirty-five amphoras of this type were found.



Fig. 27. Corinthian Amphoras of Coarse Ware

200. (1030) Stamped amphora handle. Fig. 28

GD. 0.107 m.

This handle is from an amphora of the same type as **190-199**. On the upper part is stamped a frog. It is apparently a gem stamp, one of the earliest known on an amphora handle.

201-203. (2037-2038, 2043) Wine amphoras. Fig. 27

201: H. 0.635 m.; D. of lip 0.195 m.; of body 0.445 m.; of base 0.06 m.

202: PH. 0.305 m.; D. of lip 0.172 m.

203: PH. 0.465 m.; D. of lip 0.183 m.

Nearly all of **201** and the upper part of **202-203** preserved.

These amphoras have a small base which slants in toward the bottom, a very bulging body, vertical neck, angular handles and a flat horizontal lip. The length of neck and type of handle varies. Some handles touch the lip as in **201**, others are less angular (**203**), and still others very straight on top (**202**). The lip of **202** is very flat on top. Nearly thirty of these were found in the well.

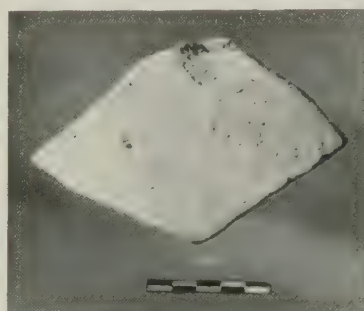
Similar to **201** is an amphora from a grave with late black-figured pottery at Megara Hyblaea (*Mon. Ant.*, I, col. 841, grave XCIV). This type of wine amphora appears fairly early at Corinth and continues quite late. For fifth century examples see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 303, n. 200, fig. 34.

204. (2088) Amphora. Fig. 26

PH. 0.07 m.; D. of lip 0.163 m.

Neck, lip and small piece of shoulder.

The amphora has a very short neck and a horizontal overhanging lip which is entirely separate from the neck except at the top. The handles were attached to the neck just below the lip.



205. (2071) Fragment with impressed design. Fig. 25

GD. 0.053 m.

This small fragment is decorated with a band of tongues made of a depressed line within which are raised dots.



Fig. 28. Fragments of Amphoras

206. (2072) Amphora with incised handles. Fig. 29

PH. 0.115 m.; D. of lip 0.129 m.

Neck, lip, handles and piece of shoulder preserved.

This amphora has a straight neck, simple echinus lip and vertical handles. On the handles are incised bands of dotted lines, crosses and zigzag lines. The decoration is not identical on the two. At the top and bottom of the neck is a row of incised dots. The outer surface is slipped or smoothed.

IMPORTED COARSE WARE

207-209. (2032-2034) Painted amphoras (Attic)

207: H. 0.552 m.; D. of lip 0.147 0.157 m.; of body 0.413 m. Fig. 29.

208: H. 0.535 m.; D. of lip 0.145 m.; of body 0.415 m.

209: H. 0.57 m.; D. of lip 0.15 m.; of body 0.385 m. Fig. 29.

All three nearly complete. **207** is reddish clay fired dark gray; **208-209** are reddish buff.

These amphoras have a small ring foot, ovoid body, straight neck, round lip and short vertical handles. The body is covered with thick bands of black glaze on **208-209** and thin bands on **207**. On the shoulder of **208** was incised an inscription of which only IN(?) remains. On **209** are the letters APXI(?). Fragments of three others were found.

Similar vases have been found in Athens on the North Slope (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 183, fig. 21) and in the Agora (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 379, fig. 14).

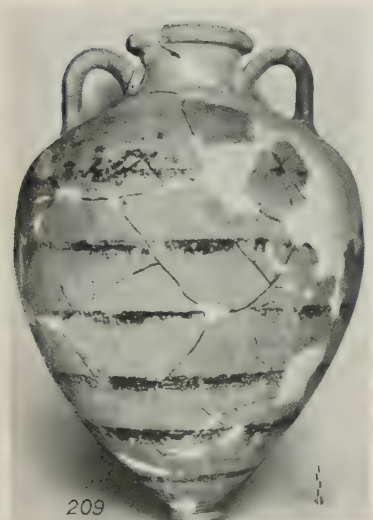
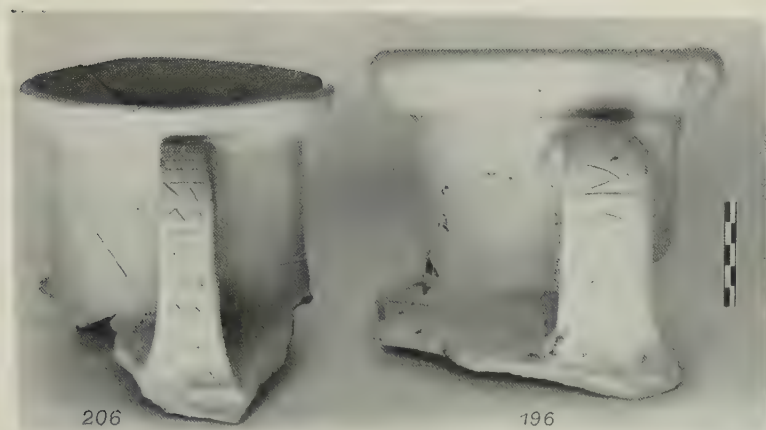


Fig. 29. Corinthian Amphoras and Two Imports (206, 196)

210. (2068) Painted jug (Attic). Fig. 29

PH. 0.23 m.; D. of lip 0.145 m.

Upper part except for piece of handle preserved; dark reddish clay, fired dark gray.

The jug has a round lip, straight neck, and round handle and body. Around the upper part of the body, the top and bottom of the neck and the lip run bands of black glaze. The top of the handle also is glazed black, and on the neck a wavy black band is painted. On the shoulder are incised the letters +EP.

211–216. (2026–2031) Wine amphoras

211: H. 0.69 m.; D. of lip 0.137 m.; of body 0.38 m.

212: H. 0.74 m.; D. of lip 0.128 m.; of body 0.33 m.

213: H. 0.765 m.; D. of lip 0.136 m.; of body 0.31 m. Fig. 29.

214: H. 0.74 m.; D. of lip 0.165 m.; of body 0.38 m. Fig. 29.

215: H. 0.74 m.; D. of lip 0.125 m.; of body 0.37 m.

216: H. 0.74 m.; D. of lip 0.142 m.; of body 0.35 m.

All fairly complete; clay reddish buff and sandy with particles of mica.

These vases have very elongated bodies with hollow pointed bases, sloping shoulders, long necks, slight rounded lips and angular handles. There are slight variations in the length and width of the body, and the neck of **214** widens toward the top.

215 is plain; **211** has a reversed E painted on the body; **212** has a band of black around the exterior under the lip and a black dot within a circle on the shoulder. **213**, which is more elaborate, has a red lip and narrow bands of red down the handles, below the shoulder and on the lower part of the body. On the neck and shoulder are black dots within circles. On **214** there are wide bands of red on the lip, down the handles and around the shoulders. There are traces of red on the lip of **216**.

Almost identical with **213** in shape and decoration is an amphora from an archaic grave at Olbia (*Arch. Anz.*, 1914, col. 231 ff., figs. 44 and 53, no. 30). Another similar to this has recently been found in the Athenian Agora.

217–218. (2035, 2075) Wine amphoras

217: PH. 0.565 m.; D. of lip 0.143 m.; of body 0.32 m. Fig. 29.

218: GD. 0.155 m. Fig. 25.

Pieces of body and foot of **217** missing; **218** is fragment of shoulder; clay very similar to that of **211–216**.

217 has a rounded lip, angular handles, a vertical neck, sloping shoulders and ovoid body. Around the shoulder below the handles is a thick band of black glaze. **218** belongs to the shoulder of a similar amphora. On it is part of a thick red band and above it an apparently meaningless sign, in red.

219. (2039) Amphora. Fig. 29

PH. 0.37 m.; D. of body 0.32 m.; of base 0.059 m.

Preserved from shoulder down; pinkish clay similar to that of later, stamped, Chian amphoras.

This amphora has an ovoid body and a small base, slanting in slightly at the bottom and hollowed out inside with a projecting disk in the centre. Although the clay is similar to the Chian clay, the shape is entirely different.

220. (2036) Amphora. Fig. 29

H. 0.687 m.; D. of lip 0.128 m.; of body 0.41 m.

Pieces of handles and body missing; dark red clay very similar to that of later Thasian stamped amphoras.

The small and nearly straight foot is hollowed out inside. The body is ovoid, and the shoulders slanting. The neck steps in at the top to form a plain lip and the handles have a ridge running down the centre. The clay is very much like Thasian clay but the shape is quite different.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

221. (MF 8314) Terracotta head

H. 0.028 m.; W. 0.02 m.

The left ear and some of the hair on the left side are broken off. The back is flat. There is no trace of added color. The features and hair are of the usual archaic type.

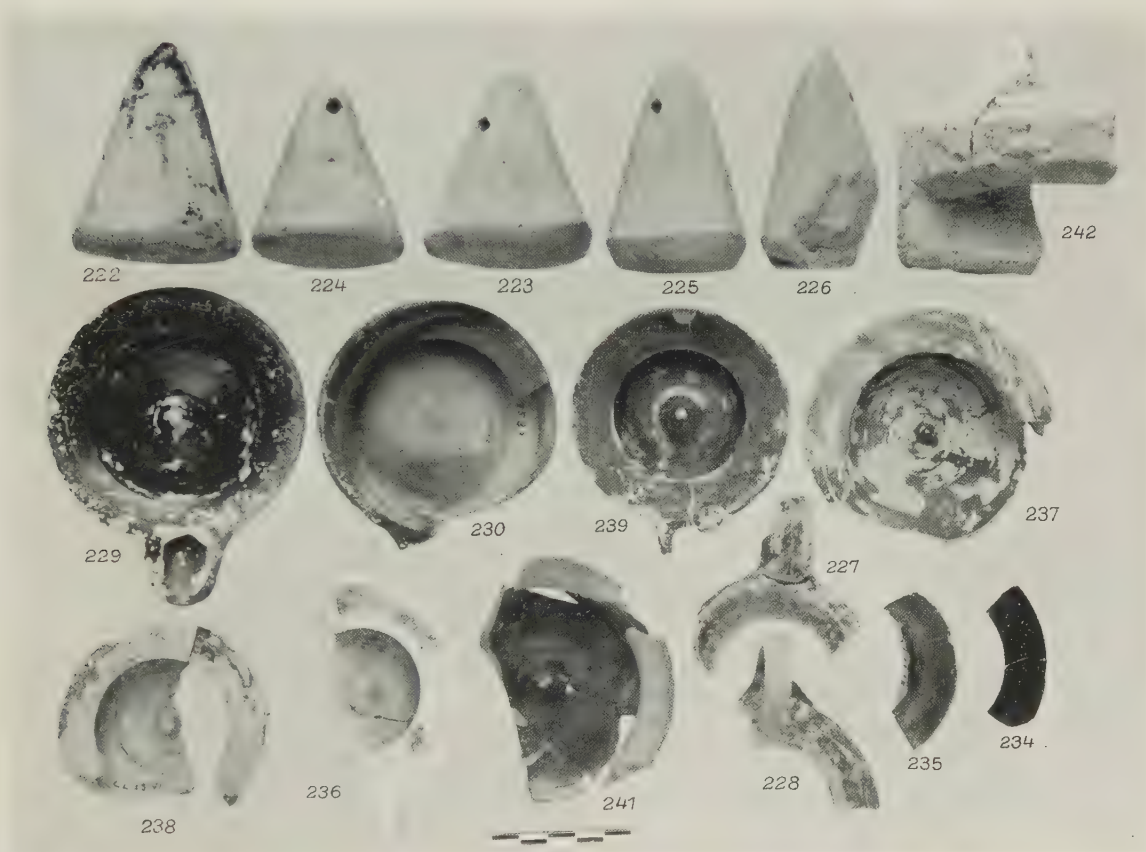


Fig. 30. Miscellaneous Objects

222-226. (MF 6592 A-C, 7431, 8110) Conical loomweights. Fig. 30

222: H. 0.076 m.; D. of base 0.055 m.

223: H. 0.068 m.; D. of base 0.055 m.

224: H. 0.062 m.; D. of base 0.053 m.

225: H. 0.077 m.; D. of base 0.077 m.

226: H. 0.082 m.

Most of the base of 226 is missing. 223 224 are rather worn on top. The profiles vary. The sides of 222 and 224 are bevelled only slightly at the bottom, those of 223 more so and those of 225-226 pronouncedly.

227-228. (CL 3545-3546) Fragments of terracotta lamps. Fig. 30

227: H. to top of handle 0.038 m.

228: H. to top of handle 0.038 m.

A piece of the rim and the handle of each is preserved. The clay is Corinthian. The rounded sides, which have been pared down, turn into a flat rim in **227** and a slightly convex rim in **228**. Both have vertical ribbed loop handles. **227** was glazed dull black and **228** brownish red. These seem to be midway between types I and II (Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, Part II, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 32). See profiles, Fig. 31.

229-234. (CL 3486, 3533-3537) Terracotta lamps. Fig. 30

229: L. 0.112 m.; W. 0.094 m.; H. 0.023 m.

230: W. 0.085 m.; H. 0.021 m.

231: W. 0.094 m.

232: W. 0.082 m.; PH. 0.016 m.

233: GD. 0.065 m.

234: GD. 0.05 m.

229 is complete and **230** nearly so. The others are fragments of the bottom or side or both. All are of Attic manufacture, and belong to the second variety of Type II (*Corinth*, IV, Part II, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 36 and 38). The centre of the bottom in **231** and **233** rises a little but not as much as in Type III. See the profiles, Fig. 31.

235. (CL 3538) Terracotta lamp fragment. Fig. 30

H. 0.022 m.

This fragment is part of the rim and side. It is Type II but is made of Corinthian clay and has thicker walls and a more projecting rim.



Fig. 31. Profiles of Lamps ($\frac{1}{2}$)

236-240. (CL 3539-3543) Terracotta lamps. Fig. 30

236: H. 0.023 m.; W. 0.075 m.; PL. 0.09 m.

237: W. 0.092 m.; H. 0.021 m.

238: W. 0.072 m.; H. 0.018 m.

239: PL. 0.088 m.; W. 0.079 m.; H. 0.021 m.

240: GD. 0.068 m.

239 is complete except for most of the nozzle; **237** and **238** lack part of the front and the nozzle and **236** one side and most of the nozzle; **240** is a base. These are of Corinthian manufacture. They are similar to the lamps of Type III except for the rim which projects outward (see profiles, Fig. 31). The conical projection in the centre varies in size.

241. (CL 3544) Terracotta lamp. Fig. 30

W. 0.092 m.; H. 0.029 m.

This lamp, which is of Attic clay, fits none of the types previously found at Corinth. It has a high base ring, comparatively deep body, conical projection in the centre and straight sides which end in two projecting bands around the top. The rim, which slants upward toward the outside, forms the top band. The bottom of the interior is glazed black. The rest is reserved.

242. (MF 8111) Tool. Fig. 30

H. 0.026 m.; to top of handle 0.068 m.; W. 0.09 m.

This tool, of which only one end is preserved, is made of very porous sandy stone. It has a handle and must have been used for polishing or powdering.

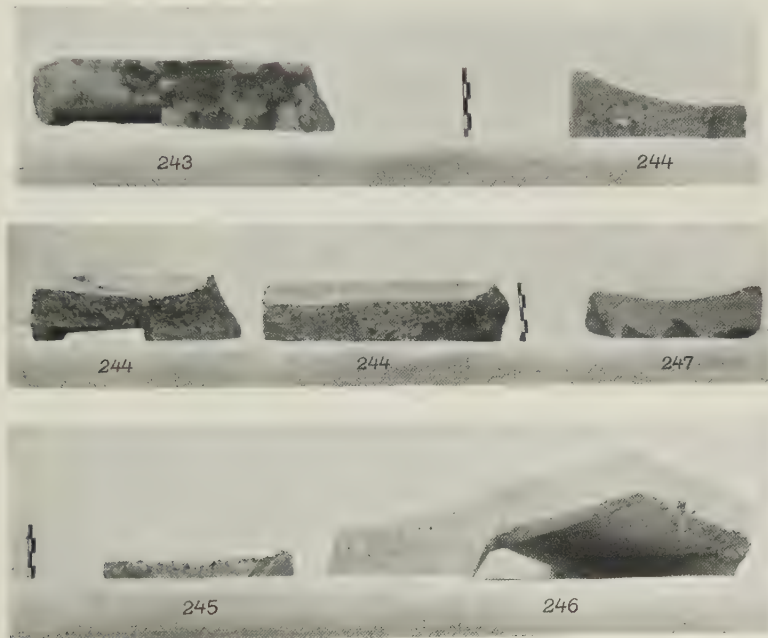


Fig. 32. Roof Tiles

243-245. (FP 19-20, 30) Fragments of pan tiles. Fig. 32

243: PL. 0.155 m.; T. 0.028-0.05 m.

244: T. 0.038-0.06 m.

245: PL. 0.173 m.; T. at end 0.024-0.028 m.

These tiles are made of the typical Corinthian clay strengthened by the addition of particles of grit and gravel. They are cut out at one end to fit over the next tile.

246-247. (FC 19-20) Fragments of cover tiles. Fig. 32

246: PL. 0.22 m.; W. to ridge 0.125-0.03 m.; T. at ridge 0.03 m.; T. at side 0.03 m.

247: PL. 0.125 m.; W. to ridge 0.135 m.; T. 0.035-0.04 m.

These tiles are of the same type of clay as the preceding. The ridge curves up toward the ends.

MARY THORNE CAMPBELL

A SANCTUARY OF ZEUS AND ATHENA PHRATRIOS NEWLY FOUND IN ATHENS

In the spring of 1937 excavations conducted by the Département of Public Works of the City of Athens in the north central part of the ancient town revealed a small sanctuary of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria that bordered an important north to south roadway. The immediate object of the excavation was the preparation of foundations for a public bath and comfort station. On the appearance of ancient remains the Department of Antiquities in the Ministry of Education was consulted and a partial exploration of the area was carried out under the supervision of the undersigned while the work of construction continued. The City Works Department, in the person of its engineers, and the building contractor, Mr. K. Antonopoulos, rendered willing and welcome co-operation. The drawings which accompany this article have been prepared by Mr. John Travlos.

The site of the discovery may be fixed conveniently by reference to the plan of the city in Judeich's *Topographie von Athen*. It lies about midway on a straight line joining the north end of the Stoa of Attalos and the Acharnian Gate, by the little Square of Karamanos which is formed by the junction of Bysse and Boreas Streets with Athena Street. As will be clear from Fig. 1, the ancient roadway at the point exposed lay just to the east of Athena Street and its line continued in its southwesterly direction would cut the modern thoroughfare obliquely.

The Square had once been adorned by the mediaeval church of St. Nicholas, known, apparently from its founder, as St. Nicholas Ktena. Of the church and its history we have little information. It would seem to have been demolished before the middle of last century: sacrificed, perhaps, along with other churches and many private houses to the laying out of the modern Athena Street in 1834 and the following years; or possibly included among the 70 churches of the city which were obliged to contribute their material to the construction of the New Metropolis in the 40's.¹

Some of the architectural marbles noted below may well derive from the building, and many of the ancient marbles found on the site were probably brought from elsewhere in the city to be used in its foundations. A couple of large vaulted tombs of concrete, which came to light in the middle of the area, their tops *ca.* 2.00 m. below modern surface, must have been included in the church yard.

The place of the Church was taken by the School of Karamanos, whose name lingers on in the Square, though the building itself has long since perished by fire.

¹ On the church see A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, Leipzig, 1868, no. 168; T. N. Philadelphus, *Ἱστορία Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας*, Athens, I (1902), p. 274. Its name appears in a list of the churches of Athens of 1822 (Philadelphus, *l. c.*); it is marked on Schaubert's plan of 1833, but Mommsen, working in 1866, wrote of it in the past tense.

The area to be occupied by the new building may be distinguished in Fig. 1. It is L-shaped, with maximum dimensions of *ca.* 29 m. and 30 m. With the exception of a rectangular pit that was opened around the altar itself the archaeological exploration was confined to the deep trenches cut for the outer walls of the new building and to

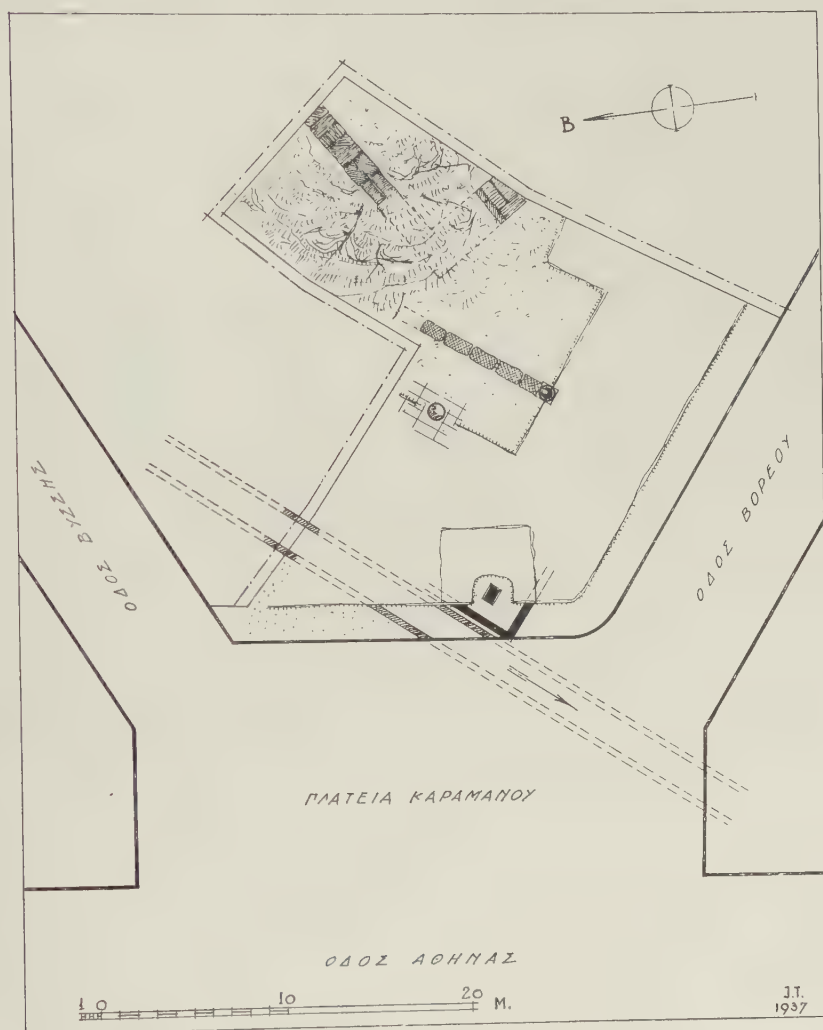


Fig. 1. Karamanos Square and Adjacent Area as explored in 1937¹

the one large cellar room of the structure. This limited investigation revealed a marked irregularity in the ancient ground level, *viz.* a difference of *ca.* 5.50 m. between the western and the higher eastern side of the area, a configuration which one would certainly not have suspected from the present level surface of the region.

¹ Since this article was originally intended for publication in a Greek journal, the legends on the plans are written in Greek.

Of the ancient roadway, two short lengths were exposed to a maximum of *ca.* 5.00 m. Its surface was much worn by traffic and its hard-packed gravel extended down at least 1.00 m. Only the eastern limit of the thoroughfare could be fixed and that by reason of its being bordered by a large drain that flowed from north to south. The floor of the channel in large part consists of living rock, which, at a point opposite the altar actually intruded into the otherwise rectangular section of the drain (Fig. 3). A single thickness of large blocks of poros and conglomerate, usually set as orthostates, formed each wall of the channel, giving it an average depth of *ca.* 1.00 m. Its mean width was half as great again and was spanned by a carefully constructed flat vault of segmental bricks. The top of the vault lay approximately at the level of the ancient

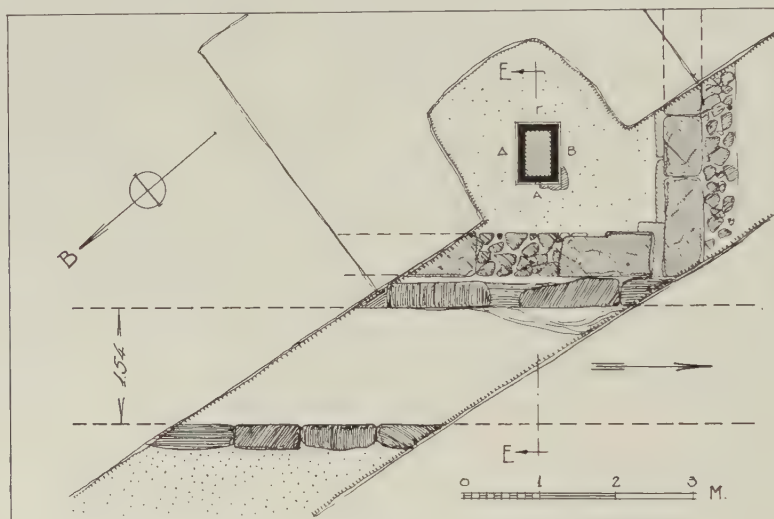


Fig. 2. Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena, Plan of Actual State


road. The brickwork is undoubtedly of Roman date. It may well have replaced an earlier covering of transverse stone slabs. The relative levels of drain and altar suggest that the drain is the later of the two (Fig. 3); yet this would permit of a date for the drain in the Hellenistic period, with which its style of construction would agree. This must not be taken to imply an equally late date for the roadway, for it frequently happened that even major thoroughfares of the city were provided with such costly drains only in comparatively late times.

The orientation of the short length of roadway exposed, combined with its importance as indicated by its width, the great accumulation of road metal and the presence of the drain, suggests that we have to do with one of the arterial streets of the city that led from its centre out through the gates, in this case, in all probability, from the northeast corner of the Agora to the Acharnian Gate. The position of the gate itself would seem to have been established already with fair certainty and the general line of the roadway

outside the gate is given by the discovery of graves along appropriate lines, but the present length appears to be the first piece of the street thus far exposed within the limits of the ancient city.¹

The lower course of the drain may be conjectured with equal probability. It must, that is, have poured its water into the great sewer, perhaps the ancient Eridanos, which flowed from east to west along the north edge of the Market Place and thence out through the Sacred Gate. Its course in this general region lies between and deep below the modern Hermes and Hadrian Streets.² The probable point of junction of the two channels is distant *ca.* 280 m. from the area under discussion. That our channel served a natural line of drainage is clearly shown by the volume of water which still seeps through its loose filling. It was doubtless this stream of water which fed the Spring of Borias, a landmark in this district of Turkish Athens.³

The Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena adjoined the east side of the drain (Figs. 2, 3). Only the southwest corner of its temenos was exposed with short lengths of its west and south enclosure walls. These were built of massive conglomerate blocks roughly dressed, laid in a single row on the bedrock or on a slight packing of small stones. The west wall abuts against the side of the drain. It is preserved only a few centimetres above the ancient ground level. The south wall, of which two courses remain in position, served in its lower part as a retaining wall against the higher ground level to the south, which lay *ca.* 1.50 m. above the base of the altar. Immediately behind the wall is a packing of field stones.

The altar rested directly on bedrock, in part on a slight packing of small stones (Figs. 3–6). Four slabs of Hymettian marble set on edge supported the now missing altar top. The side pieces are neatly fitted at the corners with half-housing joints cut with anathyrosis and they were secured to one another by an iron clamp of  shape

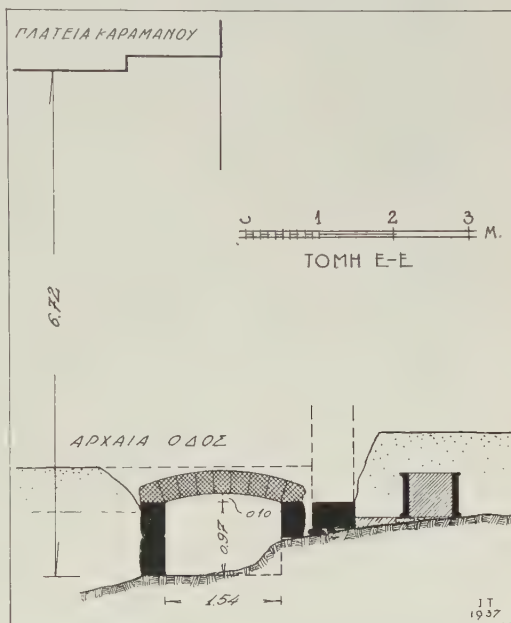


Fig. 3. Sanctuary of Zeus and Athena,
Cross-section on Plan, Fig. 2

¹ On the Acharnian Gate cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 143. Actual remains of it have been reported near the intersection of Aiolos and Sophokles Streets, *ca.* 350 m. to the northeast of our site.

² On this drain cf. E. Ziller in *Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, pp. 117 ff., pl. VII; Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 205. The main drain, in the parts explored, has shown an inside width of *ca.* 2.10 m. and a vaulted cover, in some places of brick, elsewhere of stone.

³ On the fountain see A. Mommsen, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

set obliquely and leaded into the top of each corner. All four sides were finished below with a cyma recta above a fascia, above with an ovolo and fascia (Fig. 5). The exposed faces were dressed with a fine-toothed chisel. The northwest upper corner of the altar had been roughly broken away; its remaining surfaces are fresh and clean; even the base moulding had been rubbed but slightly.¹



Fig. 1. Altar of Zeus and Athena

Of the inscription on the altar one word was cut on the upper face of each slab.² The name of Zeus appears on the west end, that of Athena on the east, and their appellations follow respectively on the south and north sides, thus:

ΔΙΟΣ | ΦΑΤΡΙΟΥ | ΑΘΗΝΑΣ | ΦΡΑΤΡΙΑΣ

For the date of the altar, the letter forms would suggest a time in the second half of the fourth or the early third century B.C. Their evidence is supported by that of the few pot-

¹ The altar has been removed to the Museum of the "Theseion."

² The letters are 0.065 m. high, cut shallow by a hesitating hand. The flaring finials are noteworthy.

sherds which were found beneath the ground level around the altar and in the packing of its enclosure walls: these sherds are of the fourth century B.C., as late as its end.

The altar was probably the central and chief part of the cult place. Its position, immediately to the east of the roadway, would seem to rule out the possibility of an associated temple. We may suppose rather that we have to do with a small, utterly simple sanctuary erected and maintained not by the state, but by some individual phratry. In general character our altar finds a close parallel in another altar of the same divinities recently found in the Agora of Athens. The altar of the Agora has

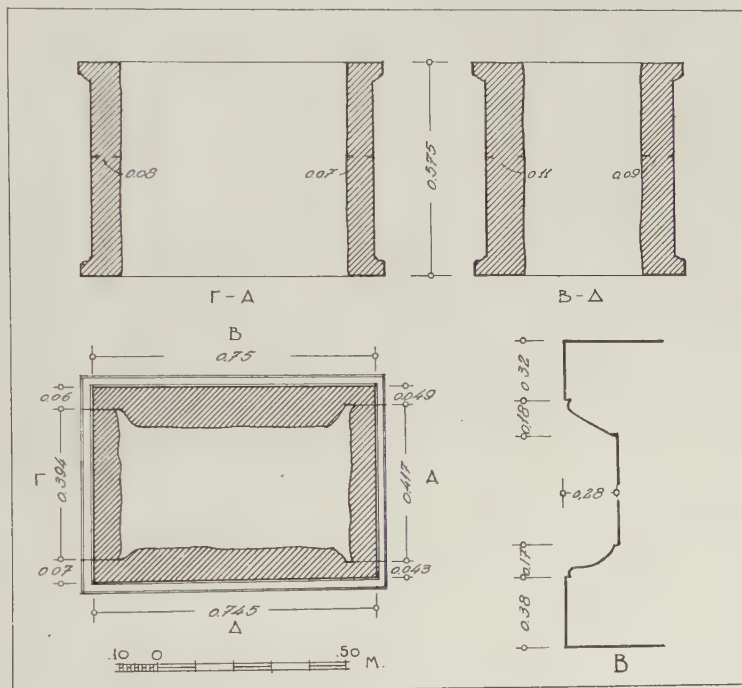


Fig. 5. Altar of Zeus and Athena, Sections and Details of Mouldings

been associated with a miniature temple that stands close beside the larger Temple of Apollo Patroos on the west side of the Market Square; and, by reason of its prominent position in this public place, it has been connected with a state cult.¹ Its very possession of a temple may further confirm the greater dignity of the sanctuary in the Agora as compared with that in Athena Street.

In the corner of the building lot diagonally opposite the altar appeared the south-west corner of an ancient building (Fig. 1). Its foundations of large conglomerate blocks carefully bedded on the living rock were preserved to a maximum height of three courses.

¹ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 104 ff. See also a discussion of the cult of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia by Professor W. S. Ferguson in his study of the Salaminian decrees in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 28 f.

Nothing of the euthynteria remained in the part exposed. The west foundation wall measured *ca.* 1.40 m. wide, the south *ca.* 2.10 m. This greater dimension was adequate to support steps and colonnade and suggests that the building had a porch facing south. The ancient ground level to the south of it must have lain at least as high as the modern Athena Street, must have risen, that is, 5.50 m. or more above the ground level of the altar. For the date of the building we have no clue save in the style of construction which suggests good workmanship of the fourth century or Hellenistic period. Its identification remains obscure.

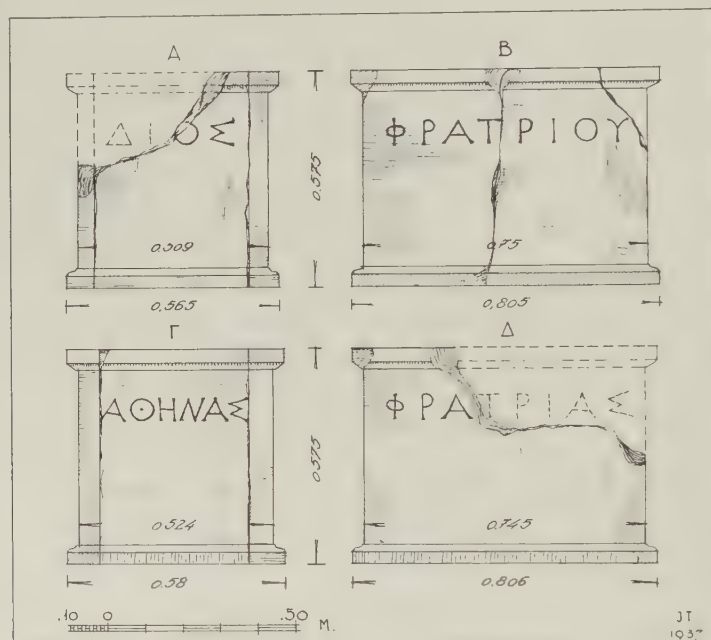


Fig. 6. Altar of Zeus and Athena, Elevations

In the middle of the area traces were found of a building whose style of construction would suggest a date in advanced Roman times (Fig. 1). Of a north to south wall, presumably the east wall of the structure, a few stones remained in position: large conglomerate blocks laid in a single thickness and bedded in grey mortar. Associated with this wall, and lying to the west of it at a level *ca.* 4.20 m. below the surface of the modern Athena Street, was a floor paved with large and carefully jointed rectangular slabs of Pentelic marble *ca.* 0.02 m. thick. The slabs were bedded on a layer of mortar which contained much pounded tile and which for the most part immediately overlay the dressed bedrock. Toward the east side of the marble floor a curbing of Hymettian marble gave access to a well through a mouth *ca.* 0.46 m. in diameter. The curbing rose just above the level of the floor and was pierced by a narrow channel which connected floor and well. Once more we must admit ignorance regarding the identification of the building.

The altar and the building of the marble floor were found buried deep beneath a mass of destruction débris that rose to a new ground level *ca.* 1.20 m. above the old (Fig. 3). The corner of the temenos was filled to a depth of *ca.* 0.50 m. with silt that had accumulated presumably at some time when the drain was out of service. Above the silt lay a loose mass of fallen brick and tile and ash. These circumstances suggest a destruction such as may well have befallen this region of the city in the Herulian sack of 267 A.D. Since the area lies outside the circuit of the "Valerian Wall," within which the city confined itself after that disaster, it may well have remained desolate for long thereafter. Road and drain, however, were undoubtedly reconditioned and continued in service. The importance of this line of traffic in the general scheme of the city is well illustrated by the fact that both in Turkish Athens and in the city as reorganized after the War of Independence, a major thoroughfare has followed closely the line of the ancient street.

A number of small finds came to light in the course of the building operations. For the most part these were found in the disturbed upper filling, i.e., a context of no significance. The stone statuette, No. 2, however, was found in the great drain and so may be supposed to have come from nearby. Some of the architectural marbles, as already noted, may derive from the Church of St. Nicholas which once occupied the site. The grave stones must have been carried in for building purposes from one or other of the ancient cemeteries outside the city gates, probably in quite recent times. Insignificant potsherds and fragmentary terracotta lamps dating from the fifth century B.C. onward were found in small numbers. Of some interest perhaps, is a scrap from the rim of a black-glazed multiple kernós, similar to one in the Agora published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 340, B 27. This was found imbedded in the packing for the west enclosure wall of the temenos.¹

1. Grave Relief. Fig. 7

Height, 0.48 m.; Width, 0.31 m.; Thickness, 0.12 m. Pentelic marble. The surface much weathered. A fragment from the lower middle part of the slab. The lower edge is preserved and shows traces of having been leaded into a slot.

Of the figures there remains a draped boy who stood between a seated woman on the right and a standing draped figure on the left. Of these two, little remains. The boy's head is summarily rendered but his drapery and the seated woman are skilfully and carefully handled. Style and workmanship are of the late fifth century.

2. Statuette of a Male Figure. Fig. 8

Height, 0.38 m.; Width across shoulders, 0.15 m. The material is a fine-grained black stone with bands and flecks of a milky whiteness. The head is missing, both forearms, the right leg from below the knee and the left from above the knee. In the broken ends of both legs are traces of iron dowels and there are three holes for similar dowels in the back of the tree stump against which the figure

¹ The objects catalogued below have been deposited in the Museum of the "Theseion" together with the altar of Zeus and Athena.



Fig. 7. Fragmentary Grave Relief

leans. These perhaps all date from a repair of the lower part. The front surface is smooth polished. The back, particularly in its lower part, is unfinished and retains the marks of gouge and rasp.

The statuette represents a male figure who stands, with his left thigh supported on the top of a rough tree stump. Both upper arms hang vertical and on either thigh is a point of attachment for the respective hand or the object held in the hand. The break on the left upper arm indicates that some tall object was pressed close to the arm. The figure wears a simple chiton of knee length that was passed

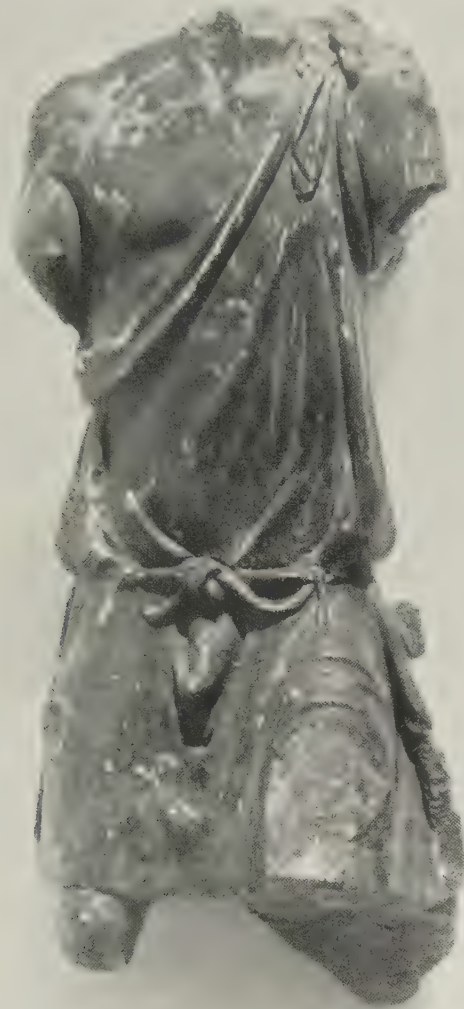


Fig. 8. Statuette of Black Stone

under the right arm, knotted over the left shoulder and bound around the hips with a rope tied in a Herculean knot.

The rustic dress and the negligent pose suggest a countryman: a shepherd, hunter or fisherman, who carried his implements in his hands. Or is it Attis with shepherd's staff in his left hand? Type and style might be paralleled as early as the second century B.C., though material and workmanship make an early Roman date more probable for our piece.

3. Columella of Pentelic Marble

Height, 0.26 m.; Diameter, 0.16 m.; Height of letters, 0.017 m. Broken away below. In the second line the three letters are quite distinct and there would seem never to have been others.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ Ἀπολλόδωρος
ΟΛ Υ

4. Columella of Hymettian Marble

Height, 0.21 m.; Diameter, 0.195 m.; Height of letters, 0.015 m. Broken away below.

ΑΤΛΟΣ Ἄτλος
ΚΧΟΔΙΟΣ Κλόδιος
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Ἀλέξανδρος

5. Columella of Hymettian Marble

Height, 0.42 m.; Diameter, 0.19 m.; Height of letters, 0.025 m. Much of the lower part and the top above the fillet is broken away.

ΓΛΑΥΚΗ Γλαύκη
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ Δημητρίου
ΣΟΥΝΙΕΩΣ Σουνιέως
ΓΥΝΗ Γυνή

6. Columella of Pentelic Marble

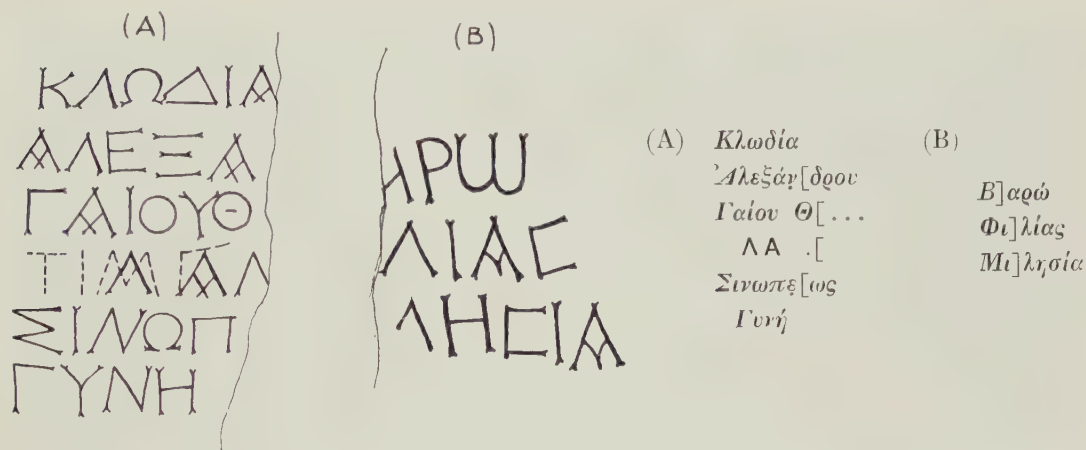
Height, 0.42 m.; Diameter, 0.178 m.; Height of letters, 0.015 m. Slightly battered.

ΙΠΝΗΤΙΟΝ Ἰπνήτιον
ΛΕΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ Λεωστράτου
ΠΕΡΓΑΣΗΘΕΝ Περγασίθεν
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ Θυγάτηρ

The name Ipnetion, to my knowledge, is otherwise unknown.

7. Columella of Hymettian Marble

Height, 0.43 m.; Diameter, 0.27 m.; Height of letters in (A), 0.025 m., in (B), 0.03 m. Broken away below and behind. It bears two inscriptions, by quite different hands, on opposite sides of the stone.



Faint traces beneath an erasure in (A) l. 4 suggest an original reading: ΤΙΜΓ[

8. Circular Marble Base. Fig. 9

Pentelic marble. Height, 0.26 m. Only a fragment of the top remains.

A circular base supports a rectangular abacus. The top of the shaft is encircled by a band of palmettes alternating with leaves of water plants, above which is a bead-and-reel, and a braided half-round. The crowning moulding of the abacus is entirely broken away. Summary work. Possibly to be associated with the revetment crown, No. 9.

9. Marble Revetment Crown. Fig. 9

Pentelic marble. Height, 0.195 m.; Width, 0.43 m.; Thickness, 0.12 m.

In the top is a cutting for a small hook clamp leading back. One end is finished with a joint surface; the other carries the return of the ornament. The cymation is decorated by palmettes alternately closed and open, interspaced with leaves; bead-and-reel below.

10. Impost Block. Fig. 9

Pentelic marble. Height, 0.135 m.; Width, 0.375 m.; Length, 0.50 m.

Cuttings in the top for a door pivot and post must date from a re-use.

The two sides and one end are plain. The other end is decorated with a square cross between acanthus leaves, and flowers.

11. Marble Double Colonnade. Fig. 9

Pentelic Marble. Preserved height, 0.49 m.; Width, 0.365 m.; Thickness, 0.127 m. Broken away above.

A round shaft attached to either edge of a flat member.

12. Marble Colonnnette. Fig. 9

Pentelic marble. Preserved height, 0.59 m.; Width, 0.125 m. Broken away below and behind. An octagonal shaft surmounted by a plain capital of the same width as the shaft.



Fig. 9. Architectural Marbles

13. Marble Colonnnette. Fig. 9

Pentelic marble. Height, 0.28 m.; Width, 0.15 m.; Thickness, 0.20 m.

Capital and column were cut in one piece. The column is broken away just below the capital. On the front face is a double rosette and on either side a single rosette; the back is plain.

14. Marble Centre Post. Fig. 9

Pentelic marble. Height, 0.45 m.; Width, 0.24 m.; Thickness, 0.18 m. Broken away above and on both sides. Cut from a re-used block, some of the original surface of which remains behind.

The block originally had a vertical slot on either side, hence probably a post in an altar screen, supporting marble slabs. The front is decorated, in the surviving part with a rosette above a single panel of maeander.

15. Crowning Member of an Altar Screen. Fig. 9

Pentelic marble. Height, 0.185 m.; Width, 0.30 m.; Length, 0.10 m. Broken away at both ends. The top sloped roughly down toward the back. In the top a dowel hole with lead.

The sloping front face of the slab is decorated with an open braid pattern interrupted by a square cross with petals between the arms. Fair workmanship.

N. KYPARISSES

HOMER A. THOMPSON

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

1. A Duplicate of the Treaty between Athens and Chalcis, *I.G.*, II², 44 (378/7 B.C.).

The fragment which preserves the record of the treaty of alliance between Athens and Chalcis is a fairly large rectangular block, the top of which is decorated in an unusual fashion. It consists of a shallow narrow panel in which a row of stylized leaves, approaching the centre of the stele from each side, was cut. The block possesses still another unusual feature in the decorative form of punctuation used (line 1) in the name [*Ἀρ*]ιστοτέλης ∴ *Εὐφιλήτο*, for which the best parallel exists in *I.G.*, II², 156 (photograph, *Hesperia*, VII, 2, p. 270) of the fifth century B.C. Time, weather, and mistreatment have served to obscure identically similar workmanship on another, much smaller fragment of Pentelic marble (published as *I.G.*, II², 155). Not only these features, but also the text itself has passed unrecognized. The stone was difficult to read because of its weathered surface, and several letters were incorrectly transcribed. In line 1 there is no *vacat*, but the peculiar five-point mark of punctuation; and the letters are not ΕΤΕ, but ΕΥΦ. With the aid of *I.G.*, II², 44, of which it is clearly a duplicate, the following text of *I.G.*, II², 155 has been constructed:

- | | | |
|---|--|-----------|
| 1 | <p>[<i>Ἀρ</i>]ιστοτέλης ∴ <i>Εὐφ</i>[ιλήτο]</p> <p>[<i>Ἀχαρν</i>εὺς ἐγ]ραμμά[τενεν]</p> <p>[ἐπὶ <i>Ναυσινί</i>κ]ο ἔρχ[οντο]</p> <p>[ἔδοξεν <i>τῇ</i> βολῇ καὶ τ]ῇ δέμωι· <i>Ἀ</i>[εωντὶς ἐπρ]ντ]</p> | CTOIX. 20 |
| 5 | <p>[άνευν· <i>Ἀρ</i>ιστοτέλης ἐγ]ραμμάτ[ενεν· τῶν προέδ]</p> <p>[ρων ἐπεψήφισεν - - -]</p> | CTOIX. 37 |

As in *I.G.*, II², 44, the letters of lines 1–3 are wide-spaced and larger, and those of lines 4–6 smaller and crowded. Consequently the *stoichedon* order of twenty letters per line in lines 4–6 gives way to a line of thirty-seven. In all probability *I.G.*, II², 44 had also been erected on the Acropolis, and later found its way to the South Slope, as so many other inscriptions have. Duplicates of such important records were not uncommon. Fair-sized fragments of the treaty of the Athenians and Chians and part of a duplicate exist (*I.G.*, II², 34, 35), and both were found on the Acropolis. Likewise, there are examples from the fifth and fourth century of duplicates of administrative decrees (cf. *I.G.*, II², 216, 217). The identification of this fragment removes it from the large number of unsolved fragments.

2. A New Fragment of the Treaty between Athens and Dionysius, the Elder.

The new fragment of *I.G.*, II², 105, which records the treaty between Dionysius and the Athenians (368/7), was found on the Acropolis and published first in the *SB. Berliner Akademie*, 1887, 1196 by Koehler from a copy of Lolling. Then it was republished with no change in the *Editio Minor* as *I.G.*, II², 523. Badly battered and preserving no original side save the inscribed face, which is hardly damaged, the new fragment exhibits features unmistakably similar to those of *I.G.*, II², 44. The alignment and letter-forms are identical. Only the portion of the document to which this piece belongs is presented below:

δυνῶ[νται δὲ τὸν νόμιμον δ']
 [ρχον ἐκ]ατέρους· τοῦ[σδε ὄρκος ἀπο]λ[αβεῖν]
 [Ἀθηναί]ων τὸς πρέσβ[εις τοὺς πλ]έοντ[ας εἰ]
 40 [ς Σικελί]αν· ἀναγράφ[αι δὲ τὸ ψήφ]ισμα [τόδε]
 [τὸν γραμ]ματέα τῆς [βολῆς ἐν στ]ήλη[ι λιθίν]
 [ἡμὶ καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει, εἰς] δὲ [τὴν ἀνα]
 [γραφὴν δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δ]ῆμ[ου ΔΔΔ δ']
 [ραχμάς] vacat

Koehler had restored *γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου* in line 3 of *I.G.*, II², 523 and had dated it "end of fourth century." The new juxtaposition replaces this restoration with *γραμ]ματέα τῆς [βολῆς* and abolishes the need of explaining the embarrassing use of *τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου* in a document earlier than the last decade of the fourth century (i. e. at *I.G.*, II², 510; *Hesperia*, VII, 2, p. 300). The use of *τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς* is well in accord with the epigraphical custom at this period.¹

¹ The earliest dated use of *γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν* in the formula of payment occurs in the important decree concerning the reorganization of the objects of the Chalkotheke, now dated in 353/2 B.C. (*Hesperia*, VII, 2, p. 286).

EUGENE SCHWEIGERT

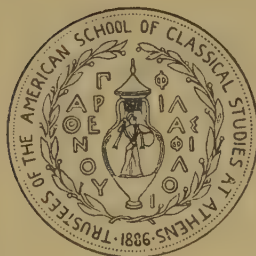
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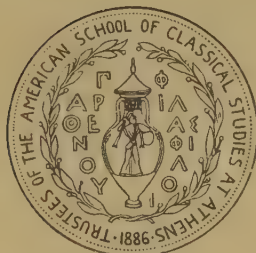
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1938



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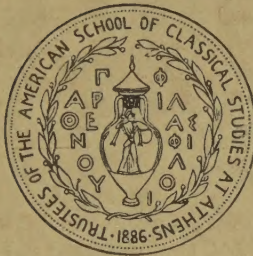
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